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PREFACE

I HAVE much pleasure in placing before the [illegible] Oriental Conference and the public, the Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Session of the Conference held in December 1935 at Mysore under the auspices of the Government of Mysore and the Mysore University. It was intended to issue the volume at the end of 1936. But this could not be done due to financial difficulties. Owing to the almost entire failure of the provincial and State governments and the universities outside Mysore to continue their customary donations, the instructions of the Executive Committee were sought about the funds needed for publication. On receipt of definite instructions in May 1937 that the manuscript might be sent to the press, further action was taken.

In the course of printing, considerable difficulties were experienced, particularly because of the numerous languages involved and the kind of specialised types needed. The completion of the printing in time has become possible because of the kind personal interest taken by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bangalore, who made the necessary arrangements and supervised the work.

A word of explanation is necessary particularly about the selection of papers. These were scrutinised by the sectional committees and the sectional presidents selected the papers or parts of papers that were to be published. Of these, papers published elsewhere were omitted as also some that were very long. In spite of this reduction, the [illegible] has run up to a large size. It is regretted that [illegible] of the papers could not be published for want [illegible] or for want of suitable types. To such [illegible] scholars whose papers have not been [illegible] [illegible] apologies are due. I regret [illegible]

printing and other errors have also crept in owing to the hurry with which these pages have been rushed through the press. Due to the exigency of expediting printing most of the Devanāgari and other matter that appeared in the body of the papers had to be either left out completely by giving merely references therefor, or transliterated as far as possible. In a few unavoidable cases that is, regarding some Urdu papers special arrangements were, however, made by the Superintendent, Government Printing, to get the matter printed and bound with this volume as an appendix. A uniform system of transliteration suitable to the types available has been adopted, except in cases where the authors themselves desired otherwise in respect of their papers.

I take this opportunity of acknowledging with gratitude the help of all those who worked to make the conference and this publication a success and in carrying through my work as its Secretary. The publication of this volume would have been impossible but for the generosity of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference. I cannot be sufficiently grateful to them for their munificent grant. My grateful acknowledgments are also due to the Government of Mysore and the Mysore University for all the help, patronage and encouragement they have bestowed on the organisers of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference.

Throughout my office work as Secretary and particularly in the printing and publication of this large volume, Mr. L. Narasimhachar, M.A. and Mr. T. K. Venkataramanaiah of the Mysore Archæological Department have given me their whole-hearted co-operation. To them and to the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bangalore, my most sincere thanks are due.

THE UNIVERSITY,
MYSORE,
7th December 1937.

M. H. KRISHNA,
Secretary.

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4	Government of Ceylon (The Ministry of Education, Colombo.)	[Representative did not attend.]
5	Government of Bihar and Orissa (Ministry of Education.)	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW, President of the Managing Committee of the Patna Museum.
6	Government of Pudukottah	Vidvan N. Kanakaraja Iyer, Maharaja's College, Pudukottah.
7	Government of Junagadh ...	Kazi A. Akhtar. Prof. N. B. Purohit, M.A., B.T.
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UNIVERSITIES.

No.	Names of Universities	Names of delegates
1	University of Madras ..	Mr. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, M.A., University Professor of Indian History and Archæology. Mr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil., University Reader in Sanskrit. Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, M.A., B.Sc., Bar-at-law, University Reader in Philosophy. Mr. S. Anavarata Vinayakam Pillay, M.A., L.T., University Reader in Tamil. Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph D., Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., University Reader in Indian History. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., (Dip., Econ.), University Lecturer in History. Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D., Senior Assistant to the Editor-in-chief of the Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS., Government Oriental MSS. Library, Madras.
	University of Bombay ...	Principal R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Sir Parasu Ram Bhau College, Poona.
	Annamalai University ...	*Rao Sahib* Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the Department of History. Professor K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A., Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit. *Mahavidvan* R. Raghava Aiyangar.
	University of London, (School of Oriental studies).	Professor S. K. Chatterji, D. Lit., University of Calcutta. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Mysore University.
	University of Cambridge, England.	Dr. A. H. M. Nizamuddin. Osmania University College, Hyderabad (Dn.)
	University of Patna ...	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-law.
	Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.	Nawab Sadr Yar Jung Bahadur Moulvi Mohamed Habibur Rahman Khan Sahib Sherwani. Dr. S. Hadi Hasan, B.A., (Cantab), Ph.D., (London), Professor and Chairman, Persian Department, and Librarian.

Universities—*contd.*

No.	Names of Universities	Names of delegates
	Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh (*contd.*)	Dr. Otto Spies, Dr. Phil (Tubingen) Dr. Jur (Bonn), Professor and Chairman, Arabic Department.
8	University of Allahabad ...	Dr. Umesha Mishra, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Sanskrit.
		Dr. M. G. Zubaid Ahmad, M.A., Ph.D., (Lond.), Lecturer, Arabic-Persian Department.
		Lt. Syed M. Zamin Ali, M.A., Head of the Urdu Department.
		Pandit K. Chattopadhyaya, M.A., Sanskrit Department.
		Pandit Deviprasad Shukla, B.A., Hindi Department.
9	University of Calcutta ...	Dr. Hem. Chandra Rai Chaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture.
10	University of the Punjab, Lahore.	Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., M.A., D Litt., F.A.S.B., Vice-Chancellor and Principal.
		Professor Mohammad Shafi. M.A., University Professor of Arabic and Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Lahore.
		Dr. Lakshman Sarup., M.A., D. Phil., Head of the Sanskrit Department.
		Professor Mohammed Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor of Persian, Lahore.
11	University of Paris ...	M. Olivier Lacombe.
12	University of Dacca ...	Professor R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History.
		Mr. H. D. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., Head of the Department of Philosophy.
		Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., (Cal.) D. Lit., (Lond.), Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Bengali.
		Dr. S. M. Hossain, M.A., D. Phil, (Oxon), Reader in the Department of Arabic and Islamic Studies.
		Dr. W. H. A. Sahadani, M.A., Ph.D., (Lond.) Persian and Urdu Departments.

No.	Names of Universities	Names of Delegates
13	University of Delhi ...	Pandit Lachmidhar, M.A., M.O.L., Head of the Department of Sanskrit and Hindi, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. M. M. Pandit Harnarayan Sastri, Hindu College, Delhi. Mr. N. N. Choudhury, M.A., Ramjas College, Delhi. Dr. S. Azhar Ali, M.A., M.O.L., St. Stephen's College, Delhi. S. U. Haji Maulvi Abdur Rahman, Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, St. Stephen's College, Delhi.
14	Andhra University, Waltair.	Dr. K. R. Subramaniam, M.A., PH.D., Maharaja's College, Vizianagaram. Mr. R. Subba Rao, Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. Mr. P. Lakshmikantam, M.A., University College of Arts, Waltair. Mr. G. J. Somayaji, M.A., L.T., University College of Arts, Waltair.
15	University of Oxford, England.	Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., etc., Lahore.
16	Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Dr. Abdul Haq., Ph.D. (Oxon) Dr. Md. Nizamuddin, D.Phil. (Cantab.) Dr. Syed Mohiuddin Qadri, M.A., Ph.D. (London). Mr. Abdul Qadir Sarwari, M.A., (Oxon). Prof. Haroon Khan Sharwani, M.A. (Oxon). Mr. Abdul Majid Siddiqi, M.A., LL.B. (Osmania).
17	University of Lucknow ...	Dr. Radha Kumud Mukerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., University Professor of Indian History. Mr. K. A. Subramania Iyer, M.A., Reader in Sanskrit.
18	The Benares Hindu University, Benares.	Prof. A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., Pro-Vice-Chancellor. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., PH.D. Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., [illegible] Dr. Pran Nath, M.A., PH.D.

SOCIETIES, ETC.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
1	Anthropological Society of Bombay, Bombay.	Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., Prince of Wales Museum, Fort, Bombay. Mr. K. A. Padhye, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, Girgaon, Bombay. Dr. N. A. Thoothi, B.A., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Bombay.
2	Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.	Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray, M.A., M.R.A.S., M.L.C., President, Varendra Research Society. *Rai Bahadur* Ram Prasad Chanda, B.A., F.A., S.B., Honorary Vice-President, Varendra Research Society. Mr. Niradbhandu Sanyal, M.A., B.L., Curator, Museum of the Varendra Research Society. Mr. Sarsi Kumar Saraswati, M.A., Late Post-Graduate Research Scholar, attached to the Varendra Research Society.
3	Central Museum, Nagpur, C. P.	Mr. M. A Suboor, Coin Expert.
4	American Oriental Society, Lucknow.	Dr. M B. Emeneau, Yale University.
5	U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow.	Dr. Radha Kumud Mukherji, M.A., Ph.D., University Professor, Lucknow. *Rai Bahadur* Prayag Dayal, M.R.A.S., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
6	K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.	Dr. Irach J. S. Taraperewala, B.A., Ph D., Bar-at-Law, Principal M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri, Bombay. Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M.A., Sir Jamshetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti and the Mullan Firuz Madressa, Bombay.
7	Royal Asiatic Society, London.	*Rao Bahadur* Prof. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Madras. Mr. Ghulam Masudi Yazdani, M.A., Hyderabad.
8	The India Society, London.	Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D., Madras.
9	Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-Law. Mr. Sham Bahadur.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
10	Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.	Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Angre Wadi, Bombay. Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., Prince of Wales Musem. Rev. Fr. H. Heras, S. J. St. Xavier's College. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Prof. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Wilson College, Bombay. Prof. V. A. Gadgil, M.A. Wilson College, Bombay. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt., Poona. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Bombay. Mr. H. A. Shah, B.A., Bombay. Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., Bombay.
11	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona	Prin. V. G. Apte, B.A., Poona. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.Litt., N. Wadia College, Poona. Prin. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Sir Parasuram Bhau College, Poona. Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, M.A., Elphistone College, Bombay. *Rao Bahadur* S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., Hindu University, Benares. Dr. M. B. Rehman, M.A., Ph.D., Ismail College, Andheri. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A., J.P., Bar-at-Law, Bombay. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. Mr. P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.B., Sub-Judge, Jalagaon.
12	School of Indian Architecture, Calcutta.	*Sthapatya Visarada* Sris Chandra Chatterji, A.M.A.I., M.R.A.S., (London), Calcutta.
13	Oriental Publication Bureau and Dairtul Maarif Press, Hyderabad (Deccan).	Mr. Syed Hashim Nadvi, Hyderabad (Deccan).

Societies, etc.—*contd.*

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
14	Kern Institute, Leyden ...	Bahadur Chand Chhabra Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (Leyden), Asst. Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.
15	Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra.	Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., LL.B., Curator.
16	Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo.	Mr. K. Vaithianathan, C.C.S., Colombo.
17	Indian Historical Research Society, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.	Mr. Jal P. Birdy, M.A. Mr. V. K. Bhandarkar, B.A., LL.B. Mr. N. D. Waknis, B.A., LL.B.
18	Greater India Society, Calcutta.	Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Professor, Calcutta University. Dr. Kalidas Nag, Calcutta University. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dacca University. Dr. Upendranath Goshal, Presidency College, Calcutta. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Epigraphist to the Government of India, Ooty.
19	Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.	M.R.Ry. R. Subba Rao Garu, M.A., L.T., Lecturer, Training College, Rajahmundry. M.R.Ry. B. V. Krishna Rao Garu, B.A., B.L., Vakil, Rajahmundry. M.R.Ry. K. Raghavacharyalu Garu, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Cocanada. M.R.Ry. K. Iswaradatt Garu, B.A., Cocanada. M.R.Ry V. Appa Rao Garu, Pleader, Rajahmundry and Secretary, A. H. R. S. M.R.Ry. V. S. Ramachandramurty, B.A. (Hons.), Research Scholar.
20	The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta.	Prof. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A. Mr. Nalininathdas Gupta, M.A. Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D. (Marburg) Santiniketan. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., Poona.
[illegible]	Visva Bharati, Santiniketan	Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D. (Marburg)
[illegible]	Hindu College, Guntur ...	Mr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed., Lecturer in History, Guntur.

LIST

Societies, etc.—contd.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
23.	Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, Bombay.	Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., M.R.A.S., Curator of the Archaeology Section.
24	Societe Asiatique de Paris...	Mle. Odette Bruhl, Musee Guimet, Paris. M. Olivier Locombe, Paris University.
25	Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagaram.	Siromani P. Govindacharyaswami.
26	Rama Varma Research Institute, Trichur (Cochin State).	P. Anujan Achan, Secretary.
27	Madras Govt. Museum, Madras.	Mr. C. Srinivasamurthy, B.A., (Hons.), Archaeological Assistant.
28	The Telugu Academy, Cocanada.	M.R.Ry. K. Raghavacharyulu garu, M.A., B.L., Secretary of the Academy and Vakil. Mr. E. V. Viraraghavacharya, M.A., Cocanada.
29	Linguistic Society of India, Lahore.	Mr. Gouri Shankar, M.A., B.Litt. (Oxon), Government College, Lahore.
30	Jain Matha, Sravana Belagola.	*Nyayatirtha* Vidwan A. Subbiah Sastry.
31	The Mythic Society, Bangalore.	*Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur* M. Shama Rao, M.A., President. *Mahamahopadhyaya Praktana Vimarsa Vichakshana Rao Bahadur* R. Narasimhacharya, M.A., M.R.A.S., Vice-President, Bangalore. *Rajacharita Visarada Rao Sahib* C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Branch Secretary. Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A., Joint Secretary. Mr. S. Srikantia, B.A., B.L., Secretary and Editor.
32	Karnatak Historical Research Society, Dharwar.	*Dr.* B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D., D.Phil., Poona. Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., Kolhapur. Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi, Dharwar.
33	Polish Society of Oriental Studies, Lwow, Poland.	Dr. Stefan Stasiak, Professor of Indian and comparative Philology, University of Lwow, Poland.

Societies, etc.—contd.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
34	The Indian Institute, Oxford	Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E., etc., Lahore.
35	Assam Research Society, Gauhati, Assam.	Srijut Divakar Goswami, M.A., B.L., Lecturer, Cotton College and Secretary of the Research Society. Srijut Sarbeswar Kataki, Assistant Teacher, Cotton College and Hony. Assistant Secretary of the Society.
36	Rajaram College, Kolhapur	Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M.A., Kolhapur.
37	Archæological Department, Mysore.	Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Lit. (Lond.), Director. Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A., Assistant to the Director.
38	The Telugu-Sanskrit Academy, Vizianagaram.	Mr. E. V. Viraraghavacharya, M.A., Lecturer in Telugu and Sanskrit Pithapur Raja's College, Cocanada.
39	Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.	Dr. S. K. Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., Calcutta. Dr. B. Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D., Baroda.
40	Narmada Valley Research Board, Satara.	Mr. Vishnu R. Karandikar.
41	The Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore.	Mr. T. S. Venkanniah, M.A., Maharaja's College. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., Ph.D., Mysore University.
42	The Ceylon Archæological Survey, Colombo	[Representative did not attend]
43	The Dacca Museum, P. O. Ramna, Dacca.	Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D., Curator.
44	St. John's College, Agra ...	Mr. Hari Har Nath Tandan, Lecturer in Hindi.
45	The Patna Museum, Patna	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar.-at-Law. *Rai Sahib* Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator.
46	The Indore Museum, Indore (C. I.)	Mr. V. N. Singh, M.A., LL.B., Curator-in-charge.
47	Buddha Society, Nair Building, Lamington Road, Bombay.	[Representative did not attend]
48	The Telugu Academical Association, Rajahmundry.	Do

Societies, etc.—contd.

No.	Names of Societies, etc.	Names of Delegates
49	Mysore State Vidyasala Pandita Mandala, Bangalore.	Asthana Vidvan R. A. Krishnamachar, " Muttur Purushottama Sastrigal. " Kesava Siva Ghanapathigal. " Ramachandra Dikshitar. " K. Krishna sastrigal. Vidvan Muttur Sitharamasastrigal. " M. V. Sampathkumarachar.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL UNDER RULE 7(a), *

Names		Sessions attended	Papers
Acharya, G. V.	...	I, III, VII, VIII	3, 7
Acharya, P. K.	...	II, IV, V	2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Aiyengar, R. S. Raghava	...	I, II, III, VI, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5
Aiyangar, S. Krishnaswami	...	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 8
Ali, Z. Hasan	...	I, II, IV, VII	5
Anklesaria, B. T.	.	I, IV, VII, VIII	4, 8
Bapat, P. V.	...	III, VII, VIII	7
Belvalkar, S. K.	...	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8
Bhandarkar, D. R.	...	I, II, IV, V, VII	1, 4
Bhatt, G. H.	.	IV, VI, VII	4, 7, 8
Bhattacharya, Binoytosh	...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII	2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7
Bhattacharya, V. C.	...	III, IV, V	3, 4, 5, 6
Bhonsle, R. Krishnarao	...	III, VI, VII,	3, 7
Chaghtai, M. Abdulla	...	V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Chatterji, Sunitikumar	...	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	4, 5, 6, 7
Chattopadhyaya, K.	..	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 6
Chaturvedi, S. P.	...	VI, VII, VIII	8
Chaudhuri, H. C. Roy	...	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 8
Chengalvarayan, N.	..	III, IV, V, VI, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Daruvala, P. N.	...	I, II, III	1, 3
De, S. K.	...	III, IV, V, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 8
Dhruva, A. B.	..	I, II, VI, VII	1, 3
Dikshit, K. N.	...	I, VI, VII, VIII	1, 2, 7, 8
Dikshitar, V. R. R.	...	III, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Diskalkar, D. B.	...	I, IV, VII	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
Divekar, H. R.	...	III, VI, VII, VIII	6, 7, 8
Ghosh, Ajit		V, VI, VII	5
Ghosh Manoranjan	...	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 4, 6, 7, 8
Haq, Abdul	...	II, IV, V, VI, VII	6
Heras, Rev. H.	...	III, IV, VII	3, 4, 5, 7
Hiriyanna, M.	...	I, III, V, VII, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 8
Iyer, S. V. Visvanatha	...	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4
Jayasval, K. P.	...	II, VI, VII, VIII	2, 6
Jha, Ganganath	...	I, II, IV	1, 4
Kane, P. V.	...	I, III, VI, VII	1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 5
Karmarkar, R. D.	...	I, II, III, VIII	1, 2, 3
Kunhan Raja, C.	...	V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Kuppuswami Sastri, S.	...	I, II, IV, V, VIII	2, 3, 4, 8
Law, Narendranath	...	I, II, VII	1, 2
Majumdar, R. C.	...	I, II, III, IV, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8
Mirashi, V. V.	...	I, II, IV, VI, VIII	2, 3, 6, 7, 8
Misra, Umesh	...	IV, VI, VII	4, 5, 6, 7, 8

* Based on the list given in the Baroda Conference Report.

Names		Sessions attended	Papers
Modi, P. M.	...	IV, V, VII	4 5, 7
Mohamed, Sahidulla	...	I, II, III, VI	2, 3, 6
Mukherji, Radha Kumad	...	I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII	1, 2, 3, 4, 5 6, 8
Nizamuddin, A. H. M.	...	IV, V, VI, VIII	4, 6, 8
Paranjape, V. G.	...	I, IV, VI	1, 4
Pisharoti, K. Rama	...	III, IV, V, VI, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 8
Prasad, Durga	...	VI, VII, VIII	8
Prayag Dayal	...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	4, 8
Rama Rao, M.	...	VI, VII, VIII	7, 8
Reu, Bishvesvaranath	...	I, V, VI, VII	2, 5, 6, 7, 8
Shah, R. N.	...	II, IV, VI	2, 4, 5, 6
Sahani, Dayaram	...	I, II, IV, VI, VII	2, 5
Saksena, Babu Ram	...	IV, V, VI	4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Sarup, L	..	III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	4, 5, 6, 8
Sarma, Har Datt	...	IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	5, 6, 7, 8
Sen, D. N.	...	II, IV, VI	2, 4
Sen, K. M.	...	V, VI, VII	5, 6, 7
Shafi, Mohamed	...	II, III, IV, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 8
Shah, Hiralal Amritlal	..	I, III, VII, VIII	1, 3, 7, 8
Shaikh, A. K.	...	I, II, VI	1
Shama Sastry, R.	...	I, II, III, VIII	2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8
Sastri, Hiranand	...	III, V, VI, VII	2, 3, 5, 7
Sastri, Mangaldev	...	IV, V, VI, VII	4, 5, 6, 7
Sastri, P. P. S.	...	III, IV, VI, VII, VIII	3
Siddiqi, M. Z.	...	IV, V, VI, VIII	6, 8
Sinha Kumar Ganganand	...	II, III, VII	2, 3
Srinivasachari, C. S.	...	I, III, IV, V, VII, VIII	2, 3, 7, 8
Subba Rao, R.	...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Subrahmania Iyer, K. A.	...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII	3, 4, 5, 7
Tandan, Hariharnath	...	VI, VII, VIII	8
Taraporewala, I. J. S.	...	I, V, VI, VII, VIII	2, 4, 5
Tritton, A. S.	...	III, IV, V	2, 3, 5
Utgikar, N. B.	...	I, II, III, IV	1, 2, 4
Vaidya, P. L.	...	I, III, VII, VIII	8
Vaidya, V. P.	...	I, IV, VII	2, 3
Varma, Siddheswar	...	V, VI, VII	1, 5, 6, 7, 8
Venkateswara Iyer, S. V.	...	I, II, III, V	1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
Woolner, A. C.	...	I, IV, V, VII	1, 6
Yazdani, G.	...	I, II, VII	7

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2	Calcutta ...	1922	His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, G.C.I.E., Governor of Bengal.	Professor Sylvain Lévi.
3	Madras ...	1924	His Excellency Viscount Goschen, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., Governor of Madras.	Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.
4	Allahabad	1926	His Excellency Sir William Marris, Governor of United Provinces.	Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, C.I.E.
5	Lahore ..	1928	His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.B.E., Governor of the Punjab.	Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., D.Litt.
6	Patna ...	1930	His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdowne Stephenson, K.C.S.I., Governor of Bihar and Orissa.	*Rai Bahadur* Hiralal, B.A.
7	Baroda ...	1933	His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao III, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D., Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.	Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, Esq., M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.
8	Mysore ...	1935	His Highness Sri Krishnarajendra Wadiyar Bahadur IV, G.C.S.I., G.B.E., Maharaja of Mysore.	*Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur* Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., Ph.D. (Hony.)

LIST OF PAPERS.

[N.B.—*Papers with asterisk (*) are published in Part II.*]

SECTION I—VEDIC.

President.—DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A., D Phil

Secretary—M. LAKSHMINARASIMHIAH, ESQ., M.A.

1.	Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., Ph.D., Madras.	Fragments of Sanuaka Grihya Sūtra.
2.	Do ...	Paithinasi Dharma Sūtra.
3.	Dr. H. R. Divekar, M.A., D.Lit., Gwalior.	Forgotton Vedic Gods.
4.	Mr. Hiralal Amritlal Shah, Bombay	*Vedic Gods—Rudra Kāli.
5.	Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, Allahabad.	*The Place of the Ṛig-Veda Samhitā in the Chronology of Vedic Literature.
6.	Rev. H. C. Lefever, Ph.D., Travancore.	*The Idea of Sin in the Ṛig-Veda.
7.	Prof. Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D., Santiniketan.	Principles of the Translation and Interpretation of the Ṛig Veda.
8.	Mr. C. R. Sankaran, B.A. (Hons.), Madras.	The Concept of Key-note in the Taittiriya Prātiśākhya.
9.	Mr. R. N. Suryanarayana, M.A., Mysore.	Exegears of the Vedas with a special reference to the third chapter of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.
10.	Do	Vedic Religion.
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12.	Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, M.A., Ph.D., Mysore.	Guṇavishṇu and Sāyaṇa.
13.	Mr. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T., Anantapur.	Aruṇa Praśna and Atharva Veda.
14.	Do ...	Devas and Asuras.

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4. Do .. — *Arabic Poetry of Hafiz.
5. Dr. Muhammad Hamidullah, M.A , LL.B., D.Phil, Dr-es-Letters, Hyderabad — *Islamic Section in the Western and Oriental Libraries.
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7. Dr. S. G. Mohiuddin Qadri, M.A., Ph.D., Hyderabad. — The Lucknow School of Urdu Poetry.
8. Dr. A. H. M. Nizamuddin, Ph.D., Hyderabad. — The Literary Renaissance in Persia under the Pahlavi Regime.
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6	Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M A., Ph.D., Ahmedabad.	The meaning of the word 'Upachāra' according to Gotama and the Rhetoricians.
7.	Mr. A N Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T., Trivandrum.	The Date of Rasārṇava Sudhākara.
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9.	Do ...	A study on the Prakriyasarvasva of Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa.
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12.	Mr. Narasimhasastri Devudu, M.A., Bangalore.	Message of Kālidāsa.
13.	Vidvan H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., Mysore.	Rasa.
14.	Mr. S. Ramachandra Rao, M.A., Mysore.	*Tragedies in Sanskrit.
15.	Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A., Annamalainagar,	An Interpretation of a text from the Dhvanyāloka.

16.	Mīmāmsakaratna and Mīmāmsaśirōmaṇi V. Ramaswami Sastri, M.A., Annamalai University.	*Bhartrihari, a Bauddha?
17.	Mr. T. N. Srikantiah, M.A., Mysore.	Imagination in Indian Poetics.
18.	Mr. M. N. Srinivasa Iyengar, Bangalore.	Kannaḍa paper on "Vararuchi and Kātyāyana."
19.	Mr. K. A. Subramania Iyer, M.A., Lucknow University.	*Who are the Anityasphoṭavādinaḥ?
20.	Pandit M. R. Varadacharya, Mysore.	Kannaḍa paper on 'Śūdraka's Mrichhakaṭikā.'
21.	Mr. R. D. Karmarkar, M.A., Poona 2.	The authorship of the Bhagavadgīta in the light of the Vibhūti adhyāya of the Gīta.
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13.	Do ...	Epistemology of Nyaya-Vaiśeshika and Modern Thought.
14.	Mr. S. Ramakantacharya, B.A., Tenali.	The Sovereign Secret of Bhagavadgīta.
15.	*Diwan Bahadur* K. S. Ramaswami Sastri, Madras.	The New Psychology and the old Vedānta.
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17.	Principal Subbiah Sastri Nyāyatīrtha, Sravanabelagola.	Jain Dharma and Jaina Darśanas.
18.	Do ...	Moksha and Moksha Mārga (in Hindi.)
19.	Mr. H. Sundararajachar, Mysore.	Of the three systems of Vedanta, why Dvaita is preferable.
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5.	Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattâchârya, Calcutta.	A Tibetan Anthology.

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11.	Do	Tipu's Financial Machinery.
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30.	Mr. M. H. Rama Sharma, Bangalore.	*Krishnadevarāya and Yavana-rājya-Sthāpanāchārya.
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34.	Prof. H. K. Sherwani, M.A., Hyderabad.	Deccan Diplomacy and Diplomatic usages in the Middle of the XV Century.
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39.	Do	Origin of the Eastern Gaṅgas.
40.	Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Vijayanagaram.	*The date of Rājarāja Narendra, the Eastern Chālukyan King.
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43.	Dr. K. N. Venkatasubba Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Mysore.	A Criticism of Tipu Sultan.
44.	Pandit R. Chakravarti, Mysore.	Śāntale—the Queen of Vishṇuvardhana Hoysala.

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3.	Mr. N. N. Ghosh, M.A., L.T., Allahabad.	The Archæological Importance of Kauśāmbi (Lantern Lecture).

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5.	Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Litt. (Lond), Mysore.	Prehistoric Pictographs from South India.
6.	Mr. Manoranjan Ghosh, Patna.	Evolution of Tenacotta figurirres in relation to the Political History of Northern India.
7.	Do	*An Introduction to the study of Antiquities found—at the Pataliputra Excavation.
8.	Do	New Finds of Punch marked coins in Pātna.
9.	Dr. Moti Chandra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar at-Law, Kala Bhavan, Benares City.	The Ancient Site of Kāshi.
10.	Pof V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.	*New Light on Deotek Inscriptions.
11.	Mr. Nalini Nath Das Gupta, M.A.	Buddhist Viharas
12.	Mr L. Narasimhachar, M.A., Mysore.	A Chola Monument at Maṭakeri.
13	Mr. K. Narayana Iyengar, M.A, Chitaldrug.	Prehistoric Remains in South Hyderabad and North Mysore.
14.	Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Anantapur.	A newly discovered Copper Plate inscription of the son of Mādhava. varman of the Western Chālukya dynasty.
15.	Mr. L. P Pandeya Sarma, Kavyavinoda, Balpur.	Kuśasthali—the capital of Kosala.
16.	Do	Where was the Ancient town or City of Śarabhapura?
17.	Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti, M.A., Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.	Vatsabhaṭṭi Praśasti—a Fresh Study.
18.	Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A., Mysore.	The Earliest known Kannada Inscription.
19.	Mr. Sarwesvara Kataki, Gauhaṭi, Assam.	The Ancient Assamese Script.
20.	Mr. A. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., Hassan.	Notes on some Important Hoysala Temples.
21.	Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Lucknow.	*A new statue of Balarāma.
22.	Mr. Abdulla Chaghtai, Lahore.	*An unpublished inscription of Sultan Iltutmish.

SECTION IX—ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

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2.	*Sthapatya Visarada* S. C. Chatterjee, A.M.A.E., Calcutta.	Indian Architecture –Scheme for Renovation.
3.	Mr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, Patna College.	Notes on Saltpetre in Bihar.
4.	Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., (Lond.), Mysore.	* The Art of the Gomata Colossus.

5.	Mr. A. A. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., L.T., Mysore.	The Bakshali Manuscript
6.	Do do	An Inductive Study of Bhaskara's Chakravala Method.
7.	Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, M.A., B.L., Rajshahi, Bengal.	*Glimpses of Ancient Indian influence on Ceylonese Art and culture.
8.	*Rai Sahib* Manorajan Ghosh, Patna Museum, Patna.	Brahmanical Bronze images of Kurkihar, Gaya District, Bihar.
9.	Dr. Moti Chandra, M.A., Ph. D., Benares.	The Representation of Indian Culture in the Gateways of Sanchi, (Lantern lecture).
10	Mr. M. Mukundaraja.	Kathakali. A Unique Dramatic Art.
11.	Mr. L. Narasimhachar, M.A., Mysore.	*The Bhagavata plays in Mysore.
12.	Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph. D., Anantapur.	*An Identification of the lost idol of Viṭṭhala in the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi.
13.	Prof. K. R Pisharoti, M.A., Annamalai University.	Dohada or the Woman and Tree Motif in Indian Art (Lantern lecture).
14.	Do ...	Śikharas.
15.	Mahamahopādhyāya Arthaśāstra Viśārada Dr. R. Shama Sastry, B.A., Ph. D. (Hon.), Mysore.	*Parvarāśi or Full and New-moon formula of the Vedāṅga Jyautisha.
16.	Mr. P. S. Sundaram Ayyar, B.A., L.T., Tanjore.	The Melakarta—an Enquiry.
17.	Mr. W. Dorasamy Iyer, Walajapet.	Eye *Vs* Ear.
18.	Mr. J. J. Kunjara, Astrologer Palmist, Kunjoor (S. K.)	Śrī Mahā-sāmudrika Chandaśśāstra.

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9. Vidvan G J. Somayaji, M.A., L.T., Andhra University.	The Historic Accent Shift in 'Telugu.'
10. Pandit H. Srinivasachar, Mysore.	Śabdas in Mahābhāshya.
11. Prof. Sunitikumar Chatterji, M.A., D.LITT., Calcutta University.	Indo-Aryan and Austric—Some further cases of affinity.
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13. Mr. Sarsilal Sarkar, Calcutta.	Some examples of the antithetical sense of Primal words in Sanskrit language.

SECTION XII—(A) KANNADA AND OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

President.—MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA RAO BAHADUR B. NARASIMHACHAR, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Secretary.—D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, ESQ., M.A.

1. Mr. C. N. Anantaramaiya Sastri, M.A., Trivandrum.	Supplementing Caldwell.
2. Mr. N. Anantarangachar, M.A., B.T., Mysore.	[illegible]

3.	Dr. C. Narayana Rao, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., Anantapur.	A Study of the Language of Pampa and his Times.
4.	Do	The Modern Telugu Movement: its origin and progress.
5.	Mr. L. V. Ramasvami Aiyar, M.A., B.L., Ernakulam.	The Dravidian Verb.
6.	Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A., Mysore.	Basavēśvara.
7.	Pandit H. Srinivasachar, Mysore.	* ಕನ್ನಡದ ಭಾಷೆ.
8.	Pandit T. Srinivasa Rangacharya, Mysore.	ಕನ್ನಡವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಜನ್ಯ.
9.	Pandit K. Varadachar, Mysore.	ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ ಶಬ್ದಾನುಶಾಸನ ಕರ್ತೃವಿನ ವಿಚಾರ.
10.	Pandit M. R. Varadacharya, Mysore.	ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣದ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ.
11.	Mr. Muliya Thimmappaiya, Mangalore.	Vengināḍu.

SECTION XII—(b) MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.

President.—DR. S. K. CHATTERJI, M.A., D.LIT.

Secretary.—T. KRISHNAMURTHI ESQ., B.A.

1.	Mr. Hariharanath Tandan, M.A., Agra University.	Hindi Accent.
2.	Do	* Kaviratna Satya-Nārāyaṇa.
3.	Mr. N. Nagappa, M.A., Mysore.	Pronunciation of E and O in Eastern Hindi.
4.	Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., P.R.S.	Hindi in the College of Fort William.
5.	Mr. H. D. Velankar, M.A., Bombay	Apabhramsa and Marathi metres.
6.	Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A., Ph.D.	Beginnings of Hindustani Poetry in India.

PANDITA PARISHAD.

President.—MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACHASPATI PROF. S. KUPPUSVAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. (RETD.)

Secretary.—S. B. KRISHNAMURTHI, ESQ., M.A.

1.	Vidvan S. Krishnasvami Sastri, Mysore.	Samskrita Vāṅgmaya Vichāra.

2.	Vidvan Madhvāchar, Mysore.	Purātana Vidyā Vijayaḥ.
3.	Mahāvidvan Karūr Seshāchar, Mysore.	Prāktana-kāla Yantra Vivaraṇam.
4.	Do	Bhaumāntariksha samsarga nirūpaṇam.
5.	Do	Tarudōhada-Vajralēpādi Pradarśanam.
6.	Vidvan P. R. Siva Subrahmanya Sastri.	Tantratatvādhi jigāmsā.
7.	Mahāvidan Kukke Subrahmanya Sastri, Mysore.	Śrautadharma Mīmāmsā.
8.	Vidvan S. Vitthala Sastri.	* Paramārtham Advaitadarśanam.
9.	Vidvan Krishnadesikachar, Mysore	Vyākaraṇasya darśanātmakam.
10.	Vidvan V Bhimachar.	Auttarāha Bhāshā.
11.	Vidvan H. Tirunārayana Ayyangar.	Akhila Śrēyōnidānam Satyameva.
12.	Vidvan M. S. Venkatesa Sastri, Bangalore.	Khyātivādaḥ.
13.	Siddhāntālamkāra Vidyāvāchaspati Dharmadeva.	Vaidikēśvara Vādaḥ.
14.	Vidvan S. Narasimhachar, Mysore.	* Bhēdābhēda Vicharaḥ.
15.	Vidvan H. N. Raghavendrachar, M.A., Mysore.	* Vedāntānām eka Vākyatā.
16.	Mr. S. Srikantha Sastri, M.A., Mysore.	Sarvajñatva Tattva samīkshā.
17.	Vidvan Dhruba Sarvesvara Sastri, Pithapuram.	Śesha sūtram.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY, RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Invitation.—The Vice-Chancellor, University of Mysore, proposed to the Government of Mysore that the All-India Oriental Conference be invited to hold its Eighth Session at Mysore in December 1935 and with Government approval the invitation was sent to the Baroda Session of the Conference in December 1933. The Executive Committee of the Conference accepted this invitation and appointed as Local Secretary and member of the Executive Committee of the Conference Dr. M. H. Krishna, the delegate of the Mysore University.

Reception Committee.—The University of Mysore appointed a Reception Committee of 21 members with the Vice-Chancellor as Chairman. The Reception Committee met at Mysore on 18-2-1935, co-opted 31 new members, and appointed a Working Committee and several Sub-Committees with instructions to carry out the work of organising the Conference. Each Sub-Committee was given powers of carrying out its own particular duties under the general control and guidance of the Working Committee.

Membership.—On 20-2-1935, the Local Secretary issued the First Bulletin announcing the Conference and issuing a general invitation to scholars all over the world to become members and contribute papers. Special invitations were issued to the various Governments in India and learned institutions to send delegates. A Sanskrit circular invited the delegation of Pandits to the Parishad. About a month before the Conference, the Working Committee was able to frame a programme which was published along with the Second Bulletin giving details of the

arrangements made. The invitation met with a fine response and the numbers registered were as follows :—

Number of institutions sending delegates	...	82
Delegates and Full Members	...	248
Reception Committee Members	...	72
Pandits, Moulvis and Student Members	...	90

Among the institutions represented by delegates were the Government of India, the Governments of most of the Provinces and States of India and of Ceylon, nearly all the Universities and learned associations of India and the Oriental institutions of the leading countries in Europe.

The various Sub Committees were able to make the following arrangements for the Conference.

Lodging.—With the co-operation of the Government of Mysore, the Director of Public Instruction, the Palace authorities and the University Hostel authorities, a number of camps were opened by the Boarding and Lodging Sub-Committee for providing free lodging and boarding to the members in the European, Indian non-vegetarian, North-Indian vegetarian, South-Indian vegetarian and Pandit styles. At the request of the Local Secretary, the Resident Medical Officer, Krishnarajendra Hospital, started a dispensary and the Postal authorities opened a special Post Office, while the Police authorities made necessary arrangements for traffic control, watch and ward.

Conveyance.—Special taxis and buses were engaged by the Conveyance Sub-Committee who received the guests and conducted them to the various places of meeting in the Mysore City free of charge and also arranged for three excursions to interesting places and for the publication of the Guide to the Mysore State.

Exhibition.—The co-operation of the Archæological Departments of the Governments of India, Hyderabad and Mysore and of the Government Oriental Libraries of Madras, Mysore and Travancore and the Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore, enabled the Exhibition

Sub-Committee to organise a very interesting and instructive exhibition of antiquities, manuscripts and fine arts.

Entertainments.—For the evening entertainments, musical, dancing and other performances were arranged by the Entertainments Sub-Committee along with the enacting of Sanskrit plays by the Amateur Dramatic Association of Bangalore.

Parishad.—The Mysore Palace and the Maharaja's Sanskrit College authorities helped the Parishad Sub-Committee in making arrangements for the Pandita Parishad.

The Mysore University Rovers and a number of volunteers undertook to render service in various forms under the leadership of the Service Sub-Committee.

Income.—Meanwhile, His Highness the Maharaja, the Government and the University were approached for financial help and a printed appeal was also issued by the Chairman to the public and to various institutions. The Donations Sub-Committee also made a collection with the help of volunteers in Mysore and Bangalore. The funds ultimately collected for the expenses of the Reception Committee were as follows .—

		Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Patron's grant	1,000	0	0
2.	University grant	1,000	0	0
3.	Government grant	1,000	0	0
4.	Reception Committee Membership fees, etc.	1,192	4	0
5.	Membership fees	2,491	8	0
6.	Grant from the General Secretary	100	0	0
7.	Miscellaneous	40	13	0
	Total ...	6,824	9	0

Publications.—On behalf of the Reception Committee the following publications were issued free to the members of the Conference :—

(1) A General Guide Book called "All About the Conference" containing the rules, lists of delegates, members, etc., lists of benefactors and donors, institutions

represented by delegates, details of the arrangements made for the Conference and the full programme (pages 102).

(2) A book containing the summaries of papers accepted provisionally by the sectional committees (pages 135+7).

(3) A guide to the Mysore State partly describing the territories and the Government of Mysore and partly a Gazetteer and guide to the important places of interest (pages 123). This book was illustrated by means of blocks most of which were kindly lent by Government.

Patronage.—At the request of the Working Committee His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore and His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore graciously consented to be the Patron and Vice-Patron, respectively, of the Conference and the Government of Mysore very kindly agreed to entertain 50 of the members of the Conference as Government guests. For looking after these guests Government deputed Mr. C. S. Srinivasachari, B.A., Registrar, General and Revenue Secretariat, who rendered valuable assistance to the Local Secretary. The Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza Ismail, attended the Conference on the first two days and took personal interest in the success of the Conference. The Mysore Palace and the University of Mysore also arranged to give help in various forms. The Vice-Patron very kindly agreed to open the Conference.

Papers.—Out of a total of 250 papers received for the Conference, 201 were provisionally accepted by the sectional secretaries. The sectional presidents assisted by the sectional committees selected about half the number for publication in the proceedings.

The Conference.—While preparations went on at Mysore for holding the Conference, the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference elected Rajasevasakta *Rao Bahadur* (now *Dewan Bahadur*) Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., as the General

President of the Eighth Session of the Conference; and the following scholars as sectional Presidents :—

1.	Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL. ...	Vedic.
2.	B. T. Anklesaria, Esq., M.A. ...	Iranian.
3.	Dr. A. H. M. Nizamuddin, PH.D. ..	Islamic.
4.	Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., D.LIT. ...	Classical Sanskrit.
5.	M. Hiriyanna, Esq., M.A. ...	Philosophy and Religion.
6.	Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.LIT. ...	Prakrits.
7.	Dr. Radhakumud Mookerji, M.A., PH.D.	History and Geography.
8.	K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A. ...	Archæology.
9.	*Rao Sahib* C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.	Ethnology and Folklore.
10.	Sahid Suhrawardy, Esq., B.A. (OXON)	Fine Arts and Technical Sciences.
11.	Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., PH.D. ...	Indian Linguistics.
12(a)	*Mahāmahōpadhyāya Rao Bahadur* R. Narasimhacharya, M.A., M.R.A.S.	Kannada and other Dravidian Languages.
12(b)	Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.LIT.	Modern Indian Languages.
	Kaviratna Thakur Gopal Saran Singh ...	Poets' Congress.
	Mahāmahōpadhyāya Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Rtd.)	Pandita Parishad.

Members began to arrive in Mysore two days before the Conference. Messages of sympathy and good wishes for the success of the Conference were received from numerous institutions, scholars and others. The Mysore Session was described by the various delegates as one of the most notable sessions. Its success was due, on the Reception side, to the assistance given by the Reception Committee, the Mysore Palace, the Government of Mysore, the University of Mysore, the Mysore Government Education Department, the Mysore City Municipal Council and other public institutions, donors, benefactors and others who helped financially and personally, the Chairman and other members of the Working Committee, the Conference staff, the Volunteers and the Mysore University Rovers. On behalf of the

Working Committee letters of thanks were sent by the Local Secretary to all those who helped to make the Conference a success. In recognition of the splendid work done by the University Staff, Rovers and other workers, the Working Committee were At Home to them on 7th January 1936.

M. H. KRISHNA,
Secretary,
Reception Committee,
Mysore.

PROGRAMME.

Saturday, 28th December 1935.

7-5 P.M. ...	Arrival of Members *via* Arsikere	Railway Station.
7-20 P.M. ...	Arrival of Members *via* Bangalore.	Do
8-0 P.M. ...	Dinner	Respective Camps.
9-30 P.M. ..	"Maharshi Nachiketa," — a Vedic Play in Kannada by the Amateur Dramatic Association, Bangalore. Benefit Performance for Reception Committee Funds.	Rangacharlu Memorial Town Hall.

Sunday, 29th December 1935.

7-0 A.M. ..	Breakfast	Respective Camps.
7-30 A.M. ..	Tennis	Maharaja's College Courts.
7-30 A.M. ...	Excursion A.—Mysore City, Palace, Zoo and Chamundi Hills.	From Conference Office.
8-0 A.M. TO 12 NOON.	Exhibition	Victoria Jubilee Hall and Intermediate College.
9-30 A.M. ...	Meeting of the Executive Committee.	University Library Fellows' Room.
10-30 A.M. ...	Meeting of Sectional Committees for considering sectional papers, programme, etc.	Respective Sectional Rooms at the Maharaja's College, etc.
12 NOON ...	Lunch or Day Meal ...	Respective Camps.
2-30 TO 4-30 P.M.	Opening Session ...	Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.

2-30 P.M.	...	Members of Executive and Reception Committees, Delegates, Members, Pandits, Poets, Guests and Visitors were in their allotted seats. Sectional Presidents and Members of the Executive Committee were received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Secretaries of the Conference and taken to their seats.	Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.
		The General President, *Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur* Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., (Cal.) was received by the Chairman of the Reception Committee and the Secretaries of the Conference.	
3-0 P.M.	.	His Highness Sri Kanthirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Mysore and Vice-Patron of the Conference, arrived and was received at the entrance of the Hall by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the General President, the Retiring President and the Secretaries of the Conference and conducted to his seat.	
		Welcome Address by Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.SC., F. INST. P., Chairman of the Reception Committee and Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University.	
		(A Photograph of the Meeting was taken)	
		Opening Address by His Highness.	
		Vote of Thanks to His Highness.	
		Departure of His Highness.	
		Interval.	

3-45 P.M. ...	**Presidential Adress.** **Condolence Resolutions—** **(1) Dr. Sylvain Levi, President, Second Session.** **(2) Dr. Hiralal, President, Sixth Session.**	
5-0 P.M. ...	Tea	Respective Camps.
6-0 P.M. TO 8-0 P.M.	Presidential Address—History Section. Lectures and Demonstrations— (1) K. N. Dikshit, Esq., M.A., Indus Civilization. (2) K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., BAR-AT-LAW, Presidential Address of the Numismatic Society (Illustrated).	Maharaja's College Kannada Sectional Hall.
8-0 P.M. ...	Dinner	Respective Camps.
9-0 P.M. ...	Festival of Fine Arts :— Vocal Music.—Miss Rajamma, Student, Maharani's Women's College, Mysore. Scenes from Sanskrit Plays, by the Amateur Dramatic Association of Bangalore. Bhāsa's Pratimā Nāṭaka :— The Last Moments of Daśaratha. Kālidāsa's Śakuutalā. The Repudiation of Śakuntalā. Baṭṭanārāyaṇa's Vēṇīsamhāra. (1) The Vow of Bhīma. (2) The Storm between Aśvatthāma and Karṇa.	Jagan Mohan Palace Theatre.

Monday, 30th December 1935.

7-0 A.M. ...	Breakfast	Respective Camps.
7-30 A.M. ...	Tennis	Maharaja's College Courts.
8 A.M. TO 12 NOON.	Exhibition	Victoria Jubilee Hall and Intermediate College.

8-30 A.M. ...	Sectional Meetings ...	Maharaja's College Rooms.
	Philosophy and Religion ...	B.T. Room.
	History and Geography ...	Mathematics Room.
	Archæology	Intermediate College Chemistry Hall.
	Ethnology	Maharaja's College Psychology Room.
	Fine Arts and Technical Sciences.	Intermediate College Physics Hall.
	Kannada and other Dravidian Languages	Maharaja's College Senior B.A. Hall.
	Numismatic Society of India	Intermediate College Chemistry Hall.
	Poets' Congress ..	Maharaja's College Junior B.A. Hall.
	Pandita Parishad (Visit to Maharaja's Sanskrit College).	
	Vedic (Presidential Address).	Sanskrit B.A. Room.
9 A.M. ...	Iranian (Presidential Address).	Economics Professor's Room.
9-30 A.M. ...	Classical Sanskrit (Presidential Address).	Common Room.
10 A.M. ..	Prakrits (Presidential Address).	Literature M.A. Room.
10-30 A.M. ...	Linguistics (Presidential Address).	Sanskrit M.A. Room.
11 A.M. ..	Islamic (Presidential Address).	History M.A. Room.
11-30 A.M. ...	Indo-Aryan Languages (Presidential Address).	French Room.
12 NOON ...	Lunch	Respective Camps.
1-0 P.M. .	Numismatic Society — Jubilee Celebration.	Intermediate College Chemistry Hall.
3-0 P.M. ...	Pandita Parishad.— Welcome Address. Presidential Address. Vakyartha or Public Debate in Sanskrit.	Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.
4-0 P.M. ...	Poets' Congress—Public Session: Presidential Address and Reading of Poems.	
5-0 P.M. ...	Tea	Respective Camps.

6-0 P.M	...	Lectures and Demonstrations :— 1. Vidwan T. Krishnamacharya : Yoga. 2. Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL. : India's Contribution to World Culture (Lantern Lecture). 3. Vishnu R. Karandikar, Esq. · Conflict of Cultures in the Narmada Valley (Lantern Lecture). 4 Mr. Sarweswar Kataki : Assamese Antiquities.	Maharaja's College, Senior B.A. Hall.
8 P.M.	..	Dinner	Respective Camps.
9-0 P.M.	..	Festival of Fine Arts ... Abhinaya (The Art of Gesture.- Mysore School). Miss Puttamma of Mysore. Bharata Nāṭya.—Classical Indian Dance, Tanjore School, by Miss Varalakshmi and Party.	Jagan Mohan Palace. Theatre.

Tuesday, 31st December 1935.

7-0 A M.	..	Breakfast	Respective Camps.
7-30 A M.	...	Tennis	Maharaja's College Courts.
8-0 A M.	...	Exhibition	Victoria Jubilee Hall and Intermediate College.
8-30 A.M	...	Sectional Meetings—	
		Vedic	Maharaja's College: Sanskrit B.A. Room.
		Iranian	Economics Professor's Room.
		Classical Sanskrit ...	Common Room.
		Prakrits	Literature M.A. Room.

	Linguistics	Maharaja's College, Sanskrit M.A. Room.
	Islamic	History M.A. Room.
	Indo-Aryan Languages ...	French Room.
	Numismatic Society of India	Intermediate College Physics Hall.
	Linguistic Society of India ...	Maharaja's College, Sanskrit M.A. Room.
	History and Geography:	Mathematics Room.
	Philosophy and Religion: (Presidential Address)	B.T. Room.
	Kannada Section:— Public Session. Presidential Address.	
10 A.M. ...	Archæology. (Presidential Address).	Intermediate College Chemistry Hall.
10-30 A.M. ...	Fine Arts and Technical Sciences (Presidential Address).	Intermediate College Physics Hall.
11 A.M. ...	Ethnology: (Presidential Address)	Psychology Room.
11-15 A.M. ...	Meeting of the Executive Committee.	University Library.
12 NOON ...	Lunch	Respective Camps.
1-30 P.M. ...	Meeting of the Council ...	Maharaja's College. Junior B.A. Hall.
3-30 P.M. ...	Closing Sesssion— President's Closing Address. Vote of Thanks.	Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.
4-0 P.M. ...	Group Photograph ...	Jagan Mohan Palace Front.
4-40 P.M. ...	Special train for Krishnaraj Sagar.	Mysore City Railway Station.
5-0 P.M. ...	Patron's Garden Party ...	Krishnaraj Sagar.
7-15 P.M. ...	Return train to Mysore ...	Krishnaraj Sagar Railway Station.
8-0 P.M. ...	Dinner	Respective Camps.
9-30 P.M. ...	Festival of Fine Arts ... Music.—Vina by Mr. R. S. Kesava Murthy, Vainika Vidwan of the Palace, Mysore.	Jagan Mohan Palace Theatre.

Indian Marionette Show: The Story of Harischandra, by Upadhyaya Mallannâchârya, Mohiyuddin Saheb and Party of Halre Village, Mysore District.

Wednesday, 1st January 1936.

6-0 A.M.	...	Breakfast	Respective Camps.
7-0 A.M.	...	Excursion B.—Seringapatam, Somanathpur, Cauvery Falls and Sivasamudram Power Station, returning by 8 P M. Special arrangements for departure were made for those who desired to catch the mail train for Bangalore at Maddur at 5 P.M.	Start from Maharaja's College.
6-50 A.M.	...	Train for Arsikere and Poona.	
7-10 A.M.	...	Train for Bangalore and Madras.	
9-0 P.M.	...	*Kathakali.*—(Kerala School of Classical Indian Dance) by The Kerala Kala Mandiram Party from Cochin.	Rangacharlu Memorial Town Hall.

Thursday, 2nd and Friday, 3rd January 1936.

7-0 A.M.	...	Excursion C.—Sravanabelgola, Belur, Halebid, returning to Mysore on 3rd January at 8 P.M. Special arrangements were made for those who desired to catch the passenger train for Poona at Arsikere at about 2 P.M.	
10-0 P.M.	...	Train for Bangalore and Madras.	



VICE-PATRON

His Highness Sri Kantirava Narasimharaja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E.
Yuvaraja of Mysore

PART I.

Proceedings and Transactions

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

Sunday, the 29th December 1935.

2-30 P.M.—The General President of the Conference, *Rājasēvāsakta Rao Bahadur* Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D. (Cal.), was received by Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.SC., F.INST. P., Vice-Chancellor, Mysore University, and Chairman of the Reception Committee, as also by the Secretaries of the Conference at the entrance of the Jagan-Mohan Palace Hall.

3-0 P.M.—His Highness Sri Kanthīrava Narasimharāja Wadiyar Bahadur, G.C.I.E., Yuvaraja of Mysore, Pro-Chancellor of the University of Mysore and Vice-Patron of the Conference, arrived in state accompanied by Prince Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar and was received at the entrance of the Hall by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, the General President, the Retiring President and the Secretaries of the Conference. All present rose from their seats and kept standing while His Highness was conducted, in a procession, to his seat on the dais.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, the President elect was then presented to His Highness and he took his seat on the left of the dais. The Members of the Executive Committee were then presented to His Highness.

Dr. E. P. Metcalfe D.SC., F.INST. P., Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed His Highness and the Members of the Conference in a short speech as follows:—

YOUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I have much pleasure, as Chairman of your Reception Committee, in welcoming to Mysore the members of this

important cultural association, the All-India Oriental Conference. We are greatly honoured by your acceptance of our invitation to hold your Eighth Session here.

The significance of this session of the Conference may be judged from the circumstance that among the distinguished delegates who are attending are to be numbered many from beyond the borders of India. It is with special satisfaction that we greet scholars from America, France, Germany, Holland and Poland. Their association with us to-day is a tribute to the international standing of the Oriental Conference. We have to congratulate ourselves, too, on the presence of most of the leading Orientalists of India, a very distinguished band of experts covering the many fields of study and research which constitute the purview of this Conference.

In agreeing to hold its Eighth Session in Mysore, we venture to believe that the Conference has made a very appropriate choice. Mysore is to-day an important centre of oriental learning, where the older and the newer cultures find common ground, each receiving its meed of recognition both from the cultivated public and from the State.

The older culture is conserved in numerous pathasalas and other institutions, which provide facilities for higher studies of the traditional type in Sanskrit, Kannada, Persian, Arabic, Oriental Medicine and Astronomy. On the other hand, research of the more modern kind is carried on in the University and in other foundations, notably in the Mythic Society of Bangalore.

The Mysore University, which, though one of the very first of the teaching Universities in India, is yet one of the youngest of Indian Universities, has already achieved a considerable amount of standard work in oriental learning. It provides courses of study in the various branches of classical Sanskrit, in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Kannada, Telugu and Tamil; and in Indian History, Archaeology, Anthropology and Philosophy. Among its institutions are two devoted to pure oriental research.



PRINCE JAYACHAMARAJA WADIYAR.

These are the Oriental Library and the Archæological Survey of the Government of the State. Both of these which were formerly independent government departments are now managed by University Professors under the administrative control of the University.

The function of the Oriental Library is to seek out and preserve from destruction the multitude of valuable manuscripts scattered about the country, many of which have, by process of time, fallen into the hands of owners of little appreciation of the literary and antiquarian value of their possessions. Such collected manuscripts are subjected to careful examination; and those of special interest are published in critical editions. In pursuance of this object the Oriental Library has already rescued from oblivion over eleven thousand manuscripts, among them copies of unpublished works of great antiquity and value. The Library has also published about a hundred works in Sanskrit and Kannada.

Like the Oriental Library the Archæological Department is actually an older institution than the University of which it now forms a part. Its chief concern is with the construction of the lost history of the country from epigraphical material. In the course of this work the Department has collected over sixteen thousand inscriptions and has published over eleven thousand. In addition the Department gives expert advice on the conservation of ancient monuments in the State, numbering over two hundred, of each of which it has made a detailed survey. The Department has lately broken new ground (it would be more appropriate to say very old ground) in the excavation of the sites of two forgotten cities.

One of the features of this session of the Conference is a small exhibition of antiquities, which, I feel sure, will prove of great general interest. We are under a special obligation to the Archæological Department of the Government of India and to the Governments of Hyderabad, Madras and Travancore for contributing exhibits. As every one knows, archæological discoveries of a very

remarkable nature have been made of recent years in India. Examples of some of these will be on view.

Conferences such as this one represent opportunities for more than mere attendance at sectional meetings. Much of their values lies in the facilities they afford for visiting and inspecting places and objects which make a special appeal to individual interests.

You will find in Mysore, and round about, many things to see; and, if I may say so, not a few to admire, representing each of the cultures which here find a meeting point. The lovely architecture of the Hoysalas at Somanathapur, Belur and Halebid, the departed military glory of Seringapatam are balanced by such achievements as the titanic wall thrown by Indian brains and Indian hands across the floods of the Kaveri and the electrical harnessing of the sacred river for the comfort and profit of the people.

You will find in this City itself, the seat of a long line of Indian Kings, a harmonious synthesis of old tradition and modern practice; the old arts, philosophies and religions flourish here in a garden city made beautiful by night as well as by day by the application of modern methods and sciences, under the ægis and rulership of a benevolent Prince, himself a living example of what that synthesis should be.

I would urge you to avail yourselves of such facilities as we have been able to provide, and as you feel able to take advantage of, to acquaint yourselves with what this very interesting region has to show: and I trust that, when the time comes for us to part and go our several ways, you may have some reason to regard these few days in Mysore as not ill-spent and not without profit and pleasure.

Your Highness, in asking you to open this session of the All-India Oriental Conference, I beg to offer you the respectful thanks of the Reception Committee for having graciously consented to do so.



Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.,
Dewan of Mysore

A photograph of the meeting was taken during the Chairman's welcome address. Then, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore opened the Conference with the following speech :—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is a very great pleasure to me to come here to-day to make the acquaintance of, and to welcome to Mysore, such a large and distinguished gathering of eminent scholars from all parts of India, and I might almost say from all parts of the world, who have met together here, to pool the knowledge acquired by them since their last meeting, to correlate the results of their enquiries in different branches of learning, to teach us in Mysore, something of their sciences, and I hope, to learn something from our beautiful country and from the ancient monuments and documents of which we are the fortunate custodians.

When I became aware of the scope of your endeavours, I stood aghast at the immensity of it. Reading a short while ago an account of the School of Oriental Studies in London, I found it was said that it was one of the marvels of the educational system in England that it had been found possible there to organise courses in nearly twenty languages, as well as in history, law and Eastern culture, to find a highly qualified staff for each of them, and to make provision for research in addition to the numerous courses of instruction. This, however, is only a portion of the task which you have set yourselves. If I understand it aright, you regard nothing in the whole scope of human knowledge as foreign to you, provided only that it has an oriental flavour.

And yet a closer acquaintance with your proceedings makes it clear that you are wise in imposing no limitation upon yourselves. If I may so put it, you are like a body of persons excavating the site of some ancient city, each of whom gives his attention for a space of two years, to a minute examination of the portion allotted to him, and to

a critical enquiry into the nature of the discoveries made. At the end of the period you bring your results together in one of these conferences, and those of you who are working on similar lines compare notes as to their results, while those who are votaries of different sciences receive refreshment and inspiration from contact with minds working in different grooves.

It is hardly for a layman to suggest the lines on which all this great mass of material should be further developed. But I should like to invite your attention to two points which seem to be of great importance. The first is the writing of a history of Southern India that will make the great Empires of the past live again in the vision of the common man; and the second, the revival of some of the wonderful handicrafts, of which the past shows such abundant evidence, and of which those that survive are living perilously in an indifferent world.

While the history of Aryan rule in India has been told with comparative completeness, and covers a great deal of Northern India, there still remains much of uncertainty regarding the history of the South, even in what are commonly described as historical times. Further excavations and further researches, and a re-reading of the Hindu epics and the Vedas in the light of modern research, may open up wonderful vistas of history and disentangle from the legends of old the historical truth which is often more marvellous than the legends themselves. The effect of the Aryan invasion on the inhabitants of Southern India, with the consequent intertwining of cults and beliefs, the effect of the impact of one civilisation on another, the origin and growth of the caste system, all these are matters which have still to be seen as a collected whole in a great history which archæology, anthropology, philology, epigraphy and ethnology must combine to produce. That is a task which would defeat any one man, but it is just in such a conference as this that a group can be formed which can set to work to tackle the problem as a whole.



Chairman (Reception Committee)

Dr. F. P. Metcalfe, D.Sc., F.Inst.P.,
Vice Chancellor, Mysore University

In dealing with the question of handicrafts, I should like first of all to make reference to the loss which has befallen the cause of oriental scholarship through the death of that great scholar, Dr. E. B. Havell. His services to Indian history and to Indian art are too well known to you to need any emphasis at my hands. But there was one sphere of his work which is not so fully recognised. This was his great service in attempting to restore to their proper place in the artistic life of the nation the ancient handicrafts of this country. I think there is no way in which we can better serve his memory than by considering the means by which the revival of our ancient artistic handicrafts can be most speedily achieved. That, I take it, is again one of the problems which it is appropriate for a conference like this to discuss. Some of us are apt to place too narrow a meaning on the words 'oriental studies.' We are apt to treat them as though they had no bearing on the present or on the future; to regard as ends in themselves the finds revealed by historical research or by archæology, the beautics discovered in ancient literature and in ancient art. I would venture to suggest that one way in which oriental scholarship can find a larger following and meet a bigger need than it does at present is by tracing the processes by which we have lost many of our things of beauty, and by endeavouring to bring back, wherever that is possible, something of the ancient splendour and the artistic charm of the oriental crafts

I said in my opening remarks that, while we hope to learn much from you, we hope that there is also much that you may learn from our country of Mysore. A fair country, like a fair lady, generally has a more eventful history than her less favoured sisters. And Mysore is no exception to the rule. We have cromlechs, dolmens and rude stone implements belonging to the paleolithic age. There are many beautiful spots associated with the great Sanskrit epics. It was Rama's arrow that made a great fissure in the Yadugiri hill. The waterfall at Chunchankatte

enshrines the bath of Sita. Tradition tells us that the Bababudan hills were formed from a portion of the Sanjiva mountain, which fell from the hands of Hanuman as he was flying to restore Lakshmana to consciousness. Bhima, the terrible, tore Bakasura in twain on the French-Rocks, and slew Hidimba on the Chitradurga. The sage Gautama performed penance on a rock in the sacred Cauvery near Seringapatam, while Agastya had a hermitage at Kalasa, Parasurama had one at Nanjangud, Jamadagni at Chandragutti and Risyasringa at Sringeri. In the historical period we have records of the Mauryan and Satavahana Empires, of the wars between the Pallavas and the Chalukyas, between the Hoysalas and the Yadavas. It was a minister of the Ganga Empire that gave us the largest monolithic statue in the world, the Gomata image. We have relics too of the Vijayanagara Empire, of the rule of Bijapur and Golkonda, of the Moghal governorship at Sira and of the Maharatta Jaghirs at Bangalore and Kolar. The city of Seringapatam has a history stretching back through the ages, and under the Mysore Kingdom became a great centre of learning.

We can show you also the premier monastery of the great Sankaracharya at Sringeri, the place where the large-hearted Ramanuja found asylum from the persecution of his king, many mathas founded in pursuance of the tenets of the devout Madhva, and many relics of the reformer Basavesvara. Our Oriental Library can show you over 11,000 valuable manuscripts, and our Archæological Department has published more than 10,000 inscriptions and is conserving some 200 ancient monuments. Nor are we altogether neglectful of the modern arts. Here you will find master musicians like Vidvans Subbanna, Vasudevacharya and Muthiah Bhagavathar, who have won the admiration of Southern India, while the Indian styles of painting and sculpture have also their honoured representatives in artists of fame like Mr. K. Venkatappa and Mr. Siddalinghaswami. Our technical institutions are doing what they can to revive the ancient craftsmanship



and to develop in modern work an ancient simplicity of form and design.

In conclusion, Ladies and Gentlemen, I should like to remind you that we in Mysore feel that we can claim a share in your learned President, who is himself a Mysore-an and has spent a large part of his distinguished career in the service of the State. I am sure that while he will prove a most able controller of your deliberations, he will, if you ask him, make a no less efficient guide to the places of beauty and historical interest which I have commended to you. And I hope that your visits to them will not only be pleasant in themselves, but will serve to induce some of you to prolong your stay in Mysore when your deliberations are over, and to return again and again until you have exhausted the treasures of research which I am sure you will find before you.

3-30 P.M.—A vote of thanks to Their Highnesses the Mahārāja and the Yuvarāja of Mysore was proposed as follows by Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, the Retiring President of the Conference:—

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE,

When I rise to express our gratitude to the Ruler of this Kingdom and his representative, His Highness the Yuvaraja of Mysore, I cannot but recall that we are here in this old and honoured Karnatic country, the land of the orthodox Kadambas, the land of the Cholas, the land which is the great bulwark of classical and Vedic culture, that is, the land of the Vijayanagar Empire to which His Highness has made allusion. Now, imagine, we find that Mysore in India is one of those places which constitutes the living embodiment of cultural traditions. (Hear, hear). His Highness has planned out our line of work. May I assure him and his Brother that we shall bear in mind those suggestions. All over the world where Indian History is studied, where Sanskrit is studied, the name of Mysore is known and uttered every time. I may tell you that the name of Dr. Shama Sastri is a household word.

[illegible] a credit to the reign of His Highness the Maharaja and also to this University which has produced worthy representatives of Science and Moral. In India, to-day, where Sanskrit learning flourishes, endeavours are made for the preservation of Sanskrit culture. You can imagine the feelings of gratitude which a man like myself would have when he finds that Sanskrit learning, Sanskrit culture are treasured up in the *Ashramas*.

Now, May I, gentlemen, request you to pass a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja and also to his Brother, Deputy here, as we cannot separate Lakshman the moment we think of Sri Rama—separate the Yuvaraja of Mysore from the Ruler of Mysore, or from the people of Mysore. You will kindly pass this resolution with acclamation (Cheers and continued applause). May I also wish the people of Mysore the blessings of God.

His Highness the Yuvaraja wished the Conference every success and departed in state accompanied by the Prince, while the members assembled kept standing.

3-45 P.M.—Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar delivered then his presidential address as follows:—

YOUR HIGHNESS, PRESIDENT OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am very grateful to you for the honour you have done me by your invitation to preside over your eighth session, which exhibits much goodwill and confidence on your side. I can only hope to do my best to discharge the high duties of the office, and count upon your indulgence to any shortcomings which you may notice in the discharge of my heavy responsibilities. I regard it not so much as a personal honour done to me, but as a mark of appreciation of the forty years of work which I have been doing in this field of work. This line of work, as so much else that has come in modern Indian life itself, is due to the initiative and enterprise of a small knot of European scholars and savants whose curiosity for knowledge of everything that they came in contact with was, for the age and equipment,



President

Rajasevasakta Rao Bahadur DR. S. KRISHNASWAMI AIYANGAR, M.A., PH.D.,
Madras.

remarkable in the extreme. We owe to Warren Hastings, the founder of the British power in India, the early appreciation of the treasure that to him appeared to lie buried in Sanskrit learning. The example which he thus set gave the stimulus to more than a century and a half of sustained work by various agencies, and organisations brought into existence since then, that to-day it is possible for us to assemble here and discuss learnedly upon all the varied departments of culture in which India had been able to make any progress during the ages, and not only benefit ourselves, but supply the inspiration to others. It does immense credit to the foresight of Warren Hastings that he should have stated in his introduction to the translation of the Bhagavat Gita by Sir Charles Wilkins that "writers of Indian philosophies will survive when the British dominions in India shall long have ceased to exist, and when the sources which have yielded of wealth and power are lost to remembrance." The truth of this observation, though it has direct reference only to one department of Indian studies, could be said to be justified only after a century and a half of work upon foundations so well and truly laid in the days of Warren Hastings himself by the foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which happily continues in full vigour as yet in the useful pursuit of the studies then chalked out for her.

The Indian Oriental Conference, or as we have chosen to call it, the All-India Oriental Conference, perhaps owes its origin to the International Congress of Orientalists which has been brought into existence in Europe and which has been going on continuously with its successful sessions except when the Great War intervened and concluded its 19th session in Rome in September last. It is something like a clearing-house for studies in oriental subjects, the already extensive field of which had been widened from year to year, so that the region which comes within the purview of it may now be regarded as very extensive indeed, taking in as it does, the whole of the Asiatic continent with some extensions. Meeting as the

International Congress does once in three years and taking such a wide field within its purview, it was naturally expected that Indian studies by themselves could not get the attention that Indian studies as such, it was felt at the time, required. In the last days of the life of that veteran Indian orientalist, the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, who himself had played a distinguished part in some of the sessions of the International Congress, it was felt that an organisation in India, somewhat similar in scope would be desirable for more extensive and thorough-going work in all that appertained to Indian studies as such was necessary. Poona, as providing certain facilities for work both in men and material, was fixed upon as the centre where at the time they were starting an institution, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, almost with the same objects in view, readily suggested itself as the venue, and the Indian Oriental Conference was called into existence in November 1919. Since then the Conference had assembled in seven sessions at various important centres in India and we are here to-day in the eighth session of that Conference.

At the outset, it is matter for great regret that we should have to mourn the loss by death of two of our past Presidents, one *Rai Bahadur* Hiralal, the President of the sixth session at Patna, and the next, the eminent savant and orientalist, Sylvain Levi, who presided over the Calcutta Conference during the second session. Our sorrowful tribute is due to both of them, and by their death oriental scholarship suffers irreparable loss. That melancholy duty done, we shall pass on to a consideration of our present position and the work that lies ahead of us.

As a result of the century and a half of earnest work in this line, due in very large bulk to European enterprise, our knowledge of the past has increased beyond all expectation. Indian culture in the widest sense embraces such a variety of subjects and has involved in the course of its progress extension in two directions sideways as the field of work widened from an effort merely to understand

Indian civilisation and Indian languages to take into its sphere the outspread of that Indian culture which now extends over the vast mass of the Asiatic continent, excluding for the time Siberia and the Ural regions of Asia, and the islands of the east excluding Australia and those beyond; backwards it seems to take us through a few more millenniums beyond the sphere of Aryan civilisation, as hitherto understood. What is much more than this, the history within has been filled up to give us an idea of the course of historical development of India itself to a far greater extent than could have been anticipated by the most optimistic at the time. Just about a century ago, it was a well known saying, and eminently expressive of the truth, that Indian History proper really began with Alexander's invasions. Narrowly considered, it still perhaps remains true in regard to precisely dated history; the progress made, however, has filled in and carried back the history of India, by at least a thousand years, so that it may now be said, even in respect of dated history, that we can carry it back to the fourteenth century before Christ. This is peculiarly true in the effort at understanding the real growth of Indian civilisation and culture which indeed is perhaps the ultimate aim of history properly understood.

Research work in this whole field started with being greatly philological and has been growing to be perhaps more precisely archæological. It has, in a later stage of development grown into historical enquiries proper, culminating in the slow but sure building up of the stages of history. The organisation of the first archælogical department of India is about as old as 1871. A re-organisation of that department had for its principal object the work of deciphering inscriptions and publishing them to provide the corpus of reliable historical material for the reconstruction of the history of India. This effort has been going on just over fifty years, and the output can now be counted by thousands of inscriptions critically and carefully edited and made available to serious students

engaged in the recovery of the history of India. The details that could be recovered from these documents, in their nature unconnected, got filled in in respect of details by a closer and more critical study of various departments of literature which received but scant attention before, so that the new century which saw in its very first years, another reorganisation of archæological studies in the country started with far more equipment than before and, corresponding to this improvement, there has been similar improvement all round in every department of study which makes its own particular contribution to the understanding of the growth of Indian culture and civilisation as a whole.

The first and foremost item in this work which requires mention here is one of which we owe the first glimpses, very imperfectly understood at the time, to our first great archæologist, Sir Alexander Cunningham, in the early seventies of the last century. He discovered on the site of what has since become the famous Harapa in the Punjab some old seals bearing representations of animals and certain signs which were not then understood; but it was known that the signs on the seals showed some considerable resemblance to those unearthed in the regions of Mesopotamia, where archælogical work of a serious character had been going on for some time. The next advance in this particular field takes us by a jump backward very far indeed. Accidental discoveries on the site of Mohenjo-Daro in Sind led to systematic excavations, and that necessitated systematic work on the site of Harapa itself, and the two together have opened before us a new world in the ancient history of India, taking us almost by a jump over two millenniums from the period down to which we believed we have had some knowledge, that is the period of early Aryan civilisation in India. I need not take up time describing the discoveries made, and the vast quantity of material provided for the building up of the history of this period. It is enough to say that it carries Indian civilisation back through a long stretch

of time and opens out fields of enquiry but little unsuspected hitherto. The general features of the civilisation laid bare in the Indus region by the spade of the archæologist does not take us to the very beginnings of it. It seems wellnigh impossible that we can ever reach to its beginnings in this particular region. In point of general character there is considerable similarity between this civilisation and that of which we had some knowledge for some years in the region of Near Asia. Notwithstanding the similarity it still shows sufficient individuality to be regarded as perhaps almost a separate civilisation. The relation and inter-connection between these two remain as yet indeterminable, and it seems as though further work in India alone could throw light upon this. So much however seems established that a direct connection between these may be difficult of determination unless we go back into the parallel development in India to the thousand years of growth of anterior Mesopotamian civilisation which seems demonstrable. Even so we are not without hope. Recent discoveries in Akkad seem to offer some hope of establishing this connection, as it seems to become clear that the centre of orgin of this civilisation lay in Persia and Baluchistan, the desiccation of which region brought about a large movement of people. In India itself, however, owing unfortunately to the general depression, the work has had to be stopped, although the absolute necessity for the continuation of this work has been made plain. The possibility of investigation here seems to be the area of the spread of this civilisation in India itself, and whether we can go back to its earlier days or its beginnings in another centre. A further investigation carried by the Archæological Department itself seems to establish the possibility of this extension southwards to some extent. But how far southward, and in what other directions this culture prevailed, seem necessary as throwing light upon these problems.

An investigation carried on, in the light of the characters on the Mohenjo-Daro and Harapa seals, in the

study of the punchmarks on coins and marks upon various other objects of a similar character scattered all over India and particularly in the region of the Dakhan, seems to hold out some hope of a possible connection between the Indus script and the various marks in the marked pottery, and upon the coins, etc. Where the resources of the Government of India are not available, efforts from private bodies were not impossible, and there is already an American party or two at work in the Indus region with a view to further discoveries. Let us hope that more work in this line would give us the necessary connecting link at least within India as a result of this and similar efforts, apart from what the future may bring in Mesopotamian excavations to throw light upon this particular question. A more general and systematic study of the script has just begun and has to be carried much farther before we can even make shrewd guesses as to its affiliation with the script of Asia Minor on the one side and the Indian scripts on the other. "At present the magnificent achievement of Sir John Marshall and the savants and assistants who rallied round him remains a torso. It is a tragic misfortune that the Government of India has interrupted explorations at this point. Since it has been established beyond possibility of a doubt that India played a part in the early complex culture which shaped the civilised world before the advent of the Greeks, it should be considered a national duty of new India to continue the work which has been so brilliantly begun." Let me say amen to this sentiment of the American savant whose investigations at Tel-Asmar on the Akkadian soil has thrown much needed light upon the various problems raised in this department of Indian archæology.

Extending our vision north-westward, the years of the new century have shown much useful activity and great results. Political changes across the north-west to a considerable extent facilitated the progress of these scientific missions even, and one or two Russian missions, and an important French one under Mons. Pelliot have

brought to light important centres in Afghanistan and Hither Asia which have played their part, and proved centres from which emanated radiating courses of Indian culture which carried it forward to great distances. The most remarkable achievements of archæological activity in this direction have been shown by the three expeditions undertaken on behalf of the Government of India by Sir Aurel Stein. The first mission was quite at the beginning of the new century; the second in 1906-07, and the third in 1914-15. These three have completed the good work of the other missions referred to above and have resulted in the accumulation of a mass of material which opens out quite a new vast vista in the outspread of Indian culture. We are brought here face to face with those regions of Asiatic desert which have been the cradle-land of great masses of humanity, from which streamed forth various migrations from time to time. As a result of these expeditions we have now a complete survey of the routes followed by various streams of travelling activity through the desert region called the Taklamakan between the Tien-shan and the Kuenlun mountains, bordered on the south by the tableland region of Tibet culminating in the Kuen-lun mountains, and on the north by the great plains of Dzungaria terminated by the Tien-shan in the south. This region proved a comparatively easy way of communication between Central Asia comprising the modern Russian and Chinese Turkistan, and the region of the Pamirs, with the empire of China on the one side, and the countries of Iran and Western Asia on the other, thereby establishing a connection from the Atlantic to the Pacific almost. The Stein expeditions have resulted not only in marking out the routes followed, and the stages in the course of the journey, both along the northern and the southern routes establishing beyond a doubt that it is a process of desiccation which was responsible for converting what was once a much more fertile tract into the almost unredeemable desert that it is now. Along this long frontier the defence lines against the nomadic tribes

established by China with limes and guard towers to a distance of 400 miles, have been plotted out and laid bare. Almost a dozen important centres of culture which once must have been, for this region, flourishing settlements have been unearthed, and a great mass of well-preserved archæological material has been recovered, in a remarkably good condition of preservation, thanks to the dryness of the atmosphere prevailing over the region. This mass of material actually provided documents of great value in all departments of art and culture, and shows the inter-acting influences of Indian, Iranian, Near-Asiatic and Chinese cultures in this great corridor of Asia. The great mass of written material happens to be writings on wooden tablets of various shapes and sizes to serve the various purposes of writing that modern life would demand: Official documents consisting of simple communications, orders of importance to the frontier governors and guards of fortresses, documents of conveyance, pictures of art, statues, not to speak of the structures themselves containing these. The documents are written in various scripts, Kharoshṭhi and even the Indian Brāhmi, Khotanese which is now regarded as a branch of Eastern Iranian, and Chinese. The language of the first two happen to be Sanskrit in a great measure, and throw a considerable amount of light upon the outspread of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and Sanskrit as the language medium of this propagation. Some of the Chinese documents in particular are dated, while the other documents provide material for determining their age. Some of the documents of value and importance show that they were intended to be sealed and some of these with the clay seals intact have been discovered. They consist of tablets of wood, well prepared for receiving writing almost in the shape of cadjan leaves, narrow slips an inch and a half to two in width, and some of length going up to a meter, but ordinarily much shorter. Except a margin on both ends, the whole length of it is intended and specially prepared for writing, a close fitting piece similarly prepared of wood sometimes carrying

writing, but more often not, fixed in into this indent and the two together are tied up by strings put through the holes in the pieces, held up and knotted in the middle along grooves. Over this, just where the knot comes in, circular indentations are made and into these is fitted the clay seal; but what is remarkable is that these clay seals show impressions of Greco-Roman divinities such as are found on Gandharan coins. There are generally two seals; sometimes it happens that one of them bears one of these familiar effigies, and the other shows a seal carrying some Chinese mark, possibly intended to be sealed by the two parties concerned. One of the pictures recovered shows a representation of the *Veśśantara Jātaka*. Of course the tale is Indian, and perhaps the language too, but the figures are Trans-Indian in point of dress, and sometimes even in features. The elephant is rendered true to the Indian original, and other features of the background belong to the region of Gandharan art unmistakably. The features of the queen seem rather Persian. Other features show Chinese characteristics. The greatest surprise of all in a composite picture like this is that, on one of the legs of the elephant, is a piece of writing in Sanskrit giving the name of the painter as Tita, and stating what he was actually paid for drawing this picture. Tita is interpreted as the equivalent o Titus, a Greco-Roman Asiatic who executed the picture, at this distance into the interior of Asia, and obtained his reward. All of the documents are still being studied, while a considerable volume has already been laid before the public in the voluminous reports published in behalf of the Government of India. The art products have been very skilfully recovered and put in a position to be fit for exhibition, a number of which are in the British Museum. Arrangements have been made also for a museum of Asiatic Art in Delhi, and quite a number of these are being mounted and put in position in a temporary building erected for the purpose. Let us hope that they will soon be worthily housed in Delhi, to give a full idea of what these are.

In addition to these, perhaps the most important of the results of these various expeditions is the light it throws upon the accounts of some of the most eminent among the travellers of the world, particularly the famous Chinese traveller Hiuen T'sang and the Venetain traveller Marco Polo. In regard to both of them Sir Aurel Stein found material to confirm obscure points of their narratives, and put beyond a doubt the reliability of both of these travellers as to the truth of their narratives. From the point of view of India, this gives us the course of outspread of Indian culture perhaps, in the most important and widest of its channels. A recent publication on a simple topic, *Hayagrīva* in Mahāyānistic Buddhism, provides a good illustration of the extent of indebtedness of Chinese, Japanese and Tibetan cultures to the Indian, and to the interaction of these. The average Indian would hardly believe that the *Hayagrīva* manifestation of God would have had any external analogue beyond the limits of Hinduism. Here is *Hayagrīva* duly transformed to serve the different roles, but exhibiting different features in these three countries, each with its own *Mantra* for the purpose of *Upāsana* or contemplation and worship in their own language, the original Sanskrit of each of which is recoverable almost to perfection from the translations. This no doubt is a result of the outspread of Buddhism of the Mahāyāna form, but a complete understanding of Mahāyāna Buddhism in all its variation in its outspread is essential to the understanding of not only Mahāyāna, but even of Hindu religious development in India in the centuries following Christ.

Carrying ourselves across the whole of India to the opposite extremity, we find another fruitful field where early Indian culture has had a great expansion and flourished for over a thousand years at least, in full vigour and glory. This region for our purposes may be considered in three parts, which also have a certain amount of justification in geography, though the development of actual Indian cultures does not exhibit anything that

might be called different. The continental portion generally described as Farther India or geographically Indo-Chinese Peninsula, briefly Indo-China, is one, and the group of islands, which together are called Indonesia as a convenient designation, constitutes the other. The history of Indian culture in these parts has had a pretty similar course and fructified in similar developments. Recent investigations have gone to show that the whole of this region was in an early stage of culture on the eve of its coming into contact with Indian culture. People here were just emerging from the stone age into the use of iron at the time when they were brought into contact with the immigrant Hindus who carried their culture with them, and it is the result of the contact of the early culture of the native inhabitants with the more advanced culture of the immigrant Indians that constitutes the cultural history of this region for very nearby the millennium and a half following. We have no evidence of any precise date, or any noteworthy event with which to mark this beginning; but that there have been emigrants going from India to this region quite at the commencement of the Christian era does not appear to stand in need of any demonstration now. Examining this cultural contact, the most important item that influenced seems to be religion, and the earliest evidence so far available seems to indicate the coming in of the worship of Śiva and Śaivism of the South Indian type. What is perhaps more than this, the script of the earliest inscriptions both in the countries of Indo-China and the islands extending as far as the easternmost limits of Borneo is, as has been satisfactorily demonstrated, a form of Pallava-Grantha, the language being Sanskrit. This would be nothing surprising having regard to the well-known statement of Fahien that so far as Buddhism was concerned, it was hardly worth mentioning when he was travelling in that part of the country; that is, about A.D. 414. The introduction of Buddhism afterwards is both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, according to the different periods of its introduction and

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...from which it was introduced. In certain ...at any rate, the cult of Vishṇu seems to take precedence, particularly in Indo-Chinese Peninsula. The work ...the French school at Hanoi in the last years of the last ...tury and working all through the years of the present ...tury have brought together a volume of material which ...akes a reconstruction of the history of this part of ...dian cultural outspread possible, though we must say ...ith regret, that as yet there are important gaps to be ...lled in before anything like a connected history could be ...garded as feasible. Funan, Champa, Kambodia, all ...me in in order, and, as is well known, after the initial ...ages each influx of culture has left its landmark in ...arious of these localities. The collection of monuments ...enerally known as Ankor (Yaśodharapura in Kambuja) ...nkor Thom and Ankor Vat, by themselves constitute ...hat is usually described as one of the wonders of the ...orld, just as the great monument of Java at Bārābūdūr ...i regarded as another such. Recent investigations have ...hown that this locality was the famous Yaśodharapura, ...hich gradually expanded into the group of buildings ...nown by the name Ankor, the Bayon, Ankor Thom and ...nkor Vat, with even a more ancient town near on the ...ery site. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Yaśovarman ...ound here make a landmark inasmuch as they throw a ...ood of light even upon Sanskrit literature, and bring to ...ight points perhaps not altogether recoverable in India, ...hereby establishing the width and the depth of that ...ulture in this new land.

From the dawn of the Christian era down to the ...inth century we could see only imperfectly the course of ...development of history. In the latter period the dominating feature of the history becomes the Śailēndra empire, ...and later on the Chola-Śailēndra struggle for supremacy. With the Sailēndra history is intimately connected the ...ise to power of Java or more properly Sumatra-Java. With the fall of the Śailēndras begins the Islamisation of ...region by the transfer gradually of the Eastern

Chinese trade from the hands of the natives of India in the Peninsula to those of Arabs who gradually managed to get all the trade in their own hands and ultimately overran the whole of Indonesia. Notwithstanding the inscriptions published so far and the accumulation of a considerable mass of material of various kinds ultimately helping in the reconstruction of the history of this part, the actual region comprising the empire of Śailēndras in its early history, and of what is generally known as the empire of Śri Vijaya cannot be regarded as yet a matter beyond all dispute. Recent efforts in the direction seem to hold out promise of a successful solution of this difficulty, and an expedition sent out through the financial assistance of His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda, seems to be bringing welcome light upon this part of Śailēndra history. If a shrewd guess might be hazarded, the trend of the evidence seems to show that the Indian cultural conquest, if it may be so described, seems to have been the region of Funan, Champa and later on Cambodia (Kambuja), and Mr. Wales' recent archæological expedition seems to raise the hope that we have to look for the empire of Śrī Vijaya, at least in the earlier part of its history, in the Malaya Peninsula. If it should prove to be so, it must be the expansion of this to take into it the islands, particularly Sumatra and Java, that must have given rise to the later Śrī Vijaya, ordinarily located in Sumatra, the most important centre and headquarters of which had become Java afterwards. The other alternative is that the Śrī Vijaya of Sumatra is the original imperial headquarters, and it is the expansion of this that brought about the name being given to the Śrī Vijaya across the Straits. That however is matter for the final settlement of which we may have to wait for the successful termination of this investigation.

The early history of the island region, conveniently described as Indonesia, has had a more or less similar history of a colonising and a civilising mission by the Hindu Brahmins in particular. About the same time as

Bhadra Varman was laying the foundations of a kingdom and capital in Champa (Cambodia), there happened to be a Mūlavarman in Koeti in East Borneo, whose inscriptions which have come down to us make a landmark in the history of this expansion. The inscription under reference, edited by Kern and subsequently by Vogel, is entirely Brahman in character being a record of the celebration of a great sacrifice and of the distribution of gifts at the end of it. These are generally taken to be recorded on the *Yūpas* or the sacrifical pillars, four such of which with inscriptions have been discovered. The development in the island regions seems to have been almost similar to what took place in the peninsula, but the islands that seem early colonised were Sumatra and Borneo, Java rising into importance somewhat later. Java, however, contains Sanskrit inscriptions of a Pūrṇa Varman in the western part of the island, one of which, near a pair of footprints, is in Pallava-Grantha like the inscription of Mūla Varman, and is datable about the same time, perhaps a generation later. It runs :—

> " Vikkrāntasyāvanipatēḥ
> Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmaṇaḥ
> Tārūmanagarēndrasya
> Vishṇor iva padadvayam "

Tārūma being perhaps its capital. There is a similar reference to Vishṇu, Vishṇu Chakra-Tīrtha Svāmin, and having similar footprints in the record of a Guṇa Varman of Kambodia referable to the second half of the fifth century. That is the reason why it has now become a matter of difficulty for us to decide what is actually referred to when, as it very occasionally happens, a reference is made to the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya; whether the original kingdom of Śrī Vijaya was on the continent or in the Island of Sumatra; whether they were really two separate kingdoms each with a history of its own coalescing when that history had advanced to the imperial history of the Śailēndras. The development in either cas

has been quite similar in point of character and almost equally fruitful in respect of results. If Ankor represents the wonder of Hindu-Khmer architecture in the peninsula, Bārābūdūr is a similar wonder of Śailēndra art in the island of Java. The work of bringing this hitherto little khown development has been done exclusively by the Dutch, so that it is to a Dutch school that we are indebted for all that we now know of the Indonesian culture and civilisation as such. It has in consequence remained little known to India, and therefore little appreciated even within recent times.

But in Indo-China and the islands alike this offspring of Indian culture and civilisation has had its growth and development almost from the beginning of the Christian era—it may be that we are able to carry it a couple of centuries earlier—down to the fourteenth, nay even to the fifteenth, century. Of the first of these, the distinguished Director of the Indo-French school of Oriental Research at Hanoi has said: "Ancient Indo-China (Tonking then a Chinese province being excepted) was truly as far as religious and political institutions are concerned, a daughter of India. This daughter, cut off at an early date from her home, has been in the course of centuries forgotten by her mother; time has come to bring to light again the bonds which unite them." He concludes an important contribution of his on this subject with the words: "It is impossible to trace its (Indian civilisation in Indo-China) evolution and show how the ideas and social institutions of India were transformed at the touch of foreign races of quite a different turn of mind. Such work would be of great historical interest, and Indian scholars are particularly qualified to take a leading part in it." The problem presented in these terms by the learned savant has its analogue in the history of the Indo-Aryan civilisation in South India where that civilisation was first received by people of a different civilisation, and perhaps a comparatively different outlook on life. The problem in the former case is made immensely more

interesting and important by the fact that Hindu civilisation reached both the Indo-Chinese Peninsula and Indonesia from South India first of all and withal so Sanskritic in point of character. It is, in a subsequent development, that the full flood of the northern Mahāyāna civilisation came in, while we cannot be altogether certain that there was no northern contact in the earlier stages. Recent Siamese history and present day Siamese institutions alike show that their institutions are entirely Indian in character; we might even go the length of saying Indo-Aryan as modified by South India: and, notwithstanding much valuable work which has been done recently by Dr. Wales in two publications of his, Siamese State Ceremonies, and Ancient Siamese Government and Administration, the subject requires study from the Indian side for a full understanding. The more superficial facts are clear enough. There is a community of Brahmans still carrying on the Indian traditions almost without understanding them in the least, and this community has to play an important role in the coronation ceremonies which have been adopted *in toto* perhaps from the Vedic coronation ceremonies of India; but, in the detailed description, there peeps in here and there unmistakable evidence of where exactly these institutions were taken from. In a table of contents, as it were, of a manuscript which is the authoritative work from which they draw the ceremonial prescriptions for the coronation, I came upon one heading *Pūśana Vidhi*. Put in Sanskrit, it would be *Pūjana Vidhi*, and this means the work of which the contents are described is a South Indian work, and Tamil at that. There are many other small particulars which tell the same tale. Some Tēvāram hymns and even the Tamil prabandhas of the Vaishṇavas seem under reference. The names of the month and several other details in connection with the division of time and the arrangement of the seasons, all partake of the same character. Although the recent Siamese system of administration shows a character all its own, there are

features—submerged features—which indicate the origin of these. But it has been much more recently brought home from a careful study by Prof. Stutterheim of the institutions as they obtain in the island of Bali, that the rural organisation seems to have been almost exactly what we find them to be in their later developments in South India. So Mons. Finot's dictum proves to be absolutely sound, and a proper understanding of these institutions—in fact a proper understanding of the character of this outspread and the changes that it underwent elsewhere on this side—would be possible only where there is a healthy and hearty co-operation between those who work in the localities, and those who can far better contribute to a fuller understanding of the culture of India in its home-land. The call for that co-operation deserves the most earnest and sympathetic consideration of all who are at all interested in any rational understanding of the cultural history of India as a whole.

Before taking leave of this topic a reference to the points of interest that call for immediate consideration may not be quite out of place; we referred to the character of the Śailēndra empire, and left the question open whether the empire really belonged to the peninsula, or to the islands. An early Tamil classic refers to the imports into the great port of Kāveripaṭṭinam at the mouth of the Kāveri, and, refers to those commodities which came from Ceylon and the Farther East in these terms:—*Īḻattu Uṇavum* and *Kāḻahattu Ākkamum*. These Tamil expressions have a meaning which, in the actual context, seems specifically intended, and offers a classification of the imports in regard to this particular region. The first expression would mean the food articles from Ceylon (*Īḻam*), and things constituting wealth from *Kāḻaham*. This would *ipso facto* imply that the general articles of import from Ceylon were foodstuffs while the imports from *Kāḻaham*, wherever it should have been, were composed of articles of commercial value; in other words things intended for sale and making profits on. *Īḻam* of

name is the well-known Ceylon. The identification of *Kāḷaham*, at least so far as Tamil literature is concerned is clear to the extent that it is the same as *Kaḍāram* of the Tamils or *Kaṭāha* of the Sanskritists. By calling the region *Kaṭāha dvīpa* the Sanskritist seems to imply the country or the region whose capital, or it may be the chief port, was *Kaṭāha*. In later Tamil literature the place is referred to as Kaḍāram, and in that name it has become famous to the Tamil, so that he knows Kaḍāram, sooner than he would *Kāḷaham*. We are not concerned for the present with the point whether the Sanskritists made the name *Kaṭāham* from *Kāḷaham*. Tamil literature also offers another point for consideration in this connection. They knew of a kingdom called *Śāvakam* where ruled—the characters may be merely legendary—Bhūmichandra and his son Puṇya Rāja. The capital of this kingdom and of these rulers is described as a Nāgapura. King Puṇya Rāja had to set sail from there, come over to Ceylon and go back, and had arranged for a regency government just for a month. Of course, he is described as having come, got through his mission, in as complete a way as he intended to, and went back. In another connection we find the detail given that regular fleets of merchant shipping used to be passing from this region of the east to Kāveripaṭṭinam with which we are concerned in the story, and on appointed days these fleets used to call at the great Nicobars. So the ordinary routes of sailing would be from the eastern region to the great Nicobars, and across to Ceylon and set sail from the northernmost point of it again for the port at the mouth of the Kāvēri, almost, I think, the general course of country shipping, or boats, even now. It is therefore clear that there was a considerable amount of communication for purposes of trade as far as we can make out from these references between the eastern regions and the Coromandel coast of India. But there is nothing here to make the position clear whether it is the coast of Malaya that is under reference when we speak of the kingdom of

Śāvakam, and whether we are actually referring to Java when we speak of Śāvakam. Of course Śāvakam is spoken of as *Yavadvīpa* in Sanskrit both in India and in the East, and *Yava* is supposed to be a cereal which does not grow in Java; and hitherto the belief was that it was Sumatra that was called *Yavadvīpa* as this cereal grows in nature and in plenty here. But what about *Kāḷaham?* If *Kāḷaham* could be located in the island of Sumatra—of course Sumatra could be easily *Yavadvīpa*—then the problem would be at an end. All foreigners who have given us any details of the region seem to refer to *Kāḷaham* at the Malay peninsula as the chief port and this port is sometimes called Kēda or Kāla. Arab geographers refer to it as Kalabar, and a recent suggestion makes *bhar*, a term meaning sea as in the word Bharoach, *Bharukaccha* in Sanskrit, perhaps it may be a Malay term, although for *Bharukaccha* there is a Sanskrit origin ascribed to the name. Whatever it be, if *Kāḷaham* played such an important part in the commerce of the region it would normally be the point of communication of commercial shipping for the exchange of commodities; and, bearing in mind the general description of the commodities imported from there we may perhaps be justified in taking it that *Kāḷaham* was the chief port of call for commercial shipping. If the region set over against it extending across to the Gulf of Siam, half way up which is the Bay of Bandon, with a capital Śri Vijaya (Weng Sra), and if the name for that territory be Giri-Rāshṭra, as a river is said to bear that name, could we regard the region of the Malay peninsula set behind Takola, which is said to be the modern Takuapa, and Kāla or Kēḍa to the Gulf of Siam as the original kingdon of Śrī Vijaya, the expansion of which into the island of Sumatra then giving rise to a Śrī Vijaya of Sumatra? I leave it there for further investigation.

There is one other point to which perhaps attention may be drawn in this connection. The oldest inscription in Indo-China is a record that comes from Southern

Annam, not far from Nhatrang, the modern Po Nagar, and according to Mons. Finot it is datable in the third century of the Christian era. The document conveys a religious gift supposed to be Buddhist, and the donor is described as follows :—

Śrimārarājakulava (ṃśavibūṣaṇē) na
Śrīmaralo (ka) n (ṛpatēh) kulanandanēna.

This is a direct statement that the ruler of the locality, whoever he was, was a descendant of Śri Māra-Kula. He is also described as king of Śrī Māraloka as applied to the dynasty or people as a whole. What is the Śrī-Māra family of which the prince was a descendant, and what is the Śrī Māraloka of which he and his ancestors were kings? A later king of Śrī Vijaya bears the name Śrī Māra Vijayōttunga Varman. Whether he should be connected with this Śrī-Māra or Śri-Māra-Kula, we have not the material to decide one way or the other. But a Māra-Rāja-Kula and Māra Loka could only be thought of in connection with the South Indian Pāṇḍya rulers who are sometimes generally described by the term Māra. Among the royal names of this dynasty, Pāṇḍyan is perhaps the most general. Next to that in literary usage are the terms Māran and Śeḻiyan. As applied therefore to a royal family and perhaps as applied habitually to the rulers of a kingdom associated with the name Māra, it is only this royal family in South India that could be thought of. Is that enough to support a conclusion affiliating the one on to the other?

This brief survey of the outspread of Indian culture indicates most clearly that Indian studies have to be prosecuted in all departments alike, both from an external and [illegible] internal point of view. While various agencies may be making their own contribution from the outside, have we done our part of it to the extent called for? Sir Denison Ross receiving the Royal Asiatic Society Gold Medal last July said: "There can be no doubt that European scholars have during the past two centuries

placed Iran under a very deep obligation, by making Persian literature known not merely to the West, but also to the Persians themselves." I do not know if it would be substantially true to make a similar statement in respect of Indian studies, although the contributions made by European savants is certainly immense and of really great value in many respects. It would hardly derogate from the value of this contribution if it should be noted that there are many gaps yet to be filled in this knowledge and a certain partiality of outlook to be mended before it could be accepted as, in all senses, a faithful presentation of the growth of Indian culture as such. The partiality would be but natural as one could only look at new facts from one's own accustomed point of view. The detachment that is really called for in an effort at the understanding of an extraneous culture is not perhaps always possible in the fullest measure. Nobody, therefore, need be held to blame; but it is none the less necessary to remove the defect and perfect the knowledge that we possess of ancient Indian culture in its evolution down to modern times. That such defects are possible, with a large amount of sympathy for the subject of study, is in evidence in the latest publication bearing on the subject by three continental scholars in the work, " Ancient India and Indian Civilisation " published by Messrs. Kegan Paul Trench Trübner & Co., London. It is perhaps the measure of the best that is possible in the circumstances, and would give indication of where it falls short of genuinely the best.

In our brief survey of the expansion of Indian culture, while these two streams show much that may be similar, they still exhibit fundamental differences in character. It is a question of the outspread of Indian culture all round, that is, in all its departments, religion, art, literature, etc. The northern expansion naturally takes on the character of the spread of Sanskrit language and the Mahāyāna form of Buddhist religion. The other features connected with this expansion are certainly directly under the

influence of this Mahāyānism. So whatever features of Hindu culture may be traced here would be coloured to a great extent by this dominating influence. In the south-east, on the contrary, we seem to begin with the outspread of Hinduism, that is, Brahmanism modified into a wider cult and exhibiting itself in the forms of various *Bhakti* schools, primarily the worship of Siva and Vishṇu. Buddhism, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna, comes in later. And even so the Mahāyāna is perhaps the greater influence in these parts. But that influence is distinctly later and can definitely be stated to begin somewhere about the seventh century of the Christian era. During the first centuries of this era, the influence has been entirely Brahmanic Hindu, and that is in entire keeping with the progress we note in Hinduism itself in South India. In the study of the parallel development of Hinduism from Brahmanism, and of Mahāyānism from Buddhism, there is always a tendency to regard Hinduism as copying from Mahāyānism. Hence comes in the general belief that the very development of Buddhism outside is due to the influence of fresh accessions of people following other cults, and even outside the Indian frontier. While we could recognise without question the possibility of this outside influence, and of a considerable amount of influence that Buddhism might undergo in passing into other countries and climes, with an entirely different civilisation, it is quite open to question whether the passage from the Hīnayāna to the Mahāyāna in principle is due to this extraneous influence. Much the same question could be put in respect of Hinduism with perhaps a possibility of the answer being got from the very sources of Hindu religious development. In dealing with the religious history of India we ought to remember we are not dealing with a country with a compulsory State religion, with a uniformity of belief and a certain conformity demanded as a consequence. Even in respect of the philosophical schools, the evidence before us is a question of schools, not of one school dominating the rest. If that fundamental

position is given the weight due to it, it would not at all be difficult to understand that the developments could be simultaneous and almost for the same reason, a reason inherent in the constitution of the people themselves. The masses could not be philosophical-minded, and be able to follow in practice the fine differences that philosophy might choose to make in respect of principle of doctrine. A philosophical religion satisfying to the elite is not likely to satisfy the needs of the more general public, and there must be need, side by side, therefore for a something that would satisfy the average spiritual need or humanity. Differences in religion therefore of a radical kind like this would seem to result from the actual constitution of the people, and such definite influences as we can trace from literature seem to support this view. While the Buddha therefore was elevating the individual to the position that he and he alone was the means of his own salvation, and his own salvation was all that really mattered, there could very well be among those that came to hear the Buddha himself, people who felt that, over and above the achievement of that salvation which the master taught, there is real merit in what the master himself was doing, teaching other people to find their own salvation. Hence might arise the idea of Bodhisattva and all that it implies which is among the root elements of Mahāyānist teaching. A similar distinction certainly is clearly traceable, at least as a parallel development in Brahmanism. All of the Upanishadic texts are not necessarily monistic, and these differences did find expression in different forms of thought which certainly must have left room for different forms of act, including the act of worship.

The roots therefore of what might for convenience be called the Bhakti school of Hinduism, the essential principle of which is the postulating of a Saviour and propitiation of Him with a view to attaining His grace as the only means to the achievement of salvation, have to be traced back to the Upanishads, if not to the Vedas themselves, and, in one form or another, these are always

to that source. A recent Western investigator[1] who formulated, as a result of his study of the Upanishads, the principle of the Supreme as providing a common principle for all, concludes his thesis with a note that, whereas the Hebrew prophets carried the principle to its logical conclusion, the Indian sages of the Upanishads have stopped short there, for the simple reason he did not carry his studies to the logical sequence as expounded in literature following from the Upanishads such as the Pâñcharâtra and the Âgamas which claim to find their sources in the Upanishads themselves. What is to our present purpose is merely the fact that the two developments are parallel and the course of each indicates a certain amount of similarity to the other. In the outspread of this Hinduism into Indo-China and Indonesia we find the transplantation of the same early principles of the newly developing Hinduism into a new milieu exactly in the manner in which that principle perhaps, in a slightly earlier stage, had been transplanted to South India itself into a similar new milieu. There again is a parallelism in the development of the two: the development of Indo-Aryan Hinduism in South India on the one hand, and in Farther India on the other. Mons. Finot, perhaps the highest authority in this field, is certainly distinctly of the opinion that it is what might be described as Vedic Hinduism that is brought into Indo-China where he could trace clearly the development of the worship of Indra in the form of *Yan In* which was in full swing in the eleventh *century and persisted even beyond. Not merely that,* even the very inscriptions founding religious institutions and temples in particular in Indo-China seem to exhibit peculiarities of character which would indicate a development of its own here as distinct from its development in South India. The inscription of Bhadravarman contains in the invocatory part "*agnaye tvā justam karisyāmi*" with the following statement: "*Prthivi (i) prasadat*

[1] Rev. W...be: "The Secret Lore of India and the One P... for All."

ka (a) rmmasiddhirastu" in one, and "*Prthivi Vayur Akasam, Apojjotischa Panchamam.*"[1] I cannot recollect any passage in South Indian inscriptions of a similar character or import.

There is much else besides that calls for attention. Some of the larger temples in this region are suspected to be of a sepulchral character from the fact that they bear the name of the sovereigns who constructed them, and the fact that often-times these are given posthumous titles of the God directly or indirectly to whom they were devoted in life. Numbers of temples in South India there are, which take their names from the sovereigns who founded them, or who made large donations to them. But there is no suggestion, or even room for suspicion, that they at all constituted memorials of the character indicated in Indo-China. It is undoubtedly customary to raise small mounds, and mark the spot where a distinguished or saintly person's last remains were disposed of, either by cremation or burial, by planting a small *linga* or some other image, and raising even a small structure to cover it—a practice current up to now; but it is very rarely that these sepulchral monuments ever rose to the dignity of a temple. Rāja-rājēśvara, Hoyśālēśvara, etc., are common names of the magnificent shrines that still raise their towers aloft in South India, without the slightest association with the death or the funerals of the monarchs whose names they happen to bear. So then we see even where we find the sources the same, the development similar, there are peculiarities in the development which ought to be studied with as much care as similarities. It is in regard to the monuments at Ankor Thom and Ankor Vat that the funeral or funerary character of these big temples has prominently come into discussion. Another of the wonderful monuments of the East, Bārābūdūr in Central Java, is a piece of Buddhist work, the actual character of which cannot be regarded as completely understood. It is a whole hill completely chiselled out

[1] Mahābhārata: XIII, 347-33 and 349-31, Kumbhi Edition.

like a cluster of shrines, and, for an aeroplane view, it shows itself to be a whole vast mass of rock chiselled out by the artist into various stages beginning very broad and square at the base, gradually narrowing up the stages to a central stupa-like tower by three circular stages. All the available space is covered over with statuary work in stone from the bottom onwards in various stages and in various ways. But of course in certain parts it obviously illustrates the life of the Buddha. In other parts, the subjects represented are not all of them Buddhist, nor can they be regarded as of the same edifying value to the pious Buddhist. The stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata, and other stories sometimes of actual life, figure. What could be the motive of the structure, and what it is that it is supposed to represent? Here is a problem which perhaps has not yet received its final solution, although the Dutch Government and the Dutch Archæological Department have done monumental work not merely to conserve and preserve the wonderful monument, but even to let the outside world understand what it contains. Hints have been thrown out at various times that it may represent various stages of the life of the Buddha but actually these representations cover the Buddha's life only up to the *Dharma pravarttana* (the turning of the wheel of the law at Benares) as in the Lalita Vistāra. This of course is undoubtedly a common motive of the ethical teaching of Buddhism. But if a parallel could throw any light, we can point out to an ancient one in South India, where, in the famous Kāveri-paṭṭinam of old, there was a divinely erected structure called Chakravāḷakoṭṭam, of brick and mortar, which was intended to exhibit the whole of this universe in a nutshell. Goddess Champapati, the guardian deity of the city, appeared to console a disconsolate mother who,—both herself and her husband being enfeebled by age, ailments and blindness—had just lost their only son, their mainstay in life, as a [illegible] of the young man rushing at dead of night into [illegible] burial ground of the city. There at

sight of the midnight orgies of various groups of evil spirits, he took such fright that he died on the spot. The Goddess appeared to the wailing mother and told her that no being, God, or less than God, could bring to life one that was dead, and called to bear witness the Gods and Goddesses, and all kinds of other beings that may be thought of as useful for the purpose. As a matter of fact, it is stated that all creation appeared to bear witness to this miracle, and having been brought together for such an edifying purpose, and, at the request of the parties concerned, a permanent structure was raised reproducing in building material an exact copy of the assembled divinities and beings of all grades by no less a personage than the divine architect Maya himself. This became the famous Chakravāḷakoṭṭam of the city, containing all the beings in all the Buddhist world.[1] Is the Bārābūdūr intended to represent in rock an idea more or less similar? The satisfactory answer would imply a detailed study of the monument for which the material has been made available. Thanks to the Duch Archæological Department and the publishing efforts of Martinus Nijhoff, Leiden, we have two volumes of an explanatory book and a great album of 444 large sized plates of various aspects of the building on the one side, and of all Buddhist literature, sacred and secular, that may have reference to the various worlds constituting the universe of the Buddhists on the other in full detail.

Leaving such questions aside for the moment, these investigations exhibit Hindu culture showing a vitality for progress which brought into its fold the vast extent of Asia, in fact all Asia, excepting the Islamic countries and Siberia. It was probably the Muhammadan invasions that brought about ultimately the cessation of Indian activities in this direction, and, left to themselves and detached from connection with India, these cultures gradually decayed and fell victim to more aggressive influences in the course of the next three or four centuries

[1] Manimekhalai, vi, 192–203.

incursions of new people in Indo-China and Islamic penetration in Indonesia. Notwithstanding the great volume of work done elsewhere and by other agencies, it would seem incumbent upon India itself to make earnest efforts, well co-ordinated and properly directed, to recover the whole vast extent of this culture with a view to gaining a more thorough understanding of it, if for nothing else. It is then that we are likely to be in a position to appraise the influence for good that there was in the institutions that went into the formation of what is called Hindu culture. One often hears complaints—sometimes bitter complaints—against this or that particular institution as at the root of the evils that afflict Hindu society at the present day, and impatient idealists are anxious to sweep off all that is old only to set up a new order of things, which, in their opinion, would serve admirably for the good of the people and in fact bring a heaven of their vision on earth. Without in the slightest degree underrating their high purpose and noble intentions, would it be too much to ask for consideration whether a proper understanding of things as they are, and why they have come to be what they are, is not of the essence of the question, before putting forward schemes for improvement, if for nothing else at least for this practical purpose, to gain a most thorough understanding of the history of the thoughts and ideas that gave the direction to the progress of Indian culture as a whole. Such an effort at a fuller understanding would involve the all-round work of recovering all that is recoverable, which would throw any light upon the course of the history of the people, and it ought to be the primary function of an All-India body like the Indian Oriental Conference to turn its attention and devote its energies to this noble task. The first essential would be the recovery of all the material sources that may throw light upon any particular part of this vast field. Anthropological, archæological, bibliographical and historical effort must join hands, and provide as full and reliable a conspectus as we can possibly get. It is needless

to say that really much useful work has been done on these lines during the last generation, perhaps even two. But much more remains to be done to make the information at all adequate for a thorough understanding of our position in civilisation. Archæological activities threatened to cease, the moment that the spade had revealed something unlooked for, throwing unexpected light in such large measure upon the ancient civilisation of this ancient land. Very much more of it is needed, and over various well-marked blocks of territory within India, to make the results really more useful and provide us with reliable information which is necessary for building conclusions upon the progress of human history in India. Where Government finds it difficult, private effort must be harnessed to the task. But in this case, private effort has to be organised private effort, and must be made, for useful results, under expert direction. Bringing about such a combination might well demand attention from a body like the Indian Oriental Conference. It is matter for gratification that the exploration of the Indus Valley is being continued by two American agencies under the expert direction of Professor Norman Brown and Mr. Mackay, late of the Government of India Archæological Department. That is hardly enough for the extent of the country, and the importance and even urgency of the work. Anthropological work is left almost altogether to individual private effort, and, excepting here and there in some of our Universities and in one or two particular localities, the work that is being done is comparatively small, regard being had to the vast extent of the subject. The Calcutta University and a few other centres of activity are all that could be mentioned. Man in India conducted by Mr. S. C. Ray, and the more recent works by Dr. Anantakrishna Aiyar are all that could be mentioned of Indian effort in addition to the valuable work done in this line by European members of the Indian Civil Service who have produced in recent times monographs of great importance. O'Mally, Blunt, Hutton and

other names stand out prominent in this line of work, and the topic that comes in for most attention is the caste system in its baffling complexity.

Perhaps the time has arrived for a well co-ordinated historical effort to understand the caste system as a whole with reference to any light it may throw upon its future for India. The most important problem arising out of this would be whether the Indian caste system as such can be put an end to to avoid the variety even by the bringing about of revolution. While one may wish that the caste system went out of existence for our convenience and left Indian society unorganised with a view to giving it the shape that ardent reformers would wish to give to it, the question before the serious student of Indian culture is whether it will go out of existence. The results of historical study so far seem to indicate that it will not. Then would arise the question whether there is any salvation for India, Hinduism and Hindu society as such. The most serious study of the subject is required to find any light that an elaborate and detailed study of the system might provide for us. If Hindu India under the caste system could have exhibited the vitality to spread its culture over all Eastern Asia into countries without anything answering to the caste system even, should the extinction of the caste system be made a fundamental pre-requisite for any advance that India should make?

This necessarily leads us to the future of the religion of the Hindus—Hinduism as we understand it to-day. Has it any future before it, or has it become a really serious question whether India should give up Hinduism and adopt a religion more capable of promoting Indian unity, and, at this hour of the day, Indian nationalism with all the attendant horrors which the nationalistic world of the West is suffering from? Has not all the variety and the difference, with a well distinguishable and readily seen unity of feeling and culture, really more desirable for the future of the world than the narrow nationalism of the 19th century, which Europe is now

doing its best to modify into some kind of internationalism? Here is quite a live practical problem for even the student of dead literature and materials of culture so much held up to ridicule. If anything like a clearer or better understanding of India of the present is desired, has not the time come for a far more elaborate and detailed study of the cultural history of the country as a whole? In regard to the history of Indian culture in Further India, those who have made a serious study of it seem to be reaching the unanimous conclusion that the progress of this culture stopped as the contact with India ceased, though even after three or four centuries of the adoption of Islamism, the cultural background has remained in Indonesia, essentially Indian and Hindu. How are we to account for the great vitality that Indian culture showed elsewhere, and if for that vitality, the inspiration came from India itself, what had happened to the vitality of that Indian culture in India, that we should now regard it as almost a dead culture that could be thrown away at will for the adoption of another? For a proper understanding of this portion, a very deep and widespread study of the contact of Hindu India with Islamic culture in the first instance, and with European Christian culture later, would seem essential.

Such a study involves not a mere chronological or political history, as histories often have been taken to mean, but much rather, the regular growth and development of people, their thoughts and institutions, which is now felt to be more or less the characteristic of early Indian History, and for which, it is felt also, there is abundant material in existence. That seems more or less to be the basis on which the latest effort of continental scholarship has based itself, as exhibited in a History of Ancient India and Indian Civilization already referred to, and published in Messrs. Kegan Paul's series, the History of Civilization. A great deal of labour has already been spent in this effort at various centres and by a vast body of scholars outside of India, and, to a very considerable

[illegible], in India itself. The volume of work actually turned out in this direction may even be counted as immense; but what is now required is a revised study which would bridge the gaps that require filling up, and the rounding off of our knowledge in many branches which need it, with the ultimate object of a synthetic presentation, not a separate study of individual topics or even periods, emphasising more than contrasts the underlying co-ordinating unity.

The effort that needs to be made now is, a constructive study of the whole, each section making its own contribution to the building up of that whole. The first essential to this is the collecting together, in a form fit for use, of the whole vast body of Indian literature in all forms of its manifestation and development, a more systematic and elaborate effort at the search for and the cataloguing of, and, as far as may be, the placing before the public full information regarding, works of literature in Sanskrit and even of the vernacular languages with a view to this. There have been great efforts in the past; but to-day the work still remains imperfect and uncompleted. Instead of an effort at completing the various pieces here, there and everywhere, the effort might well be made to bring together the whole vast range of it upon one canvas. It perhaps is a sign of the times that the University of Madras is attempting to bring out a Catalogus Catalogorum of a more complete kind than the one familiarly known by that name. It is to be hoped that they would have the means and the material to carry it to completion as indicated here.

The next great department of work called for is that which would provide the corpus of the mass of inscriptions relating to Indian studies, published here and elsewhere in various forms and in different languages made available in [illegible] great corpus, all the necessary critical study and [illegible]ng made with a view to the composition of this [illegible]lar corpus. In this, as in the previous item, whether this synthe[illegible] work should supersede or merely

supervene, the individual and sectional work, is not perhaps a difficult matter to settle. The efforts that are being made and the work that is being actually carried on need not be disturbed, or put out of gear. All that may go on. A great deal of valuable work has been done, and a great deal more perhaps could be done by the bodies and the individuals engaged in such work. For that more encouragement ought to be given to the bodies and individuals doing the work and the further work to be done should be so organised as to supplement these efforts, of course, except in cases wherever unnecessary duplication of work could be avoided and clear economy can be introduced by abolishing dissipation of effort. A Catalogus Catalogorum would be impossible of achievement unless catalogues of individual collections and libraries in proper form be made as a necessary preliminary. Full encouragement therefore should be given to those that take up this work, and greater encouragement to those who undertake publications of works of literature. We have evidence of a desire for progress in this direction in the efforts recently made to publish the Rig-Veda and the Vedic texts completely in India. One volume of the Rig-Veda with Sayana's commentary has been published recently from Poona. The Indian Cultural Institute of Calcutta has taken up an ambitious project of publishing the same work with translations and critical notes in addition, in three languages, English, Hindi and Bengali. A Vedic Institute has recently come into existence in Lahore for placing before the public such Vedic texts and rescensions as have not as yet been made available to the public. Some of the Universities, are doing important work in this direction. The Asiatic Society of Bengal continues its activities. Even modern publishers, like Motilal Banarsi Das, of the Punjab Sanskrit Depot, are doing useful work in this direction.

It is matter for peculiar gratification that a rare collection of South Indian manuscripts in the famous Sarasvati Mahal Library in the Tanjore Palace has at last

been catalogued to completion. The cataloguing was taken up by Dr. Burnell in the seventies and had been left incomplete. It has now been completed by Prof. P. P. S. Sastri and his staff, in a series constituting eighteen volumes with an additional index volume. This brings within the compass of our knowledge a quantity of manuscripts presenting 125 new names of authors and of their works of varying importance and covering practically all the sections of a Sanskrit catalogue of manuscripts. It recovers a stretch of four centuries in point of time for Sanskrit literature, bringing it down to the last generation. Writers of histories of Sanskrit literature, Professor A. B. Keith, the latest among them, stop short at A.D. 1200 or 1300, as if the sources of Sanskrit literature had run dry then. It is not only Sanskrit, but there is also a body of Mahratti, Tamil and Telugu manuscripts in the Tanjore Palace Library, which have also been catalogued along with this. Other important collections in Trivandrum, Mysore, Baroda and elsewhere have their catalogues, and if only other collections as yet uncatalogued should have the same lucky chance, a Catalogus Catalogorum could be undertaken with the cheerful prospect of a near completion.

Another great branch of Indian cultural studies is the collection and presentation in one large view the studies in various localities and various departments. There are perhaps more active centres of study of Sanskrit literature on the Continent than in England, or even in England and America, and very important work is being done. Comparatively little of that work is known in India generally. Practically nothing was known till about a generation ago. What is nowadays known of this important branch of work, labours from the defect of imperfection. Efforts in this direction have not been wanting. The one perhaps most deserving of mention is the work of the Kern Institute of Leiden which has just run through the eighth of its Annual Bibliographies of Indian Archaeology, bringing the work down to 1933. It

is work of a similar character that seems called for, perhaps a little more elaborate and in one language understood through the continent of India, of course, including in it, Ceylon and Burma and even parts of Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Perhaps this may be brought about by improving and enlarging the existing publication. If that were possible, the sooner and more completely it is done, the better. This work is necessary not merely for the completing of our knowledge, which is in itself a great point, but to remove that stigma that attaches to the work of Indian scholars generally that they are defective in their knowledge of previous work and in a pretty large number of cases they are actually unable to give complete references to previous work on the subject. The late Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter of Oxford, speaking of his Hibbert Lectures on Indian Theism and discussing a particular point that arose between us stated it in so many words that the copy that he sent me was not with a view to enlightening me on the subject of the work, but more with a view to the complete references that he was able to give to the literature on the subject, which was indeed true for the latter part of it, although I must acknowledge I did receive enlightenment in looking through that work of his.

This refers to another urgent need of Indian scholarship. I very much fear that there is no centre in India to which a good scholar can go and gain ready access to all the most important works of reference bearing on any subject he may be at work on. Of course there are a number of centres where this bibliographical facility and maintenance of a completely equipped library is supposed to be provided, particularly the University centres. But a closer examination of the localities will show how very imperfect these very centres are. I am reminded of a remark made to me by the late Sir Harold Stuart, the first Member of Council of the Madras Government at the time, who told me frankly it would be possible for me to turn out the work of three years that I did in Madras in

some year in London at a cost by no means prohibitive, or as he put it at a cost hardly worth mentioning for the result. It was a question of living in the suburbs of London where living would be convenient and cheap, and putting about 15 hours of work a day in the British Museum Library, and, as he put it, between the India Office Library and the British Museum, there is little that one would miss. It is to be wished that there were in India at least one centre, but three centres would perhaps be more desirable, having regard to the extent of country. Can the Oriental Conference do anything to realise that object? Can it do anything to beat up sufficient sympathy of the elite for the realisation of that object?

Having come so far I would most earnestly bespeak your consideration whether the time has not arrived for a reconsideration of the whole of our organon of criticism in respect of the whole field of cultural research, particularly literary and allied. It strikes me that there is too much of a readiness to make affiliations, to assume interpolations and worse, and cast aside works as later fabrications without sufficiently serious consideration of the position in each case. I daresay I need not go into anything very elaborate to explain my position. I may content myself with merely an illustration or two, as all that I require is a mere reconsideration, though the most earnest, of the position. In the work to which I have already made more than one reference, I find it stated that the passage in the Sundara Kāṇḍa describing the sleeping apartments of Rāvaṇa's palace as seen by Hanuman in the course of his search for Sītā, is taken bodily from Aśvagosha's Life of Buddha:—"The scene at night when Buddha looks sadly at the women of the palace sleeping after their play, who presenting in that moment of unconsciousness all the signs of human misery, was adopted by the continuers of Vālmīki and placed in the Rāmāyaṇa where the palace is Rāvaṇa's and Hanuman is the onlooker." Does it seem acceptable with all its

implications, either as interpreting the one passage, or the other, or as convincingly proving the suggested affiliation in the face of the statement ascribed on Chinese authority to Aśvagosha that the Rāmāyana was already a work of 12,000 slokas? Another familiar point is the distinction almost amounting to contrast that some of these Western scholars wish to draw between the *Dharma* and the *Artha* as conceived by writers on the *Dharma Śāstras* and the *Artha Śāstra.* It is a familiar tag of classical Tamil poetry that among the three desirable ends, *Dharma*, *Artha* and *Kāma*, the attainment of the middle enables one to attain the other two.[1] That strikes one throughout to be the attitude, whether for the emergencies of the moment the emphasis be laid upon the one or upon the other. I shall not take up more time with other illustrations but leave the critical Sanskritists to consider seriously whether the two passages set down below,[2] one from the *Hitopadēśa* and the other from *Bhāsa* do really admit of copying one from the other, whether it be *Bhāsa* who copied the author of the *Hitopadēśa* or the *Hitopadēśa* copying *Bhāsa.* On serious consideration, does it not strike one as the truth that the two pieces are works of two different poetical minds presenting each in its own particular way, or rather

[1] Tirumangai Ālvār: Śiriya Tirumaḍal 3 and 4.

[2] *Bhāsa: Avimāraka.*

Yatnē kṛtē yadi na sidhyati kō-atra doshaḥ ।
Kō vā na sidhyati mamaiti karōti kāryam ।
Yatnaiś śubhaiḥ purushatā bhavatiha nṛṇām
Daivam vidhānam anugacchati kārya siddhiḥ ॥

Compare with this:

Kāshṭād agnirjāyatē mathyamānāt
Bhūmistoyam khanyamānā dadāti ।
Sōtsāhānām nāstyasādhyam narāṇām
Mārgārabdhā sarva yatnāḥ phalanti ॥
Bhāsā's Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa.

Hitōpadeśa.

Udhyōginam purusha simhamupaiti Lakshmī
Davēna dēyamiti kāpurushā vadanti ।
Daivam nihatya kuru paurushamātmaśaktyā
Yatnē kṛtē yadi na sidhyati kō-atra doshaḥ ॥

embodying each in its own particular way a teaching in regard to the part that fate should be allowed to play in life, the only common part between the two being what seems the proverbial expressiop "*Yatnē kritē yadi na sidhyati ko atra dōshaḥ*"? Could we say anything more than that, and build up an important chronological conclusion on such similarity as is found in the two passages? I am asking for nothing more than a serious consideration whether the critical principles adopted and applied do not require serious revision.

It would have been a pleasure to me to pass in review the work done recently in India, however difficult it may be to undertake the work and do it with adequate fulness and impartiality for one thing. Such a review ought to be more or less something of an official report regularly drawn up for the occasion to be really good and satisfactory all round. It probably is better that it is done by the various section presidents at the sections, where perhaps it could be done more fully and perhaps with much more intimate knowledge. Anyhow it would be no use my attempting it as my address has already reached its normal length and as the section presidents could do it so much the better, than perhaps I can without being invidious. I take the liberty however, to refer in passing to the useful work which lies before the Greater India Society, the recently founded Assam Research Society, and wish them good luck in their enterprise. The latest of such is the Archæological Society of South India where an organisation like that has long been a desideratum, and where there is really large field for work.

India has won by slow, if sure, steps recognition as holding the key to Asiatic culture as a whole. This seems only to set her on another strenuous forward march towards attaining for her a position as the home of humanity. It is now being slowly recognised that the Sub-Himalayan Siwalik Simian by giving up the tree habit, after the glacial age, slowly achieved his position as the Pythic Anthropos Erectus, and gradually grown into the Homo

Sapiens, thus enabling India to send out streams of early humanity westwards. If this should get established in course of time, as there is every hope it will, India will attain to the position of the home of man. If there is at all truth in the statement *ex oriente lux*, it is all to the glory of India. But all this glory involves the very high responsibility of providing this much troubled world of ours with the light that will take it out of the darkness that is enveloping its future. It remains to be seen what contribution India is going to make towards this consummation, and let me exhort you therefore, ladies and gentlemen, in the eloquent words of Swami Vivekananda, "Awake, Arise, and Halt not till the goal is reached," the goal of a civilization which will set humanity as a whole to live in amity, peace and the happiness of all alike.

Urvīmuddhāmasasyām Janayatu visṛjan vāsavō
vṛshtimishṭām ।
Ishtaistraivishtapānam vidadhatu vidhivatprīnanam
vipramukhyāḥ ।
Ākalpāntam cha bhūyāt samupachita sukhaḥ sangamaḥ
sajjanānām ।
Niśśēsh'am Yāntu śāntim piśunajanagirō durjayā
Vajralēpāḥ ।

5 P.M.—The following condolence resolution was then moved from the chair by the President of the Conference :—

"The Conference in its Eighth Session assembled places on record its deep sense of sorrow at the passing away of its past presidents, *Rai Bahadur* Dr. Hira Lal and Professor Sylvain Levi; also the loss Oriental Learning has suffered by the death of Mr. E. B. Havell, M. Louis Finot and Professor Jarl. Charpentier."

The whole assembly stood up and the resolution was unanimously carried. The meeting was then adjourned.

6 P.M.—The Conference was continued in the Lecture Hall of the Maharaja's College. Since Dr. R. K. Mukerji, M.A., PH.D., the President of the History Section had to

[illegible] Mysore owing to his pressing engagement elsewhere, his presidential address was first delivered. At his request, Dr. H. C. Rayachaudri accepted to act as President of the Section for the other days of the Conference.

7 P.M.—*Lantern lectures.*—The First lantern lecture was delivered by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archæology in India, on the Indus Valley Civilization. The lecture was profusely illustrated by select photographs of important excavations and unearthed objects and evinced much interest on the part of the audience. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal then delivered his illustrated presidential address of the Numismatic Society.

9 P.M.—The Festival of Fine Arts was held in the Jaganmohan Palace theatre, the most interesting item being the highly successful staging of selections from Sanskrit plays by the Amateur Dramatic Association of Bangalore.

Monday, 30th December 1935.

8-11 A.M.—The sectional meetings were held in the morning in the rooms at the Maharaja's College, the Intermediate College and the University Union. The presidential addresses of the Vedic, Iranian, Classical Sanskrit, Prakrits, Linguistics, Islamic and Indo-Aryan Languages Sections were delivered.

1 P.M.—The Numismatic Society of India held its Jubilee celebration at the Intermediate College.

2-4 P.M.—The plenary session of the Pandita Parishad was held in the Jagan Mohan Palace Hall and its presidential address delivered.

THE POETS' CONGRESS.

4-5 P.M.—The poets' congress formed an important and highly interesting feature of the Conference, many [illegible] from different parts of India taking part in

it. The following is a list of such poets as were present at the congress :–

SANSKRIT.

1. Pandit M. D. Alasingrachariar, 1/59 Sannidhi Street, Triplicane, Madras.
2. Pandit T. Srinivasarangacharya, Training College, Mysore.
3. Āsthāna Mahāvidvān K. Subrahmanya Sastri, Shimoga.
4. Pandit C. Venkataramanaiya, Retired Teacher, Sanskrit College, and Assistant Translator, General and Revenue Secretariat, Bangalore.

KANNADA.

1. Pandit M. D. Alasingrachariar.
2. H. Desikachar, Esq., Kempananjamba Agrahar, Mysore.
3. Āsthāna Vidvān *Sarvadarśanatīrtha* Y. Nagesa Sastri, Bellary.
4. Bellave Narahari Sastri, Esq., Bangalore City.
5. K. V. Puttappa, Esq., M.A., Lecturer in Kannada, Intermediate College, Mysore.
6. Āsthāna Vidvān Anavatti Rama Rao, Mysore.
7. Pandit T. Srinivasarangacharya.
8. Āsthāna Mahāvidvān K. Subrahmanya Sastri.

TELUGU.

1. Āsthāna Vidvān R. Anantakrishna Sarma, Telugu Pandit, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
2. P. Lakshmikantam, Esq., M.A., Head of the Telugu Department, Andhra University, Waltair.
3. G. S. Somayaji, Esq., M.A., L.T., Lecturer in Telugu, Andhra University College of Arts, Vizagapatam.
4. *Kavikandala* Venkata Rao, Esq., B.A., B.L., Innespeta, Rajamundry.

TAMIL.

1. Pandit A. Kanakaraja Iyer, Vidvān, Maharaja's College, Pudukkottai.
2. Mahāvidvān, *Bhāṣākaviśehkara* R. Raghava Iyengar, Lecturer, Research Department, Annamalai University.

MALAYALAM.

1. *Kaviṣarvabhauman* Vallattol Narayana Menon, Esq., Malabar.

HINDI.

1. *Kaviratna* Thakur Gopalsharan Singh of Nai garhi, Rewa State, C I.

URDU, PERSIAN AND ARABIC.

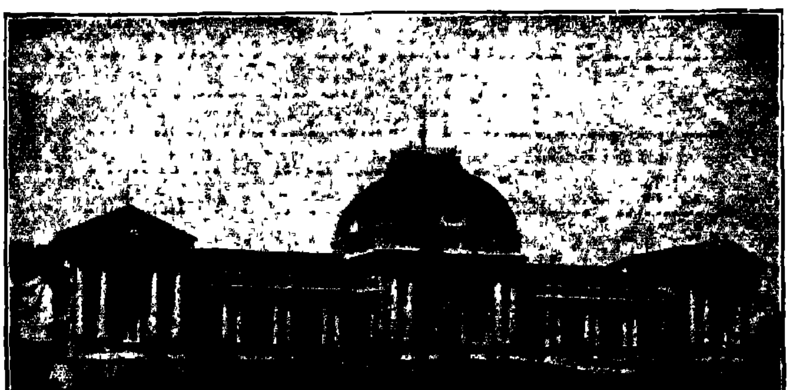
1. Maulvi Shah Abdul Hassan, Senior Persian Maulvi, Training College, Mysore.
2. Maulvi Md. Abdul Hassan, Training College Mysore.
3. Mahomed Yusuf Nafees, Esq., Chandni Chowk Road (cross), Bangalore Cantonment.

6 P.M.—In the evening lantern lectures and demonstrations were given in the Maharaja's College Hall. Vidwan T. Krishnamacharya gave a demonstration of his yoga exercises. Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL., delivered his illustrated Presidential Address of the Vedic Section. The subject treated by him was 'India's contribution to world culture.' Mr. Vishnu R. Karandikar gave a lantern lecture on the Conflict of cultures in the Narmada Valley', and Mr. Sarbeswar Kataki of Assam showed some interesting photographs of sculptures.

9 P.M.—After dinner the Festival of Fine Arts was held in the Jagan Mohan Palace Theatre. Miss Puttamma of Mysore gave a demonstration of the Mysore School of the art of gesture. Miss Varalakshmi and Miss Bhanumati of Kumbakonam gave a delightful exhibition of classical South Indian dancing.



Maharaja's College, Mysore



Jubilee Hall, Mysore

Tuesday, 31st December 1935.

8-11 A.M.—The Sectional meetings were continued in the University buildings. The Presidential addresses of the remaining sections were delivered.

Later His Highness the Patron granted interviews to some of the prominent members.

Simultaneously with the sectional meetings of the Conference, the annual meeting of the Linguistic Society of India was also held and the report on the working of the Society during 1933-35 presented.

3-30 P.M.—The closing Session of the Conference was held in the Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.

The President spoke as follows:—

I apologise for the late beginning of this meeting. It is my pleasant duty, first of all, to announce that the next session of this Conference will be held at Trivandrum at the invitation of His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore. The next item of business also by *mamul* falls to the lot of the President of the Conference. But in this particular instance I am in an anomalous position. That is the proposal for a vote of thanks for all the kindness and hospitality the members of the Conference received in Mysore. The whole arrangements made seem to have given general satisfaction and it is very pleasing to hear that this general satisfaction is due to various persons who have taken pains to provide facilities for the guests. Our thanks are therefore due to the Patron, Vice-Patron, the Government of Mysore, the University of Mysore, the Reception Committee, and the various institutions and Governments who have sent their representatives to the Conference. If the Conference has been a success it is due to the exertion of all these combined. On behalf of the Conference I tender our thanks to them. (Hear, hear). The brunt of the business fell on the shoulders of the younger men. I am referring to the volunteers and Boy Scouts, who worked so hard and strenuously. (Cheers). Our thanks are due to others who have given us

entertainment. (Cheers). I request Mr. Jayasval to propose a hearty vote of thanks.

Mr. K. P. Jayasval proposed a vote of thanks thus:—

Our thanks are due to the volunteers and to other gentlemen who have assisted us and tried to make us comfortable. As the President is Mysorean it may be regarded as thanking yourselves. It has been suggested that some one who is not a Mysorean should propose a vote of thanks. Now you have allowed us to identify ourselves so well with you that for the time being we have forgotten that we have come from outside. (Cheers). Our thanks are due not only to the volunteers but also to the gentlemen who have given us such excellent music and abhinaya. Our thanks are due to the whole of Mysore in general. (Cheers). We have received all attention at their hands. We can go back from your country with feelings of real gratitude. (Cheers).

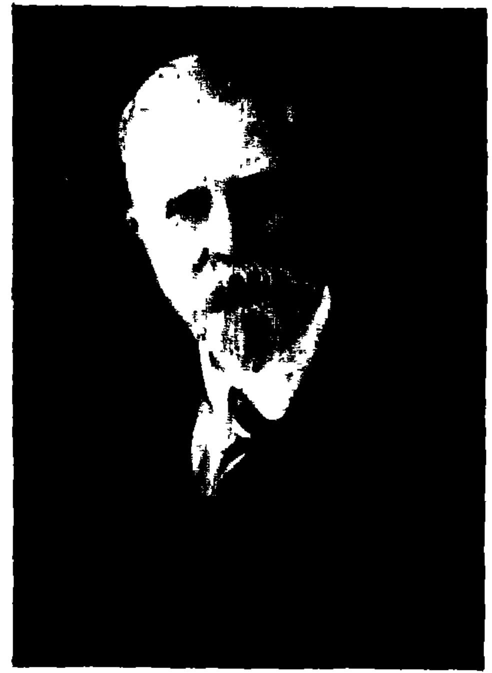
The President then remarked :—

Regarding the election of office bearers, the voting is not yet over. The Oriental Conference is a business of such magnitude which involves such variety and diversion that even the President of the Conference cannot say that he has seen all sections at work. I may say that the Conference has in three strenuous days done a great amount of work. The papers presented number 201 of which I find only nine have not arrived in time. I have been told by the General Secretary that papers received after the time fixed could not be included in the printed book of summaries. The inspiring fact is that separate sections held their session successively for two days. It would be normally impossible to expect all these papers to be read. Some papers were discussed at some length. The matter presented in papers varied in time from 600 or 700 B.C. down to the very modern times and extends over all branches of knowledge.—At one time there used to be a complaint that no active interest was taken in the



Retiring President

K'SHI PRASAD JAYASWAL, ESQ, M A (OXON), BAR AT-LAW Patna



Treasurer

DR A C WOOLNER M A, D LITT, C I E, Vice-Chancellor, University of Punjab, Lahore

work of the Conference. We have now reached a stage when there is too much work for the Conference. The suggestion for modification took two alternative forms, that the active work that is done is indeed really very great: cut off all diversions so that we may get through the papers. Imagine people coming from distant parts, made to work for ten hours. Even the most earnest man would fall back. The other suggestion was to reduce the number of papers and accept only the best. How are we to know what is the work that is being done. We have been finding our way through several sections. We shall work on from session to session so as to make it more efficient. It is not a complaint peculiar to us. We are accustomed to blame ourselves for lack of organization, for want of capacity. A comparison is often drawn with conferences held in Europe. But I hear from one of those who attended the 17th International Congress that the Congress extended over one whole week and over 400 delegates from all parts of the world attended it. Some kind of diversion was provided and a number of hours was set apart for papers. We may congratulate ourselves for the work that is done. The lines of activity are really increasing from session to session and evidence of it is found in the number of papers presented. We may as a matter of fact adopt modifications to suit our requirements. On the whole we have to congratulate ourselves every way upon the work done. May I say, ladies and gentlemen, that thanks are due to those who co-operated with us and to others who in every way helped us. I need not take up more of your time. We are bringing our preceedings to a close in the orthodox sampradayam.

The Vice-Chancellor and Chairman of the Reception Committee replied in the following terms:—

Mr. Jayasval, ladies and gentlemen, it was my privilege to offer you welcome on behalf of Mysore and it is my privilege now to thank you for the very kind expressions which your President has just uttered in

[illegible] of our poor efforts. You are holding your [illegible] only in alternate years. The demand for your [illegible] by so many towns in India render very improbable [illegible] we shall have the pleasure of welcoming you here again for a number of years. That will give us time to think carefully of our shortcomings and enable us to make them good on the occasion of your next visit. (Laughter). It is a very real pleasure in Mysore to have you here. It is very gratifying that, on the whole, you are satisfied with the kind of entertainment we have been able to offer you. This is not quite the last of the activities of the Conference. I hope we shall again meet in the adjoining theatre in the evening to wind up the activities of the Conference and some of you are going on tours tomorrow to see interesting monuments in the neighbourhood. This seems to be the appropriate time to wish you God speed and may I express the hope to take with you pleasant impression of your visit to Mysore. (Cheers, acclamation).

At the end announcement was made as to—

(1) the elections to the New Executive Committee,

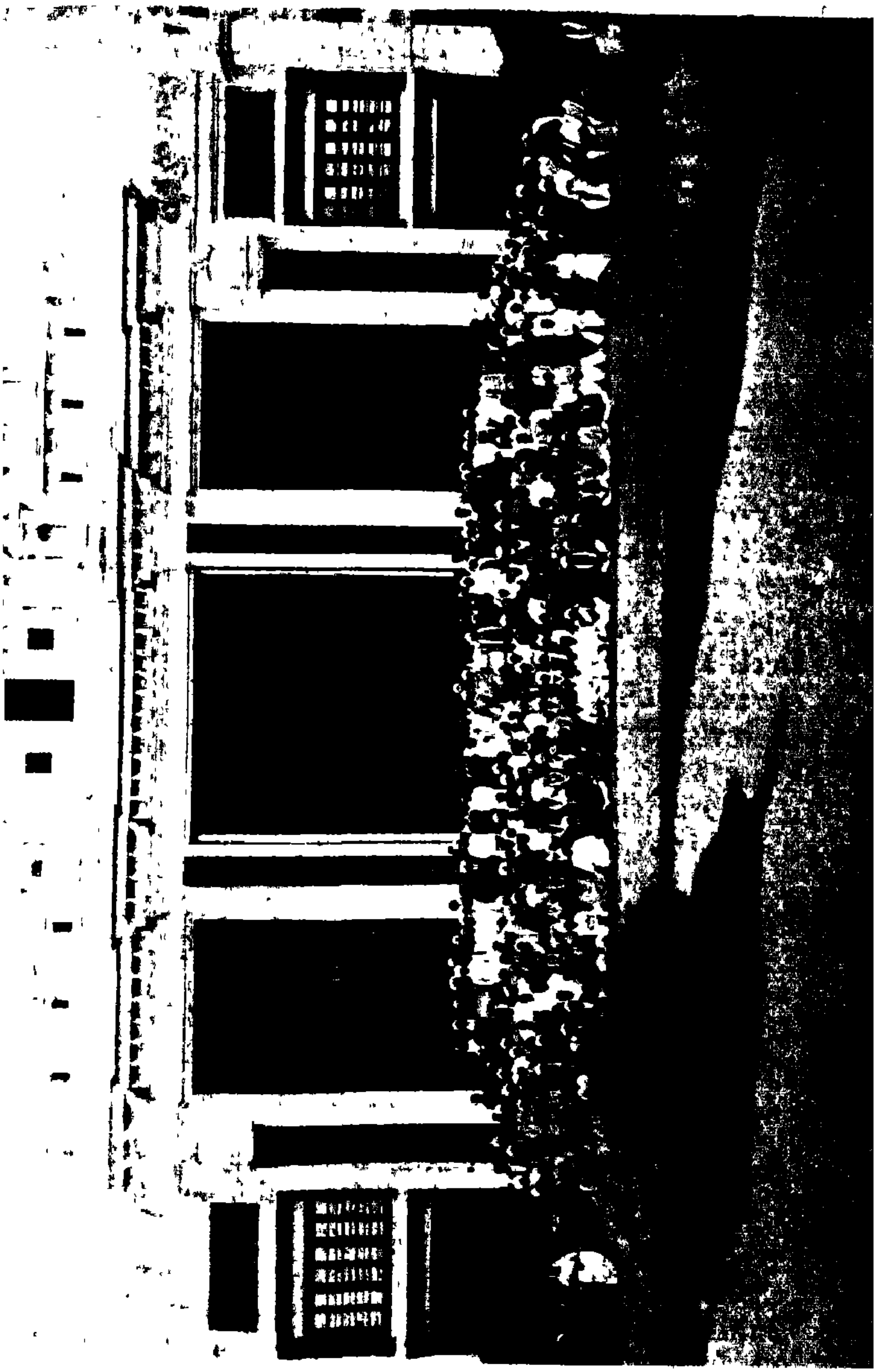
(2) the acceptance of the invitation from Trivandrum for the next session of the Conference.

The meeting concluded with the recitation of mangala sloka by Palace vidvan Purushottama Sastry, Sanskrit Patasala Adhyaksha, Muttur, Sidlaghatta Taluk, and an acclamation of three cheers of victory for His Highness the Maharaja and the Royal household.

A group photograph of all the members present at the closing session was taken in front of the Jagan Mohan Palace Hall.

The members then left by a special train for Krishnaraja Sagar (Brindavan) where they enjoyed the Patron's Garden Party and the illuminations.

[illegible]—At night in the Jagan Mohan Palace theatre the Festival of Fine Arts continued with an exhibition of an interesting Indian Marionette show depicting the



story of Harischandra enacted by Upadhyaya Mallanacharya, Mohiyuddin Saheb and party from Halre village, Mysore District. The show was very much appreciated by the audience.

This brought the work of the Eighth Session to a close.

EXHIBITION.

On all the three days the exhibition was held partly in the Jubilee Hall and partly in the rooms on the first floor of the Intermediate College building. It was open to members and invitees from 8 A.M. to 12 NOON and to non-members on 1st January only from 8 A.M. to 12 NOON, on payment of an entrance fee of annas two only.

The exhibition consisted of three sections:—

(a) Antiquities.
(b) Manuscripts and Books.
(c) Fine Arts.

The Director-General of Archæology in India very kindly permitted the exhibition of fifty select specimens from the Mohenjo-daro excavations. Some of the original objects evidencing the earliest known civilization of India were on view. H. E. H. the Nizam's Government very kindly sent a few of the copies of the ancient paintings of Ajanta and Ellora. The Mysore Government Archæological Department exhibited many impressions of inscriptions, and photographs of specimens of architecture and sculpture in the Mysore State. Among other institutions who participated in the exhibition were the following:—

(1) The Narmada Valley Research Board,
(2) The Numismatic Society of India,
(3) Government Oriental Library, Mysore,
(4) Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras,
(5) Government of Travancore,
(6) The Fine Arts Association, Mysore,
(7) The Chamarajendra Technical Institute, Mysore.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M.A., D.LITT. (Lond.) exhibited two ancient paintings from the island of Bali in Indonesia. Mr. Silpasiddhanti Siddhalingaswami of Mysore also exhibited several sculptures prepared by him.

EXCURSIONS.

Three conducted excursions were arranged for in batches.

A. 29th December 1935, 7-30 A.M. to 12 NOON: Mysore City, etc.: chief roads and parks, The Palace, Zoo, Lalita Mahal, Chamundi Hill and Temple, Jaganmohan Palace.

B. 1st January 1936, 7 A.M. to 8 P.M.: Seringapatam, Somanathpur, Cauvery Falls, Sivanasamudram Power Station and back. Special arrangements were made for those who desired to catch the mail train for Bangalore at Maddur Station at about 5 P.M.

C. Starting at 7 A.M. on 2nd January, and returning on 3rd January at 8 P.M.: Sravana Belgola, Belur, Halebid and back. Special arrangements were made for those who desired to catch the train for Poona at Arsikere Station at about 2 P.M. on 3rd January.

M. H. KRISHNA,
Local Secretary.



The Fascinating Fountains of Brindavan

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SEVERAL SECTIONS.

I. VEDIC.

The business of the Vedic section commenced in the morning of the 29th December with Dr. Lakshman Sarup in the chair. The total number of papers received was 14 (*Vide* list of papers). While the papers of those who were absent were taken as read, only three papers were recommended by the President to be included in the Proceedings. The Presidential address was delivered with illustrations at 7 P.M on 30th December 1935.

M. LAKSHMINARASIMHIA (M.A.),
Secretary.

II. IRANIAN.

The business of the section commenced on the 29th morning, Mr. B. T. Anklesaria presiding. Five papers were received in the section. (*Vide* list). All were read and approved for publication. The Presidential address was delivered on the 30th morning, when Sir Mirza Ismail, the Dewan of Mysore, and other distinguished people were present.

M. A. SHUSTERY,
Secretary.

III. ISLAMIC.

The business of the section commenced at 8 A.M. on the 29th December. Dr. M. Nizamuddin presided over the deliberations. Out of ten papers received in the section, (*Vide* list) seven were read and approved for publication. The Presidential address was delivered on the 30th morning.

SULTAN AHMAD (MAULVI),
Secretary.

IV. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION.

The work of the section commenced with Dr. S. K De's Presidential address.

Twenty-one papers were received for this section. (*Vide* list). Of these, two were not accepted.

The majority of those that were accepted were read either in full or in the form of a summary of essential points.

There was very lively discussion in the section throughout the session. The President of the section, Dr. S. K. De, was mainly responsible for the success of the section since with his amiable manners and keen sense of humour he piloted the discussion along useful channels and made brief and fruitful comments on each paper. Discussion was active and instructive in the case of several papers.

C. R. Narasimhasastri, (M.A.),
Secretary.

V. PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

The business of the section commenced at 8 A.M. on the 29th December 1937 with Mr. M. Hiriyanna in the chair. The total number of papers received was 33 (*Vide* list) and the total number of writers 29. Of these, 18 were present and all of them read their papers or explained their views orally. Where a contributor submitted two papers, only one was read for want of time. Out of the papers submitted, nine have been included for publication in the Proceedings. The Presidential address was delivered on the morning of Tuesday, the 31st December 1937.

H. N. Raghavendrachar (M.A.,)
Secretary.

VI. PRAKRITS.

The business of the section commenced on the 30th December 1935 in the morning with Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D.LITT., in the chair. All the five papers received in the section (*Vide* list) were taken as read, and the Presidential address was delivered at 10 A.M. on that day.

H. R. RANGASWAMY IYENGAR, (M.A.),
Secretary.

VII. HISTORY.

1. The opening address was delivered by Dr. Radhakumud Mukerji on 29th evening to a crowded assembly of the Conference. Soon after, he left the station having nominated Dr. H. C. Raychoudri to preside over the History Section.

Two meetings of the section were held on 30th December and 31st December respectively during which select papers were read.

Dr. R. C. Mazumdar's "Coronation Oath in Ancient India," and Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry's "Ceylon Expedition of Jatavarman" elicited some warm discussions.

Forty-five papers in all were received (*Vide* list) and only 21 papers were read.

The sectional meeting came to an end on 31st December after an address by Prof. Dr. H. C. Raychoudri and a vote of thanks to the President.

V. RAGHAVENDRA RAO, (M.A.),
Secretary.

VIII. ARCHÆOLOGY.

The sectional meeting commenced at 8 A.M. on the 29th December 1935 with Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Deputy Director-General of Archæology in India, in the

chair. Twenty-two papers were received in the section (Vide list) of which seven were taken as read, and the others were either read in part for want of time or explained orally by the authors themselves. Lantern lectures were delivered on the archæological importance of Kauśāmbi by Mr. N. N. Ghosh, M.A., L.T., Allahabad, and on the Narmada Valley finds by Mr. Vishnu R. Karandikar.

The Presidential address was delivered at 10 A.M. on the 31st December 1935 when the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, Mr. Jayaswal and *Rao Bahadur* S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, the General President of the Conference, were present among the distinguished people who had assembled.

L. NARASIMHACHAR (M.A.),
Secretary.

IX. ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE.

The Sub-Committee of the Ethnology and Folklore Section met and selected the papers (*Vide* list) for being read at the Conference and transferred two of the papers received to the History Section. The section held three sessions with *Rao Sahib Rajacharitavisharada* C. Hayavadana Rao in the Chair. Six papers were read and discussed at the three sittings held.

The Presidential address was delivered at 8 A.M. on December 31st. when a distinguished gathering, including Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, the Vice-Chancellor, University of Mysore, was present.

The section also discussed ways and means of improving the Museums in India and including Anthropology into the curricula of studies in a larger number of Indian Universities.

The meetings served to bring together scholars devoted to the subject from all parts of India and throw a great deal of light on each other's special field of study.

N. KASTURI (M.A., B.L.),
Secretary.

X. FINE ARTS AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES.

This Section contributed 16 papers to the Conference, out of which ten were read during two morning sessions between 8-30 and 11-30 A.M. on the 30th and 31st December 1935. The papers (*Vide* list) were of very varied interest, ranging from Indian play-house, architecture, sculpture, painting, iconography, ancient dramatic arts like Kathakali and *Yakshagāna*, art-motifs, musical science, chemistry, Vedic astronomy, and mediæval Hindu mathematics.

The Presidential address was delivered by Professor Shahid Sahrawardy, B. A. (Oxon.), Rani Bageswari, Professor of Fine-Arts, University of Calcutta, during the second morning session before a large and appreciative audience. It was an eloquent clarification of the main issues in the study of the History of Fine-Arts, which had been unfortunately missed by many previous scholars in their zeal to emphasise certain special aspects which appealed to them most, such as the idealistic, or the esoteric, or the æsthetic. An important point made out by the President was the great scope for the study of the Iranian element which must exist in Indian Art also just as it has suffused other Arts such as the Byzantine.

One of the visitors who wished to give a discourse on the technique of 'Palmistry' was allowed to do so.

The Session came to an end with the President's concluding remarks.

A. A. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR (M.A., L.T.),
Secretary.

XI. INDIAN LINGUISTICS.

The business of the Section began on the 30th morning with Dr. V. S. Sukthankar in the chair and continued the next day. Ten papers were received and read in the section. (*Vide* list).

Dr. S. K. Chatterji, delivered a lecture on "Indo-Aryan and Austric—Some Further Cases of Affinity," and Dr. C. Narayana Rao spoke on "A Comparative Table of Roots in the Dravidian Languages, Sanskrit, the Prakrits and the Modern Aryan Languages of India."

The papers of Drs. Baburam Saksena and Siddheswar Varma were taken as read. Dr. S. K. Chatterji suggested that Baburam Saksena's paper should not be published until after revision.

The President delivered his Presidential address on the 31st December 1935 at 9-30 A.M.

A. N. NARASIMHIA, [(M.A., L.T., PH.D. (Lond.),]
Secretary.

XII (a) KANNAḌA AND OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

The business of the section commenced on the morning of the 29th December. Out of the ten papers received in the section (*Vide* list) only two papers were recommended for publication by the President, though a few more were read in the meetings on the 30th and 31st December. The President *Mahāmahōpādhyāya Rao Bahadur* R. Narasimhacharya delivered his Presidential address at 8-30 A.M. on the 31st December.

D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, (M.A.),
Secretary.

XII (b) MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES.

The business of the section commenced from the morning of the 29th December 1935 and continued during the subsequent two days. For the papers received in the section see list. The President, Dr. S. K. Chatterji of the Calcutta University delivered his interesting address on the 31st morning.

T. KRISHNAMURTHI, (M.A.),
Secretary.

PANDITA PARISHAD.

At a meeting held on the 1st December 1935, (1) it was decided to draw up a list of Pandits to be invited to the Pandita Parishad, (2) the time and place for holding the Pandita Parishad were fixed, (3) the President of the Pandita Parishad was fixed up, (4) a Sub-Committee was framed to scrutinise the papers, to help in conducting the Parishad, to edit the selected papers and to fix up the details of the programme.

The invitation was extended to all *Mahāmahopadhyayas* and other Sanskrit scholars in and outside the Mysore State to take an active part in the Parishad. Free lodging and boarding of an orthodox type was provided in the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore, for the delegates and invitees.

Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyavachaspathi, Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S., was elected President.

The Sub-Committee met at 10-30 A.M. on the 29th December 1935 in the University Union to consider the papers, etc.

The delegates and invitees visited the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Oriental Library and the Palace Library on the 30th December at 8-30 A.M.

The public session of the Pandita Parishad was held in the Jaganmohan Palace at 3 P.M. on the 30th December 1935. After the invocation by the students of the Mysore Sanskrit College, *Mahamahopadhyaya Panditaratnam*

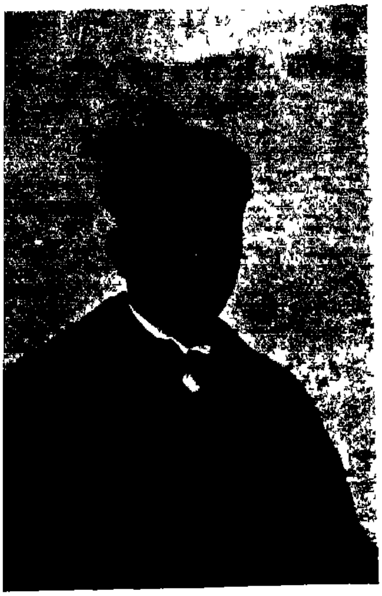
Dharmadhikari Dr. Sri Lakshmipuram Sreenivasacharya offered welcome to all. *Mahamahopadhyaya* Sastri Hathi Bhai Harishankar of Jamnagar (Ex-President of the Pandita Parishad) in a nice and felicitous speech handed over the Parishad charge to Professor S. Kuppuswami Sastri, the President elect for the year, who then delivered an *ex tempore* address for about 45 minutes, and announced that the discussion of the papers received for the deliberation of the Parishad would be taken up the next morning at the University Union Hall.

Accordingly at 8-30 A.M., on the 31st December 1935, the Parishad met at the University Union. Thirteen out of seventeen papers received in the section (*Vide* list) were read and discussed.

After a short concluding speech by the President, a vote of thanks was offered to him for the able way in which he guided the Parishad's deliberations. The sessions closed with three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

Mahamahopadhyaya, Shastri Hathi Bhai Harishankar of Jamnagar (Ex-President, Pandita Parishad, Baroda) delivered a lecture in Sanskrit on "Kim nāma Pāṇḍityam" in the Maharaja's Sanskrit College.

S. B. KRISHNAMOORTI (M.A.),
Secretary.



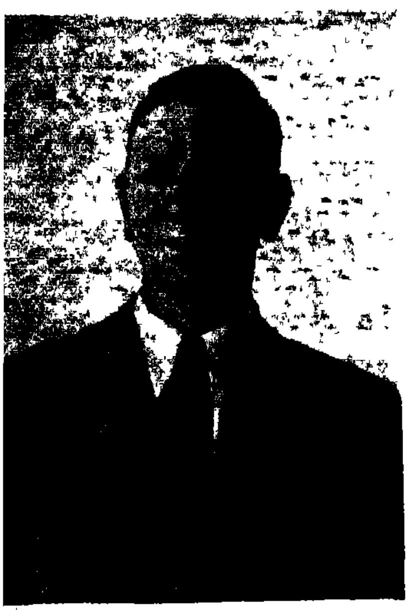
General Secretary

DR S K BELVALKAR, M A, PH D
Hindu University, Benares



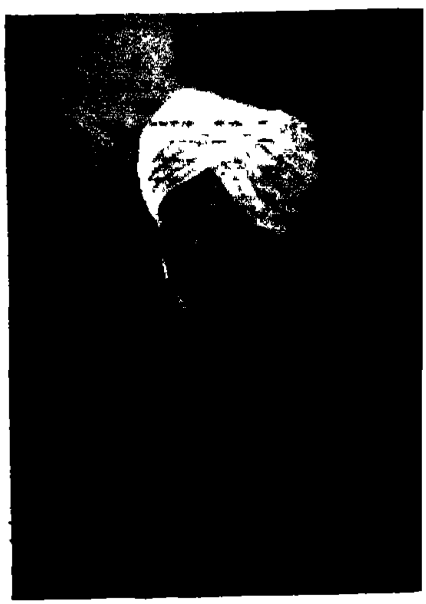
General Secretary

DR B BHATTACHARYA, M A, PH.D,
Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda



Treasurer

J. C ROLLO, ESQ, M.A, J P,
Principal, Maharaja's College, Mysore



Local Secretary

DR. M H KRISHNA, M A, D LITT (LONDO
Professor of History, Mysore University
and Director of Archæology, Mysore.

REPORT OF THE GENERAL SECRETARY

(DR. S. K. BELVALKAR).

Minutes of the two meetings of the Executive Committee for 1933-35 of the All-India Oriental Conference held on Sunday the 29th December 1935, at 9-30 A.M. and on Tuesday the 31st of December 1935 at 11 A.M.

PRESENT.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, *Chairman (1st day).*

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D., *Chairman (2nd day).*

2. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., D.LITT.
3. *Mahāmahōpādhyāya* Dr. S. Kuppuswāmi Sastri, M.A., I. E. S.
4. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, B.A., PH.D.,
5. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.LIT. (Lond.), *Local Secretary.*
6. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., PH.D., *General Secretary.*

I. Resolved that the following condolence resolutions be moved from the Chair at the open session of the Conference :—

(i) That the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference assembled at Mysore put on record their sense of deep sorrow at the passing away of Dr. Hiralal, an eminent Ethnologist and Epigraphist and President of the Sixth Session of the Conference.

(ii) That the Eighth Session of the All-India Conference assembled at Mysore put on record their sense of deep sorrow at the passing away of Dr. Sylvain Levi, the leading Indologist of France and President of the Second Session of the Conference.

(iii) That the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference assembled at Mysore put on record their sense of deep sorrow at the passing away

of Mr. E. B. Havell, the leading inspirer of the Modern Revival of Indian Arts.

II. Resolved that the Proceedings and transactions of the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Baroda be presented to the Conference at the opening session by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, General Secretary, on behalf of the Executive Committee.

III. Resolved that the Honorary Treasurer's accounts (1930-33) along with his explanatory notes dated the 27th December 1933, be approved.

Resolved *further* that the statement of accounts and the sale proceeds of the Conference Volumes and sundry expenditure as presented be passed.

IV. Resolved that the General secretary be authorized to print and publish the statement of accounts of the Honorary Treasurer (1931-33) and the statement of the accounts of the General Secretary—December 1930 to 1st December 1933.

V. Resolved that the Hon. Treasurer be authorised to make the payment of Rs. 811-12-1 to the Local Secretary, Baroda, Dr. B.Bhattacharyya, towards meeting deficit in the general expenditure of the Conference.

VI. Resolved that the best thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Dr. Bhattacharyya, Local Secretary of the Baroda Session and his staff, for the successful production of the Volume of the Proceedings.

VII. Resolved that the rules and bye-laws regarding election of General President and Sectional Presidents and the bye-laws under Rules 4, 7, and 8 and under Rule 13 about money matters passed through circulars issued by the General Secretary to the Executive Committee be formally adopted.

VIII. Resolved that the Conference, in future, be ordinarily divided into the following 14 Sections (*Vide* Appendix A):—

IX. Resolved that the price of the volume of Baroda Report and Proceedings be fixed at Rs. 10 per copy

X Consideration of the proposals of Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya:

Resolved that there should be two classes of membership of the Conference:—

(1) Full members paying Rs. 10 and entitled to a free copy of the Proceedings and transactions;

(2) Associate members paying Rs. 5 and entitled to all the privileges of the membership other than the right to receive a free copy of the Proceedings and transactions.

XI. Resolved that the report of Mr. V. R. Karandikar on the work done by the Narmada Valley Research Board appointed at the Baroda Conference be recorded.

XII. Resolved that the proposal of the Madras University to have a revised and up-to-date *Catalogus Catalogorum* be regarded as the most welcome, and that the Conference extend its full support to the proposal.

Resolved *further* that the proposals be brought to the notice of the members of the Conference for co-operation.

XIII. Resolved that Dr. Otto Stein's proposals regarding the preparation of a 'Cultural Atlas of India' be recorded.

XIV. Resolved that the following 10 names proposed by the Reception Committee be accepted and that the gentlemen be co-opted on the Council under Article 7 (c). (*Vide* Appendix B.)

XV. Resolved that the proposal of Dr. S. K. De conveyed in his letter of the 26th November

1935 be recommended to the Council for necessary action regarding appointment of a committee to explore the possibilities of the Conference undertaking definite literary work such as publishing an annual bulletin of Indian publications on oriental subjects, etc.

XVI. Resolved that the following part of the resolution tabled by Mr. K. Chattopadhyaya be recommended to the General Council for necessary action :—

"In view of the great need of archæological excavations and explorations in the country on an extensive scale, this Conference requests the Government of India to give facilities to persons deputed by Universities and other bodies in acquiring training in Archæology."

XVII. The venue of the next session of the Conference .—

Resolved (*a*) that the invitation of the Travancore Government to hold the next session of the All-India Oriental Conference at Trivandrum be accepted with the best thanks and (*b*) that Mr. R. V. Poduval, B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Travancore Government, be appointed the Hon. Local Secretary of the Ninth Session.

XVII. Consideration of the letter of resignation of Dr. A. C. Woolner, Honorary Treasurer:

Resolved that Dr. A. C. Woolner's resignation be accepted in view of the fact that he retires from service and is expected to be out of India in 1937; and that the best thanks of the Conference be conveyed to him for his past services to the Conference as its Honorary Treasurer.

Resolved *further* that Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan be requested to accept the office of the

Honorary Treasurer of the Conference and that failing Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Professor A. B. Dhruva of the Benares Hindu University be elected Honorary Treasurer of the Conference.

The Agenda of the Council meeting to be held on 31st December 1935 at 1-30 P.M. and of the closing plenary session of the Conference was considered and finally approved.

APPENDIX A.

1. Vedic (including Indo-Aryan Origins).
2. Iranian and Zoroastrian Languages and Literature (including Avesta, Old Iranian and Middle Iranian Languages such as Pahlavi, etc.).
3. Islamic Culture and Literature (including Pre-Islamic Arabic, Arabic and Persian, also Urdu if not provided for in Section 13).
4. Classical Sanskrit.
5. Philosophy and Religion (the latter from the rational and cultural point of view).
6. Ardhamagadhi, Pali and Prakrits (including papers on Jainism and Buddhism in their literary aspects).
7. History (including Ancient Geography).
8. Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics.
9. Ethnology and Folk-lore.
10. Fine Arts (including architecture, sculpture, Iconography and Music).
11. Technical Sciences.
12. Philology or Indian Linguistics.
13. Modern Indian Languages, particularly of the Province where the Conference is held.
14. All other Modern Indian Languages.

APPENDIX B.

List of persons elected to represent the Reception Committee on the Council of the Conference:

1. D. Srinivasachar, Esq., M.A., Professor of Sanskrit, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
2. M. A. Shustery, Esq., Professor of Persian, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
3. T. S. Venkannaiya, Esq., M.A., Professor of Kannada, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
4. A. R. Wadia, Esq., B.A., Bar-at-law, Professor of Philosophy, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
5. S. B. Krishna Moorti, Esq., M.A., Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore.
6. *Rajacharitavisarada Rao Sahib* C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Narasimharaja Road, Bangalore City.
7. R. Rama Rao, Esq., B.A., Assistant to the Director of Archæological Researches in Mysore, Mysore.
8. C. R. Narasimha Sastry, Esq., M.A., Assistant Professor of Sanskrit, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
9. Dr. A. N. Narasimhia, M.A., L.T., Ph.D., University Librarian, Mysore University, Mysore.
10. M. S. Basavalingaiya, Esq., M.A., B.L., Assistant Curator, Government Oriental Library, Mysore.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE GENERAL COUNCIL OF THE ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE HELD AT MAHARAJA'S COLLEGE, MYSORE.

31st December 1935.

AT 1-30 P.M.

Members present—

1. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar *in the Chair.*
2. Forty-seven others as per list of signatures* which includes members qualified under Rule 7 (*a*) and (*b*) and the 10 members co-opted as per Rule 7 (*c*) —

Messrs.—

1. S. Kuppaswami Sastri.
2. P. L. Vaidya.
3. V. S. Sukthankar.
4. H. C. Ray.
5. M. Nizamuddin.
6. Lakshman Sarup.
7. S. K. De.
8. K. N. Dikshit.
9. C. Hayavadana Rao.
10. G. V. Acharya.
11. A. R. Wadia.
12. I. J. S. Taraporewala.
13. M. S. Basavalingayya.
14. R. Rama Rao.
15. M. A. Shustery.
16. K. Chattopadhyaya.
17. D. Srinivasachar.
18. S. B. Krishnamoorty.
19. P. P. S Sastry.
20. R. C. Majumdar.

*Members present were requested to sign their names in the list.

21. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.
22. T. R. Chintamani.
23. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.
24. M. Abdulla Chaghtai.
25. M. N. Siddiqi.
26. Narayan Chandra Banerjee.
27. Bisheshvarnath Reu.
28. H. Sharma.
29. C. R. Narasimhasastri.
30. R. D. Karmarkar.
31. P. V. Bapat.
32. H. R. Divekar.
33. N. Chengalvarayan.
34. M. Rama Rao.
35. C. Narayana Rao.
36. Manoranjan Ghosh.
37. N. K. Bhattasali.
38. A. N. Narasimhia
39. Durga Prasad.
40. R. Subba Rao.
41. *Rai Bahadur* Prayag Dayal.
42. S. K. Belvalkar
43. K. P. Jayaswal.
44. M. H. Krishna.
45. C. S Srinivasachari.
46. S. P. Chaturvedi.
47. V. V. Mirashi.

I. The following matters were reported to the Council:—

(1) That the Executive Committee has accepted the invitation of the Travancore Government to hold the next or Ninth Session of the Conference at Trivandrum.

(2) That Mr. R. V. Poduval was appointed Local Secretary at Trivandrum.

(3) That on account of ill health Dr. A. C. Woolner has resigned the office of the Hon. Treasurer of the Conference and his resignation has been accepted.

II. The question was raised at this stage whether the appointment of a successor to Dr. Woolner as also that of the other office-bearers of the Conference was to be made by the existing Executive Committee or by the new Executive Committee after it was constituted. A ruling was given to the effect that while the exsiting Executive Committee was competent to settle the venue of the next Conference and therefore, as a consequence, to appoint the new Local Secretary and while it could also accept a resignation such as that of the Hon. Treasurer, the new Treasurer and the new General Secretaries should be elected by the new Executive Committee; that is by the 14 members to be elected by the General Council then in session and the existing office-bearers who were expected to continue in office until their successors are appointed. It was accordingly resolved that nominations to fill up 14 places on the new Executive Committee be made at the meeting.

III. Since however the procedure would take time, it was agreed that certain non-controversial matters and other recommendations of the present Executive Committee in regard to other matters of general interest be first disposed of. Accordingly, the following resolutions were adopted :—

IV. Resolved that the Conference afford cordial welcome to the proposal of the Madras University to prepare a revised and up-to-date Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Mss. and heartily extend its full support to the same

V. Dr. Krishna next moved—

That the membership of this Conference be divided into the following two classes:

(1) Full members paying Rs. 10 and entitled to a free copy of the Proceedings and transactions.

(2) Associate members paying Rs. 5 and entitled to all the privileges of membership other than the right to receive a free copy of the Proceedings and transactions.

Professor D. Srinivasachar seconded the proposal. There was considerable opposition to the proposal and Dr. Krishna was eventually prevailed upon to withdraw his proposition.

VI. Resolved, on the motion of Dr. K. Chattopadhyaya supported by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, that this Conference strongly recommends to the Government of India (*a*) to revive the exploration branch of the Archæological Survey of India; (*b*) to give facilities to persons deputed by Universities and other bodies in India for acquiring trainingin Archæology; and (*c*) to reinstate the system of scholarship in Archæology.

VII. Another resolution tabled by Dr. Hemachandra Ray to the effect that—"In view of the great need of archæological excavations and explorations in the country on an extensive scale, this Conference requests the Government of India to give facilities to persons deputed by Universities and other bodies in acquiring training in archæology and to re-institute the old system of scholarships in archæology," was not materially different from the above resolution and was not therefore pressed as a separate resolution.

VIII. Dr. S. K. De's proposition recommending the appointment of a Committee consisting of—

1. The President.
2. Prof. S. Kuppuswami,
3. Prof. S. K. Chatterji,
4. The General Secretary, and
5. The mover (Convener)

to explore the possibility for this Conference to establish a permanent central organisation, etc.,

(1) That steps be taken by the Conference to establish a permanent central organisation under the direction of the permanent Secretary for the following, among other purposes —

(*a*) for publishing an annual Bulletin of Indian publications on oriental subjects,

(*b*) for co-ordinating oriental research in different provinces and centres, and acting as a medium for the supply of information and other facilities relevant thereto, and

(*c*) for acting as a Central Bureau for communication and arrangement of lectures, study and such other activities as may further the main objects of the Conference ; and

(2) That a committee be appointed to explore the possibilities of the above proposal and prepare a detailed scheme for giving effect to it.

As the time at disposal was very limited Dr. De asked the permission of the house to withdraw his proposition. The permission was granted.

IX. Nominations were next invited for electing 14 members to the new Executive Committee.

The following names were duly proposed and seconded by members :—

Messrs :—

1. R. C. Majumdar.
2. V. S. Sukthankar.
3. G. Yazdani.

4. P. P. S. Sastri.
5. S. K. De.
6. H. C. Ray.
7. Z. Siddiqi.
8. R. Subba Rao.
9. K. N. Dikshit.
10. Nizamuddin.
11. Kuppuswami Sastri.
12. Taraporewala.
13. Mohammed Shafi.
14. H. R. Divekar.
15. K. P. Jayaswal.
16. A. N. Narasimhia.
17. Hiranand Sastri.
18. Haradat Sarma.
19. Nilakanta Sastri.
20. H. Heras.
21. R. D. Karmakar.
22. S. K. Belvalkar.
23. C. R. Narasimha Sastri.
24. L. Sarup.
25. M. H. Krishna.
26. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya.
27. K. C. Chattopadhyaya.
28. B. Bhattacharyya.
29. N. C. Banerji.

At this stage Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, President, requested Professor Kuppuswami Sastri to take the Chair as he had to go to meet His Highness the Maharaja at 2-45 P.M. Professor Kuppuswami Sastri occupied the Chair. Voting slips were issued to members. Dr. Bapat and Dr. Chintamani were appointed Tellers.

X. After the voting was completed the Tellers scrutinized the voting papers and submitted the following report :—

Thirty-eight members have voted.

Two voting papers were declared invalid.

The following 13 persons are declared elected by a majority of votes. Of the next two who got equality of votes Professor H. R. Divekar is declared elected by drawing lots. The fourteen names are the following :—

Messrs :—

1. G. Yazdani.
2. S. K. De.
3. K. N. Dikshit.
4. V. S. Sukthankar.
5. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.
6. K. P. Jayaswal.
7. M. H. Krishna.
8. R. C. Majumdar.
9. I. J. S. Taraporevalla.
10. S. K. Belvalkar.
11. P. P. S. Sastri.
12. L. Sarup.
13. Mohammad Shafi.
14. H. R. Divekar.

These, together with the new Local Secretary (Mr. R. V. Poduval), the existing General Secretaries and Dr. S. Krishnaswami, the General President constituted the Executive Committee which was to elect the new Office-bearers, *viz.*, the Treasurer and the two General Secretaries. The result of the election was announced at the General Session of the Conference.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE NEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD ON 31ST DECEMBER 1935 AT 6-30 P.M. AT KRISHNARAJA SAGAR.

Members Present :—

Messrs.

S. Krishnaswami (in the Chair).

S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

K. P. Jayaswal.
S. K. Belvalkar.
I. J. S. Taraporevala.
R. C. Majumdar.
L. Sarup.
M. Shafi.
S. K. De.
K. N. Dikshit.
P. P. S. Sastri.
M. H. Krishna.
H. R. Divekar.
R. V. Poduval.

Resolved that Dr. M. H. Krishna the retiring Local Secretary be elected one of the General Secretaries for 1935-37.

Resolved that failing Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Professor A. B. Dhruva be elected Hon. Treasurer of the Conference.

Resolved that Dr. S. K. Belvalkar be requested to continue for one more session as the General Secretary of the Conference. As two *ad interim* vacancies were formed by the election of 2 of the 14 newly elected members as office bearers, the following names were proposed to fill in the vacancies.

1. Dr. Ganganath Jha.
2. Prof. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya.
3. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya.
4. Rev. Father H. Heras.

The first two names were declared elected by majority.

Resolved that the best thanks of the Conference be conveyed to the Executive Committee for 1933-35 for their able services to the Conference, and especially to such office-bearers and members as have not been returned to the new Executive Committee.

Resolved that the proposition unanimously passed by the delegates and members of the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference interested in Urdu to the effect that there be an independent section for Urdu at the Conference, be recorded and passed on to the next Local Secretary for such action as the Local Reception Committee might think proper.

A vote of thanks to the Chair terminated the meeting.

The complete personnel of the Executive Committee for 1935-37 is given below.—

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1935-37.

Office-bearers

1. PRESIDENT—*Rajasevasakta Dewan Bahadur* Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M.A., PH.D. (Hony.), Sripadam, 143, Broodies Road, Mylapore, Madras.
2. TREASURER -Dr A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.
3. GENERAL SECRETARY—*Rao Bahadur* Dr. S. K Belvalkar, M.A., PH.D., I.E.S. (Retired), (1) Hindu University, Benares, (2) Bilvakunja, Poona 4.
4. GENERAL SECRETARY—Dr M H. Krishna, M.A., D.LIT., Director of Archæology in Mysore, University of Mysore, Mysore.
5. LOCAL SECRETARY—R Vasudev Poduval, ESQ., B.A., Superintendent of Archæology, Trivandrum, South India.

Members.

6. *Mahamahopadhyaya* Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.LITT., George Town, Allahabad.
7. K. P. Jayaswal ESQ., M.A., BAR-AT-LAW, The Museum, Patna.
8. *Vidyavachaspati Mahamahopadhyaya* Dr. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Retired), (1) Madras; (2) Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.

[illegible] Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya, Shastri, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Calcutta, Calcutta.

[illegible] Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B.A., PH.D., BAR-AT-LAW, Principal, Kama Athornan Institute, Andheri, Bombay.

[illegible] G. Yazdani, ESQ., M.A., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad (Deccan).

12. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., PH.D., Vice-Chancellor, University of Dacca, Ramna.

13. Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL., Officer d'Academic (France), University of the Panjab, Lahore.

14. *Rao Bahadur* K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Director-General of Archaeology in India, (1) New Delhi; (2) Simla.

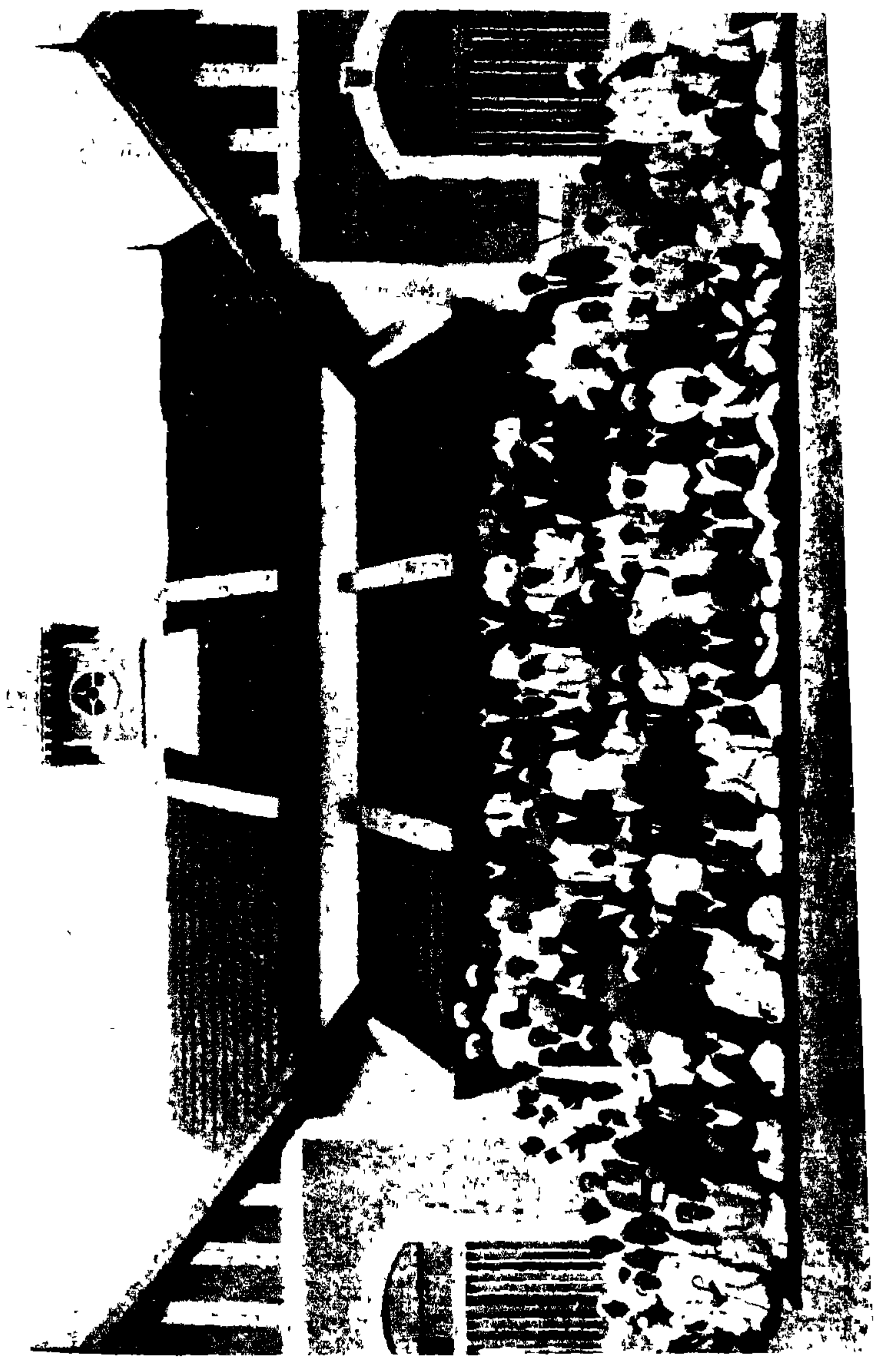
15. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., PH.D., Secretary, B.O.R. Institute, Poona 4.

16. Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., D.LIT., University of Dacca, Ramna.

17. *Vidyasagar Vidyavachaspati* Professor P. P. S. Sastri, M.A., Presidency College, Madras.

18. Professor Mohammad Shafi, M.A., University of the Panjab, Lahore.

19. *Sahityacharya* Professor H. R. Divekar, M.A., D.LITT., Laxmiganj, Lashkar, Gwalior.



ACCOMPANIMENT.

STATEMENTS I—VIII.

STATEMENT I.

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFFRENCE.

I. The Hon. Treasurer's Statement of Accounts of the General Fund of the All-India Oriental Conference for 1931–1933

(A. Submitted by Dr. A. C. Woolner.)

Income.	Rs.	a.	p.
Balance on January 1931 (*vide* Patna Report Appendix, p. 8).*	5,912	10	3
Remitted by General Secretary (3rd January 1931) being donations from Baroda ... Rs 500; Punjab University ... ,, 250; Madras do ... ,, 250	1,000	0	0
Balance from Local Treasurer of the Lahore Session.	40	6	9
Interest on Fixed Deposit up to May, 1933†	60	0	0
Balance of General Secretary's Imprest of Rs 500, etc., remitted October 1933.	346	0	0
Total ...	7,359	1	0

Expenditure.	Rs.	a.	p.
Expenses of General Secretary (Dr S. Krishnaswami) January 1931.	83	5	6
Dr. Lakshman Sarup T. A. to Patna to distribute volumes of Lahore Proceedings.	372	6	0
Hony. Secretary, India Linguistic Society, for printing Linguistic Articles of Lahore Conference (Ex. Comm. at Patna, para V).	500	0	0
Postage of copies of the same to members I. O. C.	35	0	0
Invested in Post Office Cash certificate value Rs. 5,330 in January 1936 (Ex. Comm. Patna, para VI).	3,997	8	0
Total ...	4,988	3	6
Balance in hand	2,370	13	6
Total ...	7,359	1	0
Balance as per Pass-book October 13, 1933 ...	2,324	13	6
Last cheque from General Secretary not then entered.	46	0	0
Total ...	2,370	13	6

*A sum of Rs. 2,540-12-6 was already in the hands of the Honorary Treasurer and is included in the opening balance

†Rs. 1,500 placed in Fixed deposit in February 1931 was repaid by the Bank in May, 1933

‡The General Secretary has also drawn from his Account 1st quarter of 1931 (including Rs 60 subscription due to Lahore session)

	Rs.	a.	p.
1st quarter of 1931 (including Rs 60 subscription due to Lahore session)	65	4	0
1st April, 1931 to July 1933	150	13	6
1st April 1931 to July 1933	49	13	6
August, September 1933, October 1933	12	1	3
Total ...	278	0	3

A. C. WOOLNER,
Hon. Treasurer.

STATEMENT II

The Hon. Treasurer's continuation of accounts from 31st December 1933 to 31st December 1935.

Date	Withdrawal Rs. a. p.	Deposit Rs. a. p.	Balance Rs. a. p.	Remarks
1st January 1934	...	...	2,370 13 6	Brought over.
19th February 1934 ..	..	1,000 0 0	...	Grant from Osmania University.
16th April 1934 ...	...	250 0 0	...	Grant from Punjab.
		1,000 0 0	...	Grant from U. P. Government.
16th April 1934	1 4 0	..	..	Commission on Cheque.
2nd January 1936 ..	500 0 0	..	..	Imprest with General Secretary.
..	811 12 0	...		Cheque to the Baroda Local Secretary issued on 13th December 1935.
31st December 1935 ..	.	..	3,307 13 5	Balance handed over by Dr. Woolner.

LAHORE,

13th December 1935.

A. B. DHRUVA,

For A. C. WOOLNER,

Honorary Treasurer.

STATEMENT III.

Account of the All-India Oriental Conference Volumes in stock at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute from 11th December 1930 to 1st December 1933.*

Receipts.

		Rs.	a.	p.
1. Opening Balance on 10th Dec. 1930	...	642	11	0
2. Interest on Savings Bank Account	...	37	0	9
3. 2/3 of the Sale proceeds of the Conference Volumes II to V that were sold at the Institute up to 1st December 1933.	(30–31)	125	5	4
	(31–32)	131	5	4
	(32–33)	225	5	4
	(33–34)	0	10	8
Total	..	1,232	6	5

Details of Balance :—

1. In Savings Bank Account	...	720	11	6
2. With the Secretary	..	157	3	5
Total	...	877	14	11

Expenditure.

		Rs.	a.	p.
1. Expenditure for clerical assistance up to 1st October 1933	...	5	0	0
2 Postage for and Stationery	...	18	12	6
3 Further Clerical Assistance	...	15	0	0
4. Freight charges on account of Fifth Conference volumes including carting charges ...	...	195	11	0
5. General Secretary's Railway fare from Poona to Patna and back, II Class ...	...	120	0	0
Total	...	354	7	6
Balance on 1st Dec. 1933	...	877	14	11
Total	.	1,232	6	5

* Previous statement from 31st March 1929 to 10th December 1930 as printed in the Appendix to Patna Report.

S. K. BELVALKAR,

General Secretary.

STATEMENT IV.

Account of the All-India Oriental Conference Volumes in stock at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute from 1st December 1933 to 3rd August 1935.

Receipts

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Opening balance on 11th December 1933.	877	14	0
2. Two-thirds of the sale proceeds of the Conference Vols. II to IV (Last four months, 1933-34)	91	6	8
3. Two-thirds of the sale proceeds of the Conference Vols. II to IV (Last four months, 1933-34)	152	4	0
4. Interest on S. B. Accounts up to 30th June 1935	31	9	10
Total ...	1,153	2	6

Expenditure

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Expenditure for clerical assistance ...	45	0	0
2. Postage and Stationery as per vouchers attached	56	8	3
3. Freight charges for reports, etc. ...	199	1	0
4. Amount spent for parcel from Baroda ...	7	2	3
5. Railway fare from Poona to Baroda and back, II Class, and conveyance charges at Baroda	48	7	0
Total ...	356	2	6
Balance in S. B. Account ...	*797	0	0
Grand Total ...	1,153	2	6

* The balance in S. B. Account on 3rd August 1935 was Rs 797

S. K. BELVALKAR,
General Secretary.

STATEMENT V.

Account of the All-India Conference Volumes in stock at the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute from 4th August 1935 to 30th June 1937.

Receipts

		Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Opening balance on 3rd August 1935 .	797	0	0
2.	Savings Bank interest from 1st July 1935 to 30th June 1935	13	11	8
3.	Savings Bank interest from 1st July 1936 to 30th June 1937	3	2	4
4.	Two-thirds of sale proceeds for the year ending 31st March 1936 ..	187	3	4
5.	Two-thirds of sale proceeds for the year ending 31st March 1937	150	6	8
	Total ...	1,151	8	0

Expenditure

		Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Freight charges for Baroda Reports ..	40	3	0
2.	Withdrawn on 25th October 1935 (*vide* Statement VI, Receipts, Item 2) ...	100	0	0
3.	Withdrawn on 27th December 1935 (*vide* Statement VI, Receipts, Item 3)	100	0	0
4.	Withdrawn on 25th June 1936 (*vide* Statement VI, Receipts, Item 4) ...	400	0	0
	Total .	640	3	0
	Balance in S. B. on 13th July 1937 ...	511	5	0
	Grand Total ...	1,151	8	0

S. K. Belvalkar,

General Secretary.

STATEMENT VI.

Statement of the General Secretary's Imprest Account from 1st April 1934 to 30th June, 1937.

Receipts.

	Receipts	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Imprest received on 16th April 1934	500	0	0
2.	From S. B. Account on 25th October 1935	100	0	0*
3.	From S. B. Account on 27th December 1935	100	0	0
4.	From S B. Account on 26th June 1936	400	0	0
	Total ..	1,100	0	0

* Withdrawals from the S. B. Account had to be made as advance had to be given to the Mysore Local Secretary and as, owing to the change in the office of the Treasurer, the General Secretary's expenditure from the imprest in his charge could not be otherwise made good.

Expenditure.

	Expenditure	Rs.	a.	p.
1.	Advance to Local Secretary, Mysore ..	100	0	0
2	Clerical assistance up to 31st August 1935 .	56	0	0
3	Telegrams	24	2	0
4	Railway freight	4	0	0
5	Postage	16	12	0
6	Stationery	10	4	0
7	Printing of Stationery, etc ..	38	8	0
8.	Printing of Nomination and Voting Forms ..	17	10	0
9	Second class fare from Benares to Mysore and back.	191	12	0
10.	Luggage for conference files and reports ...	3	8	0
11	Conveyance and Miscellaneous at Mysore ...	8	4	0
12.	First class fare from Madras to Mysore and back ...	76	4	0
13	Postage and Stationery at Benares .	15	4	0
14.	Luggage for Conference files and reports ..	3	8	0
15.	Clerical assistance and typing charges up to 30th June 1937 at Benares	43	8	0
16.	The President's contingent charges	6	8	0
17.	Clerical charges at Poona up to 30th June 1937 ..	30	8	0
18.	Postage, Telegram and Sundry charges at Poona ...	18	8	0
19.	Contingent charges, advance, to Treasurer ...	25	0	0
	Total ...	689	5	0
	Balance on 1st July 1937 ...	410	11	0
		1,100	0	0

S. K. BELVALKAR,
General Secretary.

A. B. DHRUVA,
Hon. Treasurer.

STATEMENT VII.

The Honorary Treasurer's statement of Account from 31st December 1935 to 30th June 1937.

Date	Withdrawal Rs. a. p.	Deposit Rs. a. p.	Balance Rs. a. p.	Remarks
2-1-1936	...	..	3 307 13 5	Brought over
6-7-1936	13 8 0		...	Safe Custody commission for Cash Certificates.
7-7-1936	8 4 0	..		Exchange commission.
			3,286 1 5	Amount actually deposited at the Imperial Bank of India, Ahmedabad Branch.
9-7-1936	...	150 0 0	3,286 1 6	Transferred balance.
25-5-1936	0 6 0	150 0 0	149 10 0	As. 6 annas exchange commission for the donation of Rs. 150 from Cochin State.
15-6-1936	...	250 0 0	...	Grant from Junagadh State.
31-6-1936	...	5,316 8 0	...	Cash realised from Postal Cash Certificates.
12-10-1936	4,906 11 0	...	...	Purchase of Cash Certificates.
1-1-1937	...	.	4,505 8 5	Balance with the Hon. Treasurer of which Rs. 25 is cash on hand and Rs. 4,480-8-5 with the Bank.

AHMEDABAD,
1st July 1937.

S. K. BELVALKAR,
General Secretary

A. B. DHRUVA,
Honorary Treasurer.

STATEMENT VIII

Statement of All-India Oriental Conference Volumes in Stock at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

Volumes	Copies as originally received	Copies sold upto 31st Mar. 1935	Copies presented upto 31st Mar 1935	Copies in stock upto 31st Mar. 1935	Copies sold since 1st April 1935 to 31st December 1935	Copies in stock on 31st Dec. 1935
Calcutta Vol. II ...	388	52	2	334	2	332
Madras Vol. III ..	319	40	2	277	2	275
Allahabad Vol. IV, Pt. i	137	62	2	73	3	70
Vol. IV, Pt. ii ...	112	61	2	49	2	47
Lahore Vol. V, Pt. i ...	826	28	2	296	2	294
Vol. V, Pt. ii ..	325	28	3	294	2	292
Patna Vol. VI ...	622	18	3	601	6	595

N.B.—Baroda Report was received later.

26TH DECEMBER 1935.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR,
Honorary Secretary,
Bhandarkar Oriental Research
Institute, Poona, 4.

THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE.

MYSORE, DECEMBER 1935.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS.*

INCOME.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Patron's grant	1,000	0	0
Government grant	1 000	0	0
University grant	1,000	0	0
Donations and other fees	1,192	4	0
Membership fees	2,491	8	0
Miscellaneous (from the General Secretary, sale proceeds of Conference publications and other articles).	140	13	0
Total ...	6,824	9	0

EXPENDITURE.

	Rs.	a.	p.
Boarding and Lodging	2,081	7	9
Entertainment	644	8	0
Exhibition	229	15	2
Conveyance	838	11	6
Hand Book (Guide to Mysore)	312	2	0
Pandita Parishad	162	2	0
Printing	375	13	6
Contingencies (postage, etc.)	447	5	2
Establishment and Honorarium	447	0	0
Miscellaneous	1,265	0	0
Transferred to the Conference General Account	20	1	11
Total ...	6,824	9	0

T. K. VENKATARAMANAIAH,	M. H. KRISHNA,	J. C. ROLLO,
Clerk & Accountant.	*Secretary.*	*Hon. Treasurer.*

* The above does not include the cost of entertaining the Government Guests and the cost of the Patron's Garden party, which were met directly by the State. The total expenditure under this head is roughly estimated at about Rs. 4,000.



Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore

PART II

Articles

I. VEDIC SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., D.PHIL.,

Professor of Sanskrit, Oriental College, University of Punjab, Lahore.

THE ṚIGVEDA AND MOHENJO-DARO.[1]

I am going to speak today on the Ṛigveda and Mohenjo-daro. While speaking on this subject, I feel very diffident, for my views radically differ from the views of Sir John Marshall, ex-Director-General of Archæology in India and E. Mackay, an authority on Mohenjo-daro. The former has edited the result of excavation at Mohenjo-daro in three magnificent volumes,[2] in 1931. The latter has written a very interesting booklet on the subject.[3] It might be considered rashness on my part to differ from universally recognized authorities. We see people sometimes differ from great authorities so that they may become notorious. I assure you I have no desire of winning

[1] A note on the pronunciation of Mohenjo-daro. It is a Sindhi word. The correct pronunciation of the second part *daro* should, according to Sindhi language, be *ḍaḍo* Ḍ in the second syllable is a cerebral consonant and has the sound of ḍ in the Hindi word *Karoda* meaning 'ten million'. The prevalent pronunciation has however become *darō*. The vowel in the first syllable is pronounced long. The cerebral consonant of the second syllable has, in actual prevalent pronunciation, lost its original character and assumed the character of a semi-vowel. Although it is the prevalent pronunciation, it is incorrect. Mohenjo-daro means in Sindhi, 'a mound of the dead.'

[2] Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro And the Indus Civilization* published by A. Probsthain, London.

[3] *The Indus Civilization*, published by Lovet Dickenson and Thompson, London, 1935.

cheap notoriety by a simple process of disagreeing with great scholars. There are also people, who would do anything to see their name printed in the press. I read, some time ago, that a certain individual set the most ancient cathedral of Paris—Notre Dame—on fire. He was caught red-handed. When questioned as to what led him to commit this act of arson, he is reported to have stated that he wanted to see his name printed in the columns of the daily newspapers. I am not actuated by any such motive. It is unnecessary for me to go to the extent of disagreeing with Sir John Marshall for the sake of seeing my name printed in the press. Moreover, disagreement with Sir John Marshall is not such a sensational event as to bring any notoriety in its wake. It is doubtful if the press will take any notice of it. I differ from the above-mentioned authorities because my studies have led me to different conclusions. I feel, I shall not be true to myself, if I suppress my views, simply because they happen to differ from the generally accepted views. One should not fail to give expression to a conclusion, to which one has arrived after a careful and critical study of the problem. It is not in a light-hearted manner that I have embarked on this subject today. All that I ask you is therefore to give me a patient hearing and to critically examine the evidence that I am going to put before you and to judge whether or not, the evidence adduced in support of my thesis, is adequate, convincing or cogent.

For the sake of convenience, I have divided my paper in two parts. The first part offers some criticism to the theories, advanced so far. It may be called the negative part. The second part brings forth some evidence in support of my main thesis. It may therefore be called the positive part.

Excavation at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have revolutionised our ideas with regard to the history and civilization of ancient India. The first question which suggests itself is with regard to the character of the civilization, as revealed by explorations at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Is it Aryan or non-Aryan in character?

It is generally believed that the character of civilization of the Indus valley is non-Aryan. It has been suggested that it might be Dravidian. Attempts have also been made to establish an ethnic relationship between the Dravidians and the Sumerians. The latter, according to Dr. H. R. Hall, "might belong to the same ethnic type as the Dravidians of India who, though now restricted to the south of India, are believed on linguistic and ethnological grounds to have once populated virtually the whole of the peninsula, including the Punjab, Sind, and Baluchistan, where, as is well known, the Dravidian speech is still preserved in the language of the Brahuis."[1]

Evidence of Anthropology.

A few skulls of Mohenjo-daro are of the same type as have been unearthed in Mesopotamia. The close resemblance of the Mohenjo-daro skulls with the skulls discovered by Dr. Woolley at Al'Ubaid and by Dr. E. Mackay at Kish is very remarkable. The skulls of Mesopotamia are assigned to a very early date. This will show that the people of Mohenjo-daro were racially related to the people of Mesopotamia. The following remark of E. Mackay shows that he accepts the theory of ethnic relationship between the people of the Indus valley and Mosopotamia: "It may therefore be assumed provisionally that the Proto-Elamites, the dwellers in the Indus valley brick-built cities, and perhaps also the Sumerians, had a common ancestry; but beyond this it is not possible to go until further sites have been explored in India, Baluchistan, and the high lands of Persia and more information is forthcoming with regard to the origin and lines of development of these early peoples".[2]

Sir John Marshall is of opinion that the language of the seals excavated at Mohenjo-daro, might be Dravidian. His statement is the following: "Of the language of

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[1] Sir Johh Marshall, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 109.
[2] E. Mackay *op. cit.* pp. 12–13.

these texts little more can be said at present than that there is no reason for connecting it in any way with Sanskrit. The Indus civilization was pre-Aryan, and the Indus language or languages must have been pre-Aryan also. Possibly, one or other of them (if, as seems likely, there was more than one) was Dravidic. This, for three reasons, seems a most likely conjecture first, because Dravidic-speaking people were the precursors of the Aryans over most of Northern India and were the only people likely to have been in possession of a culture as advanced as the Indus culture Secondly because . . . at no great distance from the Indus Valley the Brahuis of Baluchistan have preserved among themselves an island of Dravidic speech which may well be a relic from pre-Aryan times, when Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts: thirdly, because the Dravidic languages being agglutinative, it is not unreasonable to look for a possible connection between them and the agglutinative language of Sumer in the Indus Valley, which, as we know, had many other close ties with Sumer."[1] The seals have not hitherto been deciphered. The opinion expressed in the passage quoted above can only be a conjecture. No one can say what the language of the Indus Valley civilization was as long as the inscriptions on the seals remain a sealed book to us. It is only after the decipherment of the seal inscriptions that one would be in a position to express an opinion with regard to the language. At present, Sir John Marshall cannot adduce the slightest piece of evidence in support of his statement. His first argument that the Dravidians were the precursors of the Aryans over most of Northern India is not universally accepted. His second argument that Dravidic was perhaps the common language of these parts in ancient times is without any evidence. The third argument is equally without foundation. In other words, Sir John Marshall's statement is tantamount to saying

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[1] Sir John Marshall *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 42.

that the Dravidians were the authors of the Indus valley civilisation. The evidence of anthropology, however, does not lend any support to this contention. The authors probably belonged to several races. The skulls discovered at Mohenjo-daro have been examined by Col. Sewell and Dr. Guha. Four distinct types have been identified: (1) the proto-Australoid, (2) the Mediterranean type, (3) the Mongolian branch of the Alpine stock and lastly (4) the Alpine type. The first type has dolicho-cranial skull. The second type is similar to the first but has much less brain capacity. The third type has the mesaticranial skull. The fourth is represented by a single specimen—the skull of a child, but which is clearly brachycranial. None of these types represents the Dravidian type. The skulls and skeletons, twenty-four in number, belong to the Chalcolithic age. Let us suppose that the skulls and skeletons excavated at Mohenjo-daro are the remains of the population. They must represent the residents of that city. It is clear therefore that Mohenjo-daro population was cosmopolitan and several races contributed to its composition. If the Dravidians were the supposed authors of the Mohenjo-daro civilization, they must have constituted the bulk of the population. It is therefore strange not to find the Dravidian type among the skeletal remains and skulls of Mohenjo-daro.

The evidence of anthropology does not support the theory of the Dravidian character of the Indus Valley civilization.

Evidence of Plastic Art.

No specimens of pictorial art have been discovered at Mohenjo-daro. There are no mural or fresco paintings, which could give us an idea of the features of the people. There is, of course, pottery painted in monochrome, even in polychrome. The ornamental designs consist of intersected circles, the tree decoration, the chess-board pattern in which black squares alternate with red ones. Triangles, figures of animals, birds, snakes, set in natural surroundings like grass or bushes are also met with. But

human pictures are not found on the Mohenjo-daro pottery. There is only one exception. A potsherd excavated at Harappa has a pictorial representation of a man and a child.

Several examples of plastic art are, however, supplied by the explorations at Mohenjo-Daro. They consist of (1) clay figurines, supposed to be deities—of both male and female persons, (2) representations of male and female figures on various seals or amulets, (3) a few lime stone heads, (4) a bronze statue of a dancing girl, and lastly (5) a soapstone statue of a bearded male.

(1) *Clay Figurines.*

A common figure is that of an almost nude female. The dress worn is extremely scanty. A very short skirt fastened with a belt is wrapped round the loins. The head dress is fan-shaped with two circular cup-like objects on either side, and is out of all proportion with the head, which is quite small. The mouth again is very large. Necklaces are worn but there are no bracelets on arms. Male clay figures are not numerous. They are entirely nude. Jewellery is sometimes, but not always, worn. Hair is long, gathered in a sort of bun or loop behind the head with a fillet round the forehead. A long beard with the upper lip shaved, seems to have been the fashion. One peculiarity of the male figures is that they wear horns on their heads. These clay figurines have been made with great care by hand. They are coloured, smoothed and polished. Noses are pinched out of clay. Two small pellets of clay serve for the eyes. The mouth is indicated by a strip applied to the face, deep indents showing the lips.

(2) *Human Figures on Seals.*

One seal represents a nude, three-faced figure with horns on the head. The figure is seated and surrounded by six animals, two deer, an elephant, a tiger, a buffalo and a rhinoceros. Numerous bangles are worn on either arm. A similar nude figure is depicted on three other

seals, but with one face only on one of them. Another seal represents a female in the midst of a tree, wearing horns, a long plait of hair, and many bracelets. A spray rises on the head between the horns. A similar figure is in a kneeling posture. Behind the kneeling figures is an animal with a human face. At the bottom, there are seven figures, also wearing long plaits of hair, bangles, etc., but without horns. Another seal depicts on the recto, two men. Each is holding a part of a tree. On the verso, there is the figure of a kneeling man. On another seal, a man is being overthrown by a buffalo. There is also the representation of a horned human figure with the feet and tail of a bull on a seal. He is shown struggling with a tiger. A similar figure occurs on three other seals, where he is struggling with two tigers. On another seal, there are depicted a man who has climbed up a tree and a tiger who is waiting below. The figure of a woman or a woman with a child at her breast is also found on some of the seals. Two infants are also shown as crawling on the ground. One seal has preserved a dancing scene. One man is beating a drum and others are dancing to the tune. On one seal from Harappa, a man is playing a drum before a tiger. On another, a woman is dancing. In one case, a male figure has a drum hung round his neck. On two seals, men are represented with bows and arrows, in an act of shooting. Thus both male and female figures are depicted in various situations.

(3) *Stone Heads.*

Several lime-stone statues have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro. Of the best preserved are three heads. Two of them are supposed to be actual portraits. Facially they are Mongolian in appearance.

(4) *The Bronze Statue of a Dancing Girl.*

This bronze statue of a dancing girl was discovered by *Rao Bahadur* Daya Ram Sahni. It is an excellent

statue and represents perfect casting. The figure is nude and wears a large number of bangles on one arm. There is an expression of scorn on the face. From the features, she is supposed to belong to the aboriginal type.

(5) The Soap-stone Statue of a Bearded Male.

This stone statue consists of a head and a bust. The lower part is missing. This image represents the high water mark of the art of sculpture of Mohenjo-daro. The figure is wearing an embroidered robe, which is carried over the left shoulder. He has a short beard. The upper lip is clean shaven. The hair is short and parted in the middle. A fillet goes round the forehead with its loose ends hanging down, behind the head. The eyes are half closed. The mouth is expressive. The lips are full. The nose is broken but seems to be of normal size. The forehead is rather low.[1]

Some of these statues and figurines are supposed to depict deities. But as images of gods and goddesses are based on the conception of man, these statues and figurines are the anthropomorphic representations in plastic art. Art derives its inspiration from life. Artists, whether votaries of the pictorial or the plastic, reproduce consciously or unconsciously, the type best known to them. These statues and clay figures, whether they are gods or human beings, give us a good idea of the types of the population. None of them represents the typical Dravidian type, which is officially described as being 'of short stature, complexion very dark, approaching black, hair plentiful with an occasional tendency to curl; eyes dark, head long, nose very broad, sometimes depressed at the root but not so as to make the face appear flat'.[2] It is, of course, difficult to say whether this description would be exactly applicable to the Dravidian stock 5,000 years ago. But assuming the type has preserved its distinguishing

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[1] For a detailed study, see Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and The Indus Civilization*. E. Mackay, *The Indus Civilization*.
[2] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p. 109.

features, the evidence of the plastic art does not support the suggestion that the Dravidians were the authors of the Indus Valley civilization. There is undoubtedly some resemblance between the statuary of Sumer and that of Mohenjo-daro, as summed up in the following remark of E. Mackay: "The men wore their hair in the same way, *i.e.*, gathered up in a bun at the back of the head and secured by a silver or gold or woven fillet worn round the forehead; and on one supposedly portrait head from Mohenjo-daro, a pin is represented as stuck through the bun. Of these statue heads the upper lip is shaved, a practice that was also common in Sumer."[1] But the evidence of the stone heads and clay figures, on the contrary, shows that there was probably a Mongolian stain among the population. This is further supported by the discovery of a skull of Mongolian type among the skeletal remains of Mohenjo-daro.

Priority of the Ṛigveda to Mohenjo-daro.

The Ṛigveda is the most sacred scripture of the Hindus. It is the earliest literary monument of the Aryan race. All its hymns could not have been composed simultaneously. They must have covered a long period. Early and late strata can be distinguished in the stanzas themselves. It is not merely a book. It is literature itself. The state of the civilization of a particular community can be fairly reconstructed from a critical study of the literature of that particular period. Literature serves the purpose of a mirror, in which a particular epoch finds itself reflected. Hence a critical study of the Ṛigveda can be utilised to reconstruct the state of civilization of the Ṛigvedic period. Not only can we reproduce the state of the civilization of the Aryans of the Ṛigvedic epoch but also the stage of the civilization of the non-Aryans, with whom the Aryans came in contact. In the following few lines, the state of the Aryan and the non-Aryan civilizations as revealed by the hymns of the Ṛigveda itself, is

[1] E. Mackay, *op. cit.* p. 197.

briefly depicted. The first thing which strikes a critical student of the Ṛigveda is that the Ṛigveda does not contain the slightest, direct or indirect, reference to any migration of the Aryans into India, from outside. From the evidence of the Ṛigveda itself, it will be impossible to say that the Aryans were not indigenous people of India or that they migrated into India, from outside. The Ṛigveda reveals to us a people who were living in the valleys of the Swat, the Kabul, the Indus, the five rivers of the present Panjab, and parts of regions watered by the Sarasvatī, the Ganges and the Jamuna. If they had come from outside, the migration must have taken place in a remote past. All memories of an ancient migration had been forgotten by the time of the Ṛigveda. There is nothing in the Ṛigveda to show that the settlements of the Aryans in the valleys of the above mentioned rivers were recent and had not been there from time immemorial. The evidence of the Ṛigveda shows that the Aryans were not foreigners who had come from outside and settled into the valleys of the various rivers. The people of the Ṛigvedic period were partly agricultural, partly pastoral. Great importance was attached to the cultivation of the soil. In a hymn X. 34, there is a graphic description of the miseries of a gambler's life. In stanza No. 13, gambling is condemned and agriculture is highly commended :

"Do not play with the dice, cultivate indeed the tillage. (Thus) very much held in esteem, enjoy wealth. In that line (*lit.* there) O gambler ! are cattle there a wife."

Agriculture is further praised as follows :

"The wise ones yoke the ploughs and separately spread the teams (of oxen) : the steadfast among the gods, by their good will." Rv. X. 101.4.

"With the hope indeed of thy (succour) O Indra, I have certainly taken the sickle in my hand. This day, O Maghavan, fill the granary with the stored grain (barley)." Rv. VIII. 78.10.

"Yoke the plough, spread the teams (of oxen) ; when the land (*yoni*) is ploughed and harrowed (*Krita*, lit.

prepared) sow here the seed . . . let the sickles be near at hand. May the ripe (crop) come to us." Rv. X. 101.3. A whole hymn IV. 57 1-8 is devoted to agriculture Quotations can be multiplied But what has already been cited will be enough to show the importance in which agriculture was held Further references to agriculture are found in the following stanzas: I. 23.15; 117.21, 176.2; II. 14.11; V. 53.13; VI. 6.4; X. 117 7, 146.6. This is, by no means, an exhaustive list. Even similes are drawn from the processes of agriculture, *cf. e.g.* VIII. 20.19; 22.6, X. 48.7; 85.37; X. 94.13. Thus it is clear, the society in the Ṛigvedic period was an agriculturist community.

The hymns of the Ṛigveda also reveal to us the state of a pastoral society. Breeding of cattle was one of the chief occupations. Wealth was counted in kine (Rv. V. 4 11.) in kine and horses (VII. 77.5). Constant prayers were offered for herds of cattle. They were the centre of the economic life of the people. Gods are invoked to look after the kine, horses, etc.

"May Pūshan go after our kine, may Pūshan protect our horses. May Pūshan obtain food for us."

Rv. VI. 54.5

"Go forth after the kine, O Pūshan, of the sacrificer, who presses *soma* and of us, the praisers."

Rv. VI. 54.6

"Let no one be lost, let no one be injured, let no one be crushed in a pit; now come back with all uninjured."

Rv. VI. 54.7.

According to A. A. Macdonell, "No sight gladdened the eye of the Vedic Indian more than the cow returning from the pasture and licking her calf fastened by a cord; no sound was more musical to his ear than the lowing of milch kine." Hence the poet exclaims, "As cows low to their calves near the stalls, so we will praise Indra with our hymns." (A. A. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 149).

One great desire of the people was to have pastures and fields for the grazing of the herds of cattle. Prayers are constantly offered for wide pastures *Urvim gavyūtim* Rv. VII. 77.4. An agricultural and pastoral community depends on rain for its very existence. So we find fervent prayers for rain:

"O Maruts, give us the rain from heaven, pour forth the streams of the stallion. Come forward with this thunder, pouring down the waters—our divine father." Rv. V. 83.6.

"Bellow forth, thunder, impregnate. Fly around with thy watery chariot. Drag well the (water)—skin, unfastened downwards. Let elevations and depressions be of the same level." Rv. V. 83.7.

"Lift up the great bucket, pour it down. Let the released streams flow forward. Drench heaven and earth with clarified butter. May there be a good drinking place for the kine." Rv. V. 83.8. Rain water is described as clarified butter.

Warfare and performance of sacrifices were the two most important activities. The tribes of the Ṛigvedic period belonged to a martial race. There were inter-tribal wars. In their struggle for supremacy, one tribe declared war on another. Aryan settlers fought among themselves. There were military alliances and coalitions among them. The most important coalition was of the Ten Kings against Sudas, king of the Bharatas.

Aryans also fought against the aboriginal tribes, called Dāsas, Asuras, Dasyus, Piśāchas, Rākshasas, Kīratas, Paṇis etc. Non-Aryans are described as black in colour and flat-nosed. By the time of the Ṛigveda, the barbarians or the non-Aryans had been driven from the valleys to the mountainous regions, where they built their strongholds and forts. But these 'forts' could not resist the might of the Aryan invaders. Hundreds of them fell easily before the conquering Aryan. (Rv. II. 14.6.)

The state of the civilization of the non-Aryans as gleaned from the hymns of the Ṛigveda is, in the words of

Sir John Marshall, "that of a black-skinned, flat-nosed barbarian, as different from the fair Aryans in physical aspect as they were in speech and religion."[1] They were the contemptible barbarians. It is impossible to see, in this description, the picture of the highly developed civilization of the Indus Valley. The Ṛigvedic civilization was essentially a village, agricultural and pastoral civilization. The Mohenjo-daro civilization was a city and a commercial civilization. People in Mohenjo-daro lived in well-built cities of bricks burnt in kilns. Their town planning, architecture and sanitation had attained a remarkable development. Architecture in the Ṛigvedic period was rather primitive. Large commercial cities had not as yet sprung into existence. The evolution in civilization is from the village to the city civilization and not *vice versa*. We have therefore to conclude that Ṛigveda represents a period earlier than the Indus Valley civilization.

Evidence of Phallic Worship.

Numerous phallic emblems, which have been found in Mohenjo-daro, show that phallic worship prevailed in that city. I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir John Marshall: "We may now return to consider the phallic emblems—the *Yonī* and *liṅga* . . . Two of these are unquestionably phalli, more or less realistically modelled and prove conclusively that phallism in India had a pre-Aryan origin . . . Further evidence on the same point is furnished by two realistic specimens of the same kind—one a *liṅga* or *phallus* and the other a *Yonī* or vulva . . . Indeed, the only explanation applicable to them all is that they were sacred objects of some sort, the large ones serving as aniconic agalmata for cult purposes, ..."[2]

In the Ṛigveda phallic-worship is mentioned twice, in VII 21.5 and X 99.3. It is the second hemistitch

[1] Sir John Marshall, *op. cit.* Vol. I, preface V.

[2] *Ibid* p. 58, 59.

in VII 21.5 which mentions phallic worship with disapproval. It can be translated as follows:—"May he, the noble one, defy the manifold creatures. Let those whose deity is phallus not penetrate our sanctuary."

In both places, the compound *śiśnádēvāḥ* is accented on the first member. It is therefore a *bahuvrīhi* compound and can only mean 'those whose deity is phallus.' Yāska's explanation of this compound as *abrahmacharyāḥ* is not correct and cannot be accepted. (*N.* 4.19)

Up till now it has been generally believed that the above compound has preserved a contemptuous reference to the barbarian aboriginies. But I think it refers to the Aryan phallic-worshippers. The barbarians or aboriginies were beyond the pale of the Aryan *dharma* and could not therefore penetrate to the sanctuary of the Aryans. The prayer is against persons of the Aryan race who had adopted phallus as their deity and who had otherwise a right to penetrate the sanctuary. Just as at present, all the Aryan inhabitants of the ancient times could not have owed allegiance to one set of religious beliefs only. There must have been numerous sects.

The internal evidence of the Ṛigveda itself reveals the existence of several religious sects. I should like to quote the following in support of my statement:

"They ask of him, the terrible one, 'where is he?' They also say about him, 'he does not exist.' Like a conqueror, he destroys the prosperity of the enemy. Put (your) faith in him. He, O men! is Indra." Rv. II. 12.5.

The stanza shows that there were atheists who denied the very existence of god. "How dare the enemies who do not worship Indra revile me." Rv. X 48.7 indicates that Indra was not worshipped by all. The stanza "They did not recognise Indra as a god" (Rv. X. 86.1) also shows that some did not pay homage to Indra.

With this, the following may be compared:

"They call him Agni, Indra, Mitra, and Varuṇa; they also say that he is the divine Garutmān of beautiful wings. The sages speak of him who is one in various

ways; they call him Agni, Yama, Mātariśvan." Rv. I. 164.46.

This shows the prevalence of monotheism of an exalted type. In addition, there were followers of polytheism, pantheism, kathenotheism, etc.

There was not even a uniform customary law among the Aryans of the Ṛigveda period. Differences in customary law have been recorded in the Ṛigveda itself.

The following constitutes a protest against the adoption of a stranger as a son: "The treasure of the stranger is indeed to be avoided, may we be masters of eternal wealth. (The child) begotten by another is no son; he is so for the fool (only); O Agni, do not corrupt our paths." Rv. VII. 4.7.

It is evident that some people had begun to adopt children begotten by others *i.e., Kshetraja* as a son. Obviously barbarians or aborigines cannot be meant here. The reference is clearly to the Aryans who were guilty of the practice of adoption.

"The stranger, however delightful, should not be adopted, begotten in another's womb; he should not be regarded (as one's own) even in thought. To his own abode he certainly goes back. Let the new (hero) impetuous and irresistible, come to us." Rv. VII. 4.8.

It is clear that there can be no reference to the aborigines or non-Aryan tribes. The poet is speaking of the Aryan tribes. So there were differences of customary law and even of worship among the Aryans themselves. To my mind the two *pādas*—*mā patho vi dukshaḥ* and *mā śiśnadēvā api guptritam naḥ*, are almost identical in spirit. They both represent a puritanical protest against the slightest departure from tradition.

I have already shown that the Aryans did not follow a universally acknowledged or uniform set of religious beliefs. There were several sects among them. If we study the history of religions or take into consideration the struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism or between Hinduism and Buddhism, or between the

Shias, Sunnis, or Ahmadia sects of Islam, we find that the struggle is not only long but it of ten includes war, bloodshed and massacre. So it is clear that in the Ṛigvedic times a certain amount of rivalry, opposition, even enmity must have existed among the various sects of the Indians.

I think the cult of phallic worship was in its infancy during the period of the Ṛigveda. But in course of time, it grew in popularity and importance so much so that by the time of the Yajurveda, phallic worship had acquired so much power and prestige that it could no longer be ignored and that official recognition could no longer be withheld. It was even adopted as a partial ceremony, constituting an integral part of the most important of the *soma*-sacrifice—I mean the *aśvamedha*, which became, during the classical period, a symbolic representation of full Hindu sovereignty' There must have been a gradual evolution in the status of phallic worship. The first stage is represented by the Ṛigveda where it is mentioned with disapproval. It then slowly grew till by the time of the later *Samhitās* it became so wide-spread and powerful that it was actually, though partially, embodied in the sacrificial ritual itself. That it became a part of the sacrifice is shown by the following stanzas of the *Samhitās* of the Yajurveda, their Brāhmaṇas and their Srauta-sūtras :

Vs. 23. 19; Ts 7. 4. 19. 1; Ms. 3. 12. 20; 166. 12; KSA. 4. 8; ŚB. 13. 2. 8. 5; TB. 3. 9. 6. 4. Mss. 9. 2. 4; 20. 6. 14; Vs. 23. 20; ŚB. 13. 2. 8. 5; cf. Ts. 7. 4. 19. 1; KSA. 4. 8; 20. 18. 2; Ms. 3. 12. 20; 167. 1; cf. 18. 1; VS. 23. 21; TS. 7. 4. 19. 1; KSA. 4. 8; ŚB. 13. 5. 2. 3; 6. 3. 6; 20. 18. 4; 20. 6. 17; cf. 36. 30; VS. 23. 22; ŚB. 13. 2. 9. 6; 5. 24; 20. 6. 18; TS. 7. 4. 19. 3; KSA. 4. 8; TB. 3. 9. 7. 3; cf. MS. 3. 13. 1; 168. 3; VS. 23; ŚB. 13. 5. 2. 4; VS. 23. 24. 25; TS. 7. 4. 19. 3; MS. 3. 13. 1; 168. 5; KSA. 4. 8; ŚB. 13. 2. 9. 7; TB. 3. 9. 7. 4; 10. 8. 10; 16. 4. 1; 1. 48; VS. 23. 26. 27 : TS. 7. 4. 19. 2; MS. 3. 13. 1; 168. 1; KSA. 4. 8; ŚB. 13. 2; TB. 3. 9. 7. 1; 10. 8. 12. 13; Śśś. 16. 4. 2; 36. 31; 9. 10. 3. 4; 20, 18. 5; VS. 23. 28; 20. 136. 1; B. 2. 6. 15; ŚB. 13. 5. 20. 7; 8. 3.

28; 12. 24. 1. 2; 32. 31; 9. 10. 5; cf. AB. 6. 36. 4; KB. 30. 5; 3. 24. 4; VS. 23. 29; AV. 20. 136. 4; ŚB. 13. 5. 2. 7; 12. 24. 2. 1; 16. 4. 6; cf. 9. 10. 6; VS. 23. 30. 31. TS. 7. 4. 19. 2; MS. 3 13. 1; 168 7; KSA. 4. 8; ŚB. 13; 2. 9. 8; TB. 3. 9. 7, 2; 16. 4. 4. 6.

These passages clearly show that the phallic cult came to be incorporated later on into the very sacerdotal ritualism. But the period of the Ṛigveda is far removed from this later development. As the Mohenjo-daro period shows the wide prevalence of the phallic cult, it shows the posteriority of Mohenjo-daro to the Ṛigveda.

Further, Śiva was worshipped at Mohenjo-daro. Again, I should like to quote the remarks of Sir John Marshall:—" . . . . . there appears at Mohenjo-daro a male god, who is recognizable at once as a prototype of the historic Śiva . . . . The god, who is three-faced, is seated on a low Indian throne in a typical attitude of *Yōga* . . . the attributes of the deity are peculiarly distinctive. In the first place, he is three-faced (*trimukha*) and we are at once reminded that in historic time Śiva was portrayed with one, three, four or five faces and always with three eyes and that the familiar triad of Śiva . . . is habitually represented by a threefold image. Of the three-faced Śiva—that is, Śiva without Brahma and Vishṇu—there is a fine example among the ruined temples of Devangana near Mount Abu . . "[1] Again, the worship of Śiva can be traced to a very remote antiquity. Sir John Marshall remarks, "Among the many revelations that Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have had in store for us, none perhaps is more remarkable than this discovery that Śaivism has a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, and that it thus takes its place as the most ancient living faith in the world."[2]

I should like to submit that Śiva is an Aryan deity. Although Śiva occupies a subordinate place in Ṛigveda he nevertheless is a member of the Vedic pantheon.

[1] Sir John Marshall, *op cit.* Vol. I. pp 52, 53.

[2] *Ibid*, preface vii.

Śiva-Rudra is celebrated in three hymns and a few stanzas only in the Ṛigveda namely, I. 43. 1, 2, 4-6. 1,114; II. 33; V. 42. II; VII. 46; X. 64. 8.

But there is an evolution in the status of Śiva as we come down from the time of the Ṛigveda to the period of the Epics. In the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā, a whole chapter is devoted to Śiva-Rudra, namely the 16th, which contains the well known Śatarudrīya. He is called Nīlagrīva, Sahasrāksha, Śiva, Paśupati, Bhava, Girichara, Girīśa, Gaṇapati, Virūpa, Viśvarūpa, Śarva, Siti-kaṇṭha, Śambhu, Śaṅkara, Nīlalohita, etc., names with which Śiva is celebrated in the classical period. From the period of the Yajurveda, Śiva went on steadily assuming greater and greater importance. During the period of the Brāhmaṇas, great importance came to be attached to Śiva. In the Aitareya Brāhmana, III 33, Prajāpati is slain by Śiva in the form of Bhutapati showing his greater power. In V. 14, a very large share in the sacrifice is allowed to Śiva. In the Kaushitaki Brāhmana, there is a long section VI. 1-9, devoted to the panegyric of Śiva. He is praised under the distinctive names of Bhava, Śarva, Paśupati, Ugradeva, Mahādeva, Īśāna, etc. There is no doubt that Śaivism was gaining ground Prof. A. B, Keith finds clear proof in the Brāhmaṇas "of the great importance of the figure of Rudra . . . It is impossible not to feel in both the Brāhmaṇas as also in the Śatapatha, that the figure of Rudra has a very different reality from that possessed by the more normal members of the pantheon, or by Prajāpati as creator, with whom as lord of creatures he successfully contends."[1]

The culmination in the evolution of the status of Śiva is attained in the epic period when Śiva becomes one of the three most supreme deities and a member of the Hindu Holy Trinity—Brahma, Vishṇu, Mahēśa.

It has already been said that Śiva was worshipped at Mohenjo-daro. The similarity of Śiva worship at

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[1] A. B. Keith, *Rigveda Brāhmaṇas*, Introduction, pp. 25, 26.

Mohenjo-daro with the modern worship is very remarkable. Sir John Marshall says, "But, taken as a whole, their religion is so characteristically Indian as hardly to be distinguishable from still living Hinduism or at least from that aspect of it which is bound up with animism and the cults of Śiva . . . " (*op. cit.* Preface vii). This shows Śiva of Mohenjo-daro is identical with Śiva of Hinduism An evolution in his status can be traced from the Ṛigveda to the Epics. From a minor deity in the Ṛigveda, he gradually rose and became one of the most powerful deities of the Epic period. As he had already attained a high status at Mohenjo-daro, Mohenjo-daro represents therefore a later period than that of the Ṛigveda wherein Śiva is but a secondary deity.

It may be objected that Śiva is not an Aryan deity at all and that it was adopted by the Aryans from the non-Aryans, when the former came in contact with the latter. To this objection, it may be pointed out that when borrowing takes place, the most important deity is borrowed and highest rank is bestowed on the borrowed deity from the very beginning. The evolution of the status of Śiva from the time of the Ṛigveda to the period of the Epics shows that it was not borrowed; otherwise we should have expected Śiva to have been a supreme deity from the earliest times. Śiva gradually evolved himself and attained the highest rank after a long career.

Further, a similar evolution can also be traced in the status of Vishṇu. In the Ṛigveda, Vishnu is a minor deity but becomes a supreme deity in the Epic period. Later on, he is a member of the Hindu Holy Trinity. The career of Vishṇu is parallel to that of Śiva. Both are quite insignificant deities in the beginning but gradually assume more importance and greater power till the zenith is reached in the Epic period. The same thing can more or less be said about the third member of the Trinity, *i.e.*, Brahma. If Śiva is a non-Āryan deity borrowed by the Aryans, then it will have to be assumed that both Vishṇu and Brahma were also non-Aryan deities, borrowed by the

Aryans. The conclusion will then be irresistible that the whole of Hinduism was non-Aryan in its origin, which will be absurd on the face of it.

The only right hypothesis will therefore be to assume that Śiva is not a non-Aryan but an Aryan deity, as mentioned in the Ṛigveda. He was not borrowed from the aborigines but gradually evolved himself from a humble origin to its most remarkable supremacy in the Epic period.

Again, we find that gods at Mohenjo-daro had been completely anthropomorphised but this process had not gone very far during the period of the Ṛigveda. In the mythology of the Ṛigveda gods had not been invested with a distinct and clear cut individuality as in the later Epic and Paurāṇic periods. Their personality was in a nebulous state. One god is praised with the same epithets as another. In II. 1, Agni is everything ·

Agni is praised as Indra, Vishṇu, Brahma, Brahmaṇaspati, Varuṇa, Mitra, Aryamān, etc. In II. 1.8, Agni is described as the king.

In II. 27. 10 Varuṇa is described as the king of all, gods and men. Similarly in VII. 87. 5-6, Varuṇa is again spoken of as a king.

In IX. 59. 4, Soma is described as great and supreme over all. In IX. 96. 10. Soma is the king of the universe. In IX. 96. 5, Soma is the creator of heaven and earth. He is the generator of Agni, Sūrya, Indra, Vishṇu, etc. He prolongs age (IX. 96. 14.) In VII 77. 5, Ushas also prolongs life. In X. 86 Indra is described as superior to all and so on. Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, has the following remark about the Vedic gods :

"On account of the supereminence of the deity, a single soul is praised in various ways. Other gods are the individual limbs of a single soul. Or else, as people say, seers praise objects according to the multiplicities of their original nature, as well as from its universality. They are produced from each other. They are the original forms of each other." (N. 7. 4.) Each god is supreme.

No god is subordinate to another. There is no hierarchy among the gods of the Ṛigveda as in Greek or Roman mythology. No god is superior or inferior to any one else. Each god is absolute. This is stated in so many words in the Ṛigveda itself. The following lines express this idea in clear words:

"Among ye, O gods! there is none that is small, none that is immature (*lit.* a youth). All indeed are great."

The supremacy of each god is due to the fact that the process of anthropomorphism was still in its infancy during the period of the Ṛigveda, whereas this process was complete by the time of Mohenjo-daro. This also shows that Ṛigveda is anterior to Mohenjo-daro period.

At Mohenjo-daro, gods were worshipped in their shrines. Temples must have been built to house the idols. But no shrines or temples are mentioned in the Ṛigveda. None existed during that period.

Building of temples and shrines was a later phase of Hinduism as shown by the Epics. This also shows that the Rigveda should be assigned to a period earlier than Mohenjo-daro.

Art of Writing.

Numerous seals have been excavated at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. These seals are inscribed. The inscriptions on these seals have not been deciphered as yet. We do not know definitely at present whether the script was written from right to left or from left to right. We have no evidence, beyond a conjecture, to express any opinion with regard to the character of the language, preserved in the seals. It is not possible to state whether the language was agglutinative, synthetic or otherwise. It is equally difficult to hazard an opinion, in the present state of our knowledge, whether the speech was of an Aryan or non-Aryan character. But one thing can be clearly stated. These inscribed seals prove that the art of writing had been invented by the time of the Indus Valley civilization,

whereas the art of writing had not been invented during the Ṛigvedic period. The sacred hymns of the Vedas were therefore handed down from generation to generation, by means of an oral tradition. As the sacred text of the hymns was heard from the lips of a teacher and not read from a written book manuscript, the Vedas were called *Śruti*, *i.e.*, 'that which is heard.' At a later period in the Indian history, the art of writing was invented and extensively used. This is supported by the following statement of Yāska, the author of the *Nirukta*, one of the six auxiliary treatises of the Vedas:—" (Primeval) seers had direct intuitive insight into duty. They, by oral instruction, handed down the hymns to later generations who were destitute of the direct intuitive insight. The later generations, declining in (power of) oral communication compiled this work—in order to comprehend their meaning." (The *Nirukta*, 1.20.)

The art of writing had been invented when the Mohenjo-daro civilisation was in a flourishing state but the art of writing had not been invented during the period of the Ṛigveda. This shows the priority of the Ṛigveda to the Indus Valley civilization.

THE IDEA OF SIN IN THE ṚIGVEDA.

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Max Muller once stigmatised the Vedic religion as being nothing but "priestcraft and greed for guerdon." Bergaigne, the French Orientalist, also maintained that the fundamental fact of this religion was "an exchange of gifts of strength for strength" If this view were correct, then the religious value of the Vedas would be open to grave question and it would be a fruitless task to search in them for any real sense of sin or any regard for the moral law. I hope, however, to indicate in this paper the nature of the fallacy on which this view is based.

It is an incontestable fact that in the hymns of the Rigveda, the desire for worldly wealth plays an exceedingly important role. The hymns abound with prayers for earthly goods, progeny, a safe dwelling, cattle and horses, food, fame—in short, for "riches fair in form, of all good things." But at the same time, these "sweets of life" are looked upon all through the Ṛigveda as the rewards of the right-doing man and of him alone. "The well-doer, O Agni" it is said in one hymn, "gaineth horses, sons, heroes, kine and abundant wealth" (V. 4.11). Conversely, misfortune is regarded as the divine punishment for evil conduct. When Vasishṭha is stricken with an almost mortal sickness, his friends, like Job's tell him God is angry with him. "What, O Varuṇa, hath been my most dreadful sin, that thou wouldst slay the friend who praises thee?" he cries (VII. 86. 4). Where the plea for forgiveness is not actually prompted by adversity, as in this case. it is almost invariably accompanied by a

petition that adversity be kept far off. Agni is implored to "remove the sin which causes us to walk crookedly" and this request is followed by one for happiness, freedom from danger and prosperity upon offspring. Hopkins, in his *Ethics of India*, has pointed out that the Sanskrit word "mṛla," which is usually translated into English as "have mercy upon us," really means simply "be gentle" or "be kind." "Where sin is really confessed," says this writer, "the expression may, by implication, be taken int he sense of 'have mercy' or 'forgive us', but these cases are rare compared with the number where the suppliant merely prays the God to be good to him." So Hopkins concludes, "The translators have injected into the Ṛigveda more consciousness of sin than really attaches to it."

I do not think, however, that this conclusion is strictly justified. In the first place, the fact that prosperity should be regarded as the reward of right-doing does not imply a mercenary or materialistic outlook. There is no evidence to show that the poets of the Ṛigveda were aware of any distinction between "material" and "spiritual" benefits. Had such a distinction been made and, in spite of that, the poets had continued to be unduly pre-occupied with material benefits, they might well have been charged with a mercenary outlook. As it was, they accepted with perhaps a childlike naivety, worldly prosperity as a sign of God's friendship and adversity as a sign of his displeasure. Secondly, a pre-occupation with rewards and punishments does not necessarily imply a shallow consciousness of sin. When the poet prays for God to be kind to him, he is not praying merely for material goods; he realises that the favour of God is absolutely conditioned by his own righteousness. To regard adversity as the inevitable consequence of sin is to display, not a weak, but an exceedingly vivid sense of the gravity of sin. In a recent article on "The Conception of Sin in the Vedas" an Indian writer, R. Shamasastry, has said "the constant thought of sin and its consequences was a terror to the people of the Vedic times."

Further, there is no lack of evidence in the Ṛigveda to show that sin was regarded as something in itself grave, apart from its consequences in the sphere of material prosperity. "They call it *pāpa*, evil, when one comes near his sister." (X. 10.) Incest is not only "against the law of Mitra and Varuṇa," it is in itself something heinous and impure Similarly in V. 85, verses 7-8, there is a keen sense of the sinfulness of sin. "If we have sinned against the man who loves us, have ever wronged a brother, friend or comrade, a neighbour or a stranger, free us, Varuṇa, from that sin." Men of evil conduct are "like young women without brothers to protect them, like women who hate their husbands, full of sin, untrue, unfaithful" (IV. 5. 5). Indeed, so vividly is the gravity and power of sin realised that evil is regarded as an objective force in the world, capable of leading men astray or of rebounding upon the sinner, to his own hurt.

If, as I have indicated, the prominence of the thought of rewards and punishments does not prove a shallow consciousness of sin, it is, however, not without significance. It is of vital significance for the sinners' attitude to the gods. The gravity of sin and its consequences are realised keenly enough, but the hymns reveal a marked lack of real contrition in the sinners' attitude towards the gods. With rare and questionable exceptions, it is not sin *as such* that is regarded as being against the gods, but only sins against a particular god's own personal dignity. Let us take a typical confession: "Whatever statutes of thine, O Varuṇa, we, men that we are, daily violate, give us not up to death or to thy fierce wrath when angered. To gain thy mercy, with hymns we bind thy disposition, as a charioteer his tethered horse." (I. 25. 1-3.) There is in this passage a full consciousness of guilt and a realisation of the consequences unless the god's mercy is obtained. But there is no personal sense of shame before a god who is himself wronged by every sinful act of man. The relation between god and man which is disturbed by sin is not, we may say, an intimately personal

one, like that between father and son. It is rather that of king-subject. The confession is that made by a criminal before a king or judge who is the custodian of the law that has been infringed. The attitude expressed in the words, "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned and done this evil in thy sight" is lacking. Instead, we have an excuse based on human frailty coupled with a plea for mercy which, in this instance, it is believed the hymn itself will be sufficient to procure. Nor is the attitude different in the group of hymns by the poet Vasishtha,—VII. 86, 88, 89. Despite the deep consciousness of the gravity of sin which is found in these hymns, the poet's chief concern before Varuṇa is to excuse himself for any sin he may have committed, that the God's anger may be appeased. "Not our own will betrayed us, but seduction, thoughtlessness, wine, dice or anger. The old lead astray the younger. Even sleep does not remove ill-doing." The lack of deep contrition towards Varuṇa himself is most evident in VII. 86.4 "What, O Varuṇa, hath been my most dreadful sin? Tell me, thou self-ruling one, and quickly sinless I will approach thee with my homage."

There are in the Rigveda, therefore, two sets of phenomena that demand explanation. On the one hand, we find a genuine regard for moral and religious obligations as being sacred and categorical. On the other hand, when sin is confessed to the gods, the fear of punishment and desire for reward are the predominant thoughts. I would suggest that the explanation lies in the fact that sin, in the Ṛigveda, is not so much a personal offence against the gods as a violation of the transcendent cosmic law which the gods protect—namely, *ṛita*. The moral religious imperative is grounded not in the will of the gods but in cosmic law which stands behind the Gods and is the source of their power.

This conception of *rita* is all important, not only for the religion of the Ṛigveda, but for the whole subsequent course of Vedic religion. It is one of the oldest conceptions in the religion of the Aryan people. There is little

doubt that the term originally signified the ordered course of Nature, especially of the heavenly bodies and the seasons. The nomadic Aryan tribes in prehistoric times, watching the never-altering course of the celestial bodies and of the seasons, were conscious of a mighty power which was in and over all things, being at once their source and their guide. In the hymns of the Ṛigveda, *ṛita* is most frequently used in connection with the sacrifice. It is the power and the law by which the sacrifice reaches the gods and by which the gods respond with appropriate blessings to man. Elsewhere it is used in connection with natural phenomena and human conduct. Wallis, in his *Cosmology of the Ṛigveda* has well said "Everything in the universe which can be conceived of as showing regularity of action may be said to have the *ṛita* as its principle" Yet *ṛita* is no mere "principle." It is more than a mental construction, it is a figment of the universe, a world-embracing power. In some passages it is invoked alongside of the gods and in others it appears independent of the gods.

Ṛita is real, and yet in a sense it is "ideal." It is ideal in the sense that as far as the world of space, time and will is concerned, it is not always manifest. Man, in particular, is placed before the alternatives to act in accordance with *ṛita* or not. *Rita* in the natural world is only a manifestation and never a complete manifestation of the transcendent reality. The chief task of gods and men, as well as the chief motive of the sacrificial system generally, was to actualise the transcendent reality in the natural world. "May your *ṛita* be actual" is a prayer to Heaven and Earth (III. 54.3). The responsibility for seeing that *ṛita* is made actual in this world falls to the gods, who are thus called the charioteers of *ṛita*, its guardians and Lords. The gods "bind *ṛita* to the work as an ox to the sacrificial pole" (I. 151.4). *Rita* is not to be identified with the statutes of the gods. It is the transcedent law which the gods find already existent as a figment of the universe and in accordance with which they make their

statutes. Therefore the breach of such statutes is not so much a personal offence against the gods as a violation of the *ṛita*. The sole duty of the gods, as guardians of the law, is to punish the violation or to reward the keeping of *ṛita*. It is in relation to this office that the attitude of the sinner towards the gods must be understood. We must not, that is to say, judge this attitude from the standpoint of a religious tradition which has an entirely different starting point from that of the Ṛigveda. Such a judgment is bound to be false. Either we shall seek to read into the Ṛigveda what is not really there or, not finding what belongs to the different tradition, we shall be tempted to regard the lack as a default in the Ṛigveda. This fallacy, it seems to me, lies at the root of many misconceptions held by Western Orientalists as to the nature of Ṛigvedic religion. Varuṇa, for example, has an exalted position in this religion. but it is altogether misleading to say, with a modern writer, that "Varuṇa is not a god, but God." He was never intended to be the Supreme Being, like the God of the Old Testament, and he must therefore not be judged from the standpoint of monotheism.

Ṛita, therefore, the cosmic and dynamic principle of law and order, is the ultimate moral and religious imperative and the source of the divine statutes. This view receives striking confirmation from the fact that it is to just those gods who are most intimately connected with *ṛita* that sin is ordinarily confessed. Foremost among the gods in question are the Ādityas. They are pre-eminently the charioteers of *ṛita* and, with few exceptions, it is in close connection with this function that they are addressed as the punishers of sin. "True to *ṛita*, they exact the debts" (II. 27.4.) The Ādityas are the chasteners of all falsehood (*anṛita*) and have waxen in the home of *ṛita* (VII. 60.5.) "Loose me from sin as from a bond, let me promote thy spring of *ṛita*" is a prayer found in II. 28. A special characteristic of the Ādityas is their power to behold every action of men. "Pathfinders even better than

the eye, even when they close their eyelids they perceive" (VIII. 25.9). This is no mere piece of "theological etiquette." It is based upon the fact of human experience, that every action, conscious or unconscious, produces its inevitable effect upon the whole world-order, *ṛita*.

At the same time, though this office is pre-eminently that of the Ādityas, any god who is faithful to *rita* can, according to the Ṛigveda, occupy the same office and, theoretically at any rate, hold as exalted a position. "Thou (Agni) art the eye and guard of mighty *ṛita*—*and Varuṇa*, when thou takest up the work of *ṛita*" (X. 8. 5). We have here an explanation (if not *the* explanation) of the "kathenotheism" which Max Muller noted in the Ṛigveda. It is because the function is more important than the character of the god that there is a tendency for the god addressed at any one moment to be regarded as the highest god, endowed with qualities that belong strictly to other gods. Max Muller was right, but he did not go far enough. He did not see clearly enough that the ground of the "kathenotheism" was the transcendent world order, *ṛita*.

Furthermore, I would suggest that not only the sinner's attitude to the gods but his whole view of the nature of sin needs to be understood from this same standpoint.

There are in the Ṛigveda three pairs of contrary terms by which the distinction between right and wrong is normally expressed. The distinction is viewed as one between "straight and crooked," "single and double" and "true and false." These are simply three different modes of expressing the distinction between action in accordance with the "straight path of *ṛita*" and action opposed to that path. Each of the terms for crooked, double and false (*vṛijina, dvaya* and *anṛita*) is found opposed to *ṛita* in the texts.

Sin is often looked upon as a debt (*ṛiṇa*) which the gods must collect. This is because sin disturbs the *ṛita* which is a real figment of the Universe and therefore the

gods, as guardians of *ṛita*, must see that the disturbance is put right. Every sin disturbs *ṛita*, whether conscious or unconscious. Further, when *ṛita* is disturbed, the results affect not only the sinner himself, but all men, for the disturbance is a cosmic one. Hence the frequent prayer that the gods may not punish the singer for another man's trespass.

Here the greatness and the weakness of the Ṛigvedic idea of sin become at once apparent. The conception of the universal world order checked an excessive individualism. It emphasised the responsibility of the whole human race for sin as well as the world-wide effect of sin. Further, it placed due emphasis on the part played by the "unconscious." These important factors may tend to be overlooked in a religion in which the individual has a unique, personal relation to a God who is Himself the ultimate source of the moral-religious imperative. On the other hand, just because of the lack of this ultimate individual relation to the ground of the imperative, there is the danger in the religion of the Ṛigveda that sin may be regarded in too external a fashion. Though not the normal view of sin in the Ṛigveda, there is a tendency to regard sin as a substance, endowed with a kind of *vertu propre*, which attacks and clings to a man like a disease and which can be removed by much the same methods as those employed in the case of a disease.

I have endeavoured to point out that the religion and morality of the Ṛigveda are founded, not upon the gods, but upon the transcendent and objective law of the universe, *ṛita* All wrong-doing, whether against gods or men, is a breach of this law and herein lies the peculiar character of the Ṛigvedic idea of sin.

THE PLACE OF THE *ṚIGVEDA-SAMHITĀ* IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF VEDIC LITERATURE.

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प्रणम्य परमात्मानं वेदानुभूतिगोचरम् ।
ऋग्वेदसंहिताकालविवेकं काश्चिदारभे ॥

It is commonly believed by western and Indian scholars that the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* is older than the other Vedic texts. This view is correct to a certain extent, for the earliest portions of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* must be earlier than the remaining Vedic literature. But when it is assumed that this *Saṁhitā* is in its entirety earlier than the *Yajurveda* and *Sāmaveda-Saṁhitās*,[1] we are not supported by facts. But still this baseless assumption has been made and it has become so general that to challenge it will appear to many as the height of boldness. It is, however, our duty to take stock from time to time of the positively ascertained facts and to examine the bases of our assumptions.

The chief ground for taking the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* as the earliest Vedic text is the archaic character of its language as compared with much of the remaining Vedic literature. Another ground for this conclusion is the fact that a large number of verses which are in their proper contexts in the *Hymns of the Ṛigveda* are found utilised in the *mantra* collections of the other Vedas, from which one may infer that they were borrowed from the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā*. Both these grounds make the comparative

[1] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 40 and 171; Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature* (English Translation). Vol. I, p. 57, *Some Problems of Indian Literature*, p. 9, etc.

antiquity of *large portions* of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* almost certain. But they do not entitle us to assume that the whole of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* is older than the other Vedic texts. Is the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* a homogeneous text, whose different portions must be assigned to practically the same age? Scholars have always recognised that this *Saṁhitā* has older and later portions.[1] Consequently there remains an *a priori* possibility that the later portions of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* come down to very late times.

It is not true that Maṇḍalas I (or large portions of it), VIII and particularly X of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* are the only later additions. There are enough indications to show that additions were made even in "the family books," the original nucleus of the *Saṁhitā*. If we make a careful study of the arrangement of these "family books," among which we should include Maṇḍala I which is a collection of "family groups" too small for forming entire Maṇḍalas, the following scheme seems to have been followed by the original redactors :—

(1) the family groups were "arranged according to the increasing number of the hymns in each of these books";

(2) within each family group, the Agni hymns came first, then the Indra hymns and then the Viśvedeva hymns (if there were any) and after them hymns to the other deities in due order, and

(3) within each *devatā* sub-group, the hymns were "arranged according to the diminishing number of stanzas contained in them."

It will also appear to the observer that at several places these principles have been violated. As the exceptions are fewer than the agreements, they prove the rule. Consequently we can safely infer that wherever the general scheme has been disturbed we have reasonable grounds for suspecting interpolations. Thus, even the

[1] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 41 ff. *Vedic Reader for Students*, Introduction, pp. xiv-xvi.

"family books" have been added to. And they have been added to *from time to time.* To give an instance, the original Indra collection of the III Maṇḍala was hymns 30-50, the first hymn (30) containing 22 verses, and the last (50) only 5; the three supplementary Indra hymns (51-53), having respectively 12, 8 and 24 verses, seem to have been added in two instalments, hymn 53 (24 verses) having been added some time after hymns 51 (12 verses) and 52 (8 verses) had been appended to the original Indra collection. There are many more such later additions, in some cases, of entire groups of hymns. Now these later additions are not necessarily all later compositions. They may have been added later, because they were discovered later. But some of them certainly can be compositions of later times.

Then there are six verses in the accepted text of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā*, I. 99.1, VII. 59.12, X. 121.10 and X. 190. 1-3, whose *Pada-Pāṭha* is wanting.[1] The only inference that we can make from this fact is that these verses did not form part of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* when Śākalya compiled its *Pada-Pāṭha.* Consequently they have been added even so late as after the time of Śākalya. In this case too it is not possible to say that they were all *composed* after Śākalya, particularly when VII. 59.12 and X. 121.10 are found in the various *Yajurveda-Saṁhitās* But we can presume this for X. 190. 1-3, which bear on their very face the impress of lateness. We do not find these three cosmogonic verses, showing knowledge of the *Kalpa* theory, till the very late *Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka* (X. 1.13), a text which shows knowledge of Smritis (I. 2. 1). They may, therefore, well be the composition of a very late period. If the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* thus contains verses which were very likely

[1] X. 20. 1, whose *Pada-Pāṭha* is similarly lacking, is not an entire verse but the opening of X. 25.1, added at the beginning of the Vimada collection like the Pazand prayers before Avestan texts or the *Śāntipāṭhas* before Upanishads.

composed after the time of Śākalya, we cannot deny the possibility of some of the verses or hymns recognised by him being also creations of times not far removed from his.

I have said above that the chief ground for placing the greater portion of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* in a very early period is the archaic character of its language. But the *Saṁhitā* is not lacking in late linguistic features as well. It is well known that the word *ásura* means 'a good spirit', 'a god' or 'God' in the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā*, as its cognate *ahura* means in the Avesta, and that in the later Vedic literature and in classical Sanskrit the word has undergone semantic deterioration, acquiring the sense of 'demon.' But of the 108 times that the word occurs in the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā*, in as many as 14 cases, *viz.*, in II. 30.4, V. 40.5, V. 40.9, VI. 22.4, VII. 13.1, VII. 99.5, VIII. 96.9, VIII. 97.1, X. 53.4, X. 82.5, X. 121.4, X. 138.3, X. 157.4 and X. 170.2, it bears the later sense. Consequently the hymns in which these passages occur should be assigned *linguistically* to the period of the later Vedic literature. Other passages that similarly show late linguistic characteristics must also be considered as of late date. But the converse of this proposition is not necessarily true. It is possible that even in later ages unbroken family traditions enabled the priestly bards to compose hymns in antique form. In fact, there are several indications to show that this actually happened. Consequently there must be some hymns in the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* which, though early in form, are yet actually late in date.

Then the fact that the *mantra* collections of the other Vedas contain verses found in their proper contexts in the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* does not necessarily prove that those Vedas are later than the formation of the *Ṛiksaṁhitā*. The manner in which the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* was originally formed and added to from time to time shows that its constituent hymns long remained current in different priestly families before they were incorporated

in the *Saṁhitā*. It is not without significance that the so-called "Ṛigvedic verses" in the other Vedas often show different readings, making it likely that they were taken from some "floating materials." There are many parallels in India and outside of unrecorded folk-songs and other "floating material" having been utilised in rites and ceremonies over wide areas.[1]

Consequently closer study reveals several circumstances that throw some doubt on the arguments that have been adduced in favour of the relative antiquity of the whole of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā*. The different attempts that have been made so far for the detailed chronological stratification of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* by Arnold, Belvalkar, Weist and others have either failed or met with only partial success, for failing, among other reasons, to recognise that poems antique in form may yet be late in date. I therefore apply the criterion of *thought* for determining the early and the late passages in this text. My own study has been chiefly from the point of view of the history of Vedic rituals. Applying this test to the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* we can recognise a large number of hymns in it as belonging to the period of *Yajurveda* and the *Sāmaveda*.

Let us therefore see what are the broad facts about the history of Vedic rituals. It is generally assumed that the use of the sacred fire for the sacrifice to the gods comes down from the Indo-Iranian times. But Herodotus' definite statement to the contrary about the sacrifice of the Ancient Persians (I 132) makes this impossible. This is what he says on the subject.

"And this is their fashion of sacrifice to the aforesaid gods: when about to sacrifice they neither build altars nor kindle fires, they use no libations, nor music, nor fillets, nor barley meal; but to whomsoever of the gods a man will sacrifice, he leads the beast to an open space and

[1] See Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, Ram Naresh Tripatti, *Kavitākaumudi* (*Grām Gīt*), *Maynāmatīr Gān*, etc

then calls on the god . . . . He then cuts the victim limb from limb into portions, and having roasted the flesh spreads the softest grass, trefoil by choice, and places all of it on this. When he has so disposed it, a Magian comes near and chants over it the song of the birth of the gods, as the Persian tradition relates it; for no sacrifice can be offered without a Magian. Then after a little while the sacrificer carries away the flesh and uses it as he pleases." (Loeb Translation.)

Herodotus' account of the Persian religion has been rightly taken as well suited to the *Urarisch* religion.[1] It seems thus that the use of fire for the pouring of oblations *to other gods* was not known to the Aryans before their bifurcation into Indians and Iranians In the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhita* itself there are traces which show that the oldest form of the Vedic sacrifice was of the same simple character as the Persian sacrifice described by Herodotus. The gods are frequently invited to come to the *barhis* and take the Soma or other food there, *e.g.*, in VI. 68. 11 cd इदं वामन्धः परिषिक्तमस्मे आसद्यास्मिन् बर्हिषि मादयेथाम् "Sitting on this strew exhilarate over this beverage poured for you two in our sacrifice." Consequently Fire could not have been used, as a *havya vāhana* in the earliest period of the Vedic sacrifice. This use must have been a late development, of the nature of a *pratipatti karman*.[2] The transition probably lay in the lighting of the fire before commencing sacrifices, to chase away the demons. Agni thus became an invoker (होता from ह्वे)

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[1] *Cf.* Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, p. 393, n 1.

[2] Defined as उपयुक्तस्य आकीर्णकरस्य द्रव्यस्य विहितदेशे प्रक्षेपः । (*Mīmāmsā paribhāshā*, ed. Jha, p. 18). The student of the rites of later Hinduism will recall the case of the throwing of the *pinda* into the Ganges or some other holy place after dedication to the ancestors. In fact the Mīmāṃsakas distinctly say that the throwing into fire of the oblation in the main sacrifice is a *pratipatti karman* (*Ibid*).

of the gods first, and their priest (होता from हु) afterwards.

Herodotus speaks of the use of prayers at the Persian sacrifice. The *Ṛiksaṁhitā* shows that invocation of the gods was the most important element in the earlier vedic ritual, *e.g.*, in III. 33 (where Viśvāmitra *prays* to the rivers, Vipāś and Śutudrī, to allow a safe crossing to the Bharatas) and VII. 18 (mentioning Vasishṭha's prayer to Indra to give victory to Sudās against the ten kings). These prayers must have been originally spontaneous effusions. In course of time, however, the priestly bards began imitating each other,[1] and formulaic expression came into vogue. Later still, the composition of new hymns on the occasion of sacrifices went out of vogue and only older hymns were used.

Besides invocations, the gods must have received certain offerings. Following the dictum यदन्नः पुरुषो लोके तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः we may safely infer that in the earliest pastoral stage the Vedic Aryans must have chiefly offered animal food to their gods. With the increase of agriculture the use of cereals for food and for offering to the gods must have come more and more in use. As regards the *drink* offered to the gods, it must have been Soma even in the earliest stage of Vedic worship of which we have any trace. Personally I have grave doubts about Soma being Indo-Iranian. I suppose that it was used by the ancestors of only the Vedic Aryans and by the Hauma-drinking Scythians (*Sakā Haumavargā*) of the Ancient Persian inscriptions. The comparative rarity of the Soma plant in India probably forced the early Indo-Aryans to use its juice only in the worship of the gods and not in ordinary human fare, and later to use a substitute, the *vātika*, for the ritual also. That the pressing and offering of the Soma must have been a very complex affair in the beginning does not seem likely on *a priori* grounds, nor is it suggested by the language of the earlier hymns of the

[1] See Bloomfield, *Ṛig-Veda Repetitions*.

Riksamhita. The three pressings and the other details of the Soma sacrifice, described in the Yajurveda, appear to be late developments. Similarly elaborate fore-offerings in a fixed order (*Prayājas*) before animal- and cake-offerings must also be later developments. In fact, all *prayājas* and *anuyājas* seem to belong to late times. There are several sacrifices mentioned in the other Vedas which were invented most certainly in a late age. Among them is the famous *Aśvamedha*, whose late character is conclusively proved by the fact that it is treated in the Yajurveda texts in portions that are obviously later additions.[1] The *Atirātra* Soma sacrifice must be another late ritual, and so also the *Pravargya* ceremony [2]

[1] In the *Maitrāyanīya Samhitā* Aśvamedha is treated in the closing portion (Prapāṭhakas 12–16) of the Third Kāṇḍa, which is known as *Upari-Kānda, i.e.*, additional Kāṇḍa (the Fourth being a still later supplement, called *Khila-Kāṇḍa* or supplementary Kāṇḍa). In the *Kāṭhaka Samhitā* Aśvamedha is treated in a special *Aśvamedha Kānda.* called *aśvamedhō nāma pañchamo granthah*, unconnected in arrangement with the *Kāthaka Samhitā* proper in 40 chapters. The supplementary character of the Aśvamedha sections is most manifest in the Taittirīya text. There the sacrifice is not treated in one place but its *Mantras* and *Brāhmanas* are scattered about the text *Taittirīya Samhitā* IV 4.12, 6.6–9, 7.15', V. 1 11, 2.11, 12 (*Brāhmaṇa*), 3 12, (*b*), 4 12 (*b*), 5 11—24, 6 11—23, 7 11 - 26, VII 1.11—20, 2 11—20, 3.11–20, 4 12–22, 5 11—25, (*Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*), *Taittirīya Brāhmana* III. 8, 9 (*b*). Even the later Śukla Yajurveda shows that there too the *Aśvamedha* section is a late addition It is well known that in the *Madhyandina Samhitā*, chapters 1–18 form the original neucleus and the following 22 chapters are later additions in several instalments (Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, pp 107 ff.). The Aśvamedha sacrifice is treated in chapters 22–24 and again in a further supplement, ch. 29 (also in 39.8–13).

[2] This rite is treated in only the late *Āraṇyaka* (Book IV in the Taittirīya School and among the Mādhyandinas in chapters 37–39 of their *Samhitā*, which are among the very latest additions to this text (Weber, *op. cit* pp 107–8).

Now, (1) when the present *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* contains three hymns, I. 162-164, connected with the *Aśvamedha*, I. 164 further showing affinities with the *Upanishads* (see, *e.g.*, verses 20 and 46); (2) when it contains as many as 10 Āprī Hymns, *i e.*, verses in due order for the *Yājyā* of the 11 (in some cases 12) *Prayājas* in the animal sacrifice, I. 13, I. 142, I. 188, II. 3, III. 4, V. 5. VII. 2, IX. 5, X. 70 and X. 110; (3) when it includes other verses in due order for the later elaborated ritual like the *Praugośastra* in I. 2-3 and II 41, (4) when it makes actual reference at several places to late rituals like the *Atirātra* or the *Pravargya* (VII. 103, 7, 9) or to sacrificial technicalities like the *sūktavāka, subrahmanya, yājyā, vashat, juhū upabhrit, sruva, idhma, yūpa, chashāla-trikadruka, paridhi, prastara, purodāśa karambha*, etc., etc., (I. 32.3; 76.5, 116.24; 120.4, 121.6; 162.3; II. 11.17; 15.1; 22.1; 34 11; III. 8.6-10: 18.3; 27.5, 28.1-6; 41.3; 52.1-8; IV. 2.9; 5.6; 6.3; 12.1; 24.5; 33.16; V. 1.3; 14.3; 21.2; VI. 23.7; 63.4; 67 10; VII. 1 6, 43 2; 84.1; 99.7; 100.7; VIII. 2.11; 13.18; 23.20, 22, 31.2, 43.10; 44.5; 46.12; 60.2, 74.6; 78 1; IX 114.4; X. 2.2, 4.4; 6.4, 5; 14.16; 17.13; 21.3; 45.9; 62,4; 88.7, 8; 91 11 15; 96.9; 109.5; 114 3-5, 8; 115 2, 9; 118.2, 3; 179.1), it is impossible not to believe that much of the *Ṛigveda-Samhitā* belongs to the period of the later Vedic texts. We should note that many of the hymns containing such late matter, like the Āprī hymns, noted above, are in proper order in the text of the "family groups" and therefore must have formed part of the first collection of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā.*

The texts of the Yajurveda, it is well known, contain *mantras* required in the ritual, in their order of application. As the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* also contains a number of such *mantras* (*e.g.*, the *Āprī Sūktas*), we cannot remove much of its materials from the epoch of the Yajurveda. As it further contains *mantras* in connection with the *Aśvamedha* ceremony, which we cannot assign to the earlier stratum of the Yajurveda, portions of the *Ṛiksaṁhitā* must be accepted as belonging to even late Yajurvedic

[illegible] For all these reasons, it is necessary that we should give up the assumption that the whole of the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* is pre-Yajurvedic. The remark also applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Sāmaveda, for the *Ṛiksaṁhitā* contains a few references to *sāmans* also. Neither is Âtharvanic matter wholly lacking in our text. Consequently we should take the *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* in its present form as containing materials from the earliest to (almost) the latest periods of Vedic literature. The *Ṛigveda-Saṁhitā* is thus not a *book* but a *library*. Consequently when we find any particular matter in this text we should not immediately assume that it belongs to a very early phase of Indo-Aryan culture. We have to determine carefully the relative ages of the different hymns, and, in some cases, also of different verses. The task is difficult. But it is our duty to attempt it in a truly scientific manner.

"VEDIC GODS: V—RUDRA—KĀLĪ"

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The present article arises from investigations into the nature of god Rudra and of goddess Kālī (the latter in the name of the celebrated poet Kālidāsa). If Kālī is the feminine form from "Kāla," then Kālī has a bearing to Light and thence to Śanku where Light is converted into Time: this has led to Śiva-Rudra as a Śanku conception primarily and (as a male form) with Light as his consort, the divine female. With this clarification in thoughts, understanding and interpretations have followed towards a further contribution to Truth which is religion (and not *vice-versa*). This article embodies those results. The investigations up to the fourth section revealed the stellar lights as worshipped through and around the terrestrial Agni. This section touches the very basis of Agni which is only a medium—'purōhita,' the terrestrial Light and reveals the original light celestial represented in the living frame of beings—we may call it divine spark—as the "ojas" connected essentially with the *lunar* light. It also brings out the lunar godhood of various deities and the subsequent transformations or developments into varied forms of religion and practices. Previous sections as well as this one are being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, in its Annals, in Vol. XVII, Pts. II ff., with star maps. With notes, quotations, etc, the present article covers about 70 pages. Previous references hold good for this article also.

Rudra : as star Śirius and Śanku :—We saw in section II that the Śrāvaṇa month (Pūrṇimānta) is connected with

the summer solstice and the advent of the rainy season. Then the constellation is Pushya whose regent is god Brihaspati. In X, 98, 1, 8, Br. is besought to cause the cloud to rain and to send the rain-charged cloud. [If the solstice was at Āsleshā, then there would be no room for Br. Indeed, Serpent Vritra-Hydra is a hindrance of the season and Br. and other gods fight out its evil—*vide* Sec. IV.] That is how the season, the stars and gods are associated in matters of *one* of the most important aspects of existence, of rains, agriculture and of harvest. Herein Rudra marks the developments. It is then the heliacal rise of star Sirius whose longitude occurs in the summer season (in sign Gemini) when the agricultural operations begin. It is the harbinger of rains It is also styled "Dog" who follows the deer, the Mriga-Orion; it is also styled the Hunter.

X, 64, 8 invokes Rudra along with Br. and Pushya. Pushya is in the shape of an arrow of 3 stars (Sec. II, table 2) and we find in AB. III, 33 that Bhūtavan pierced Prajāpati with an arrow and having done so, went up (became a heavenly body). He was now named Mriga Vyādha . . . the arrow became three knotted. It is the heliacal rise of Sirius in Pushya. In Śāk I, 6, Raghu XI, 44, and Mb. Sauptika; XVIII, 13-14, the pursuer of the deer is Śiva and in AB. III, 33, Mriga Vyādha is Rudra. In Hāridrava, a recension of Maitrāyaṇī Samhitā, a passage means that Rudra repented and shed tears after having pierced the father Prajāpati with an arrow. Here we get an allusion to rains in 'tears' and to the meaning of the word 'rud'. The midday libation is for Rudras (SB. XIV, 1, 1, 15; TB. 1, 5, 11, 3) which puts the Rudras at the Pushya which is the *divine* midday (Sec. II). X, 92, 5 says that Rudra makes the streams flow over the earth and roaring moistens everything, which description explains the connotation of the word 'Rudra' connected with the wind and storms of the monsoon, and which naturally make him the 'father' of Maruts. The polar longitudes of Āslēsha (Hydra regent Sarpa) mingle

with those of Pushya, which fact seems to develop into the intertwining serpent round the neck of Śiva or in the hands of Naṭarāja. X, 136, 7 says that Keśin (it is Hydra) drank from the same pot (pot is nakshatra) with Rudra. In AV. XII, 2, 18, Rudra marks the fall of Keśin's chariot (it refers to its heliacal setting). North as the abode of Rudra is in keeping with the calendar in the solstice point and the inclination of Śanku to the north.

SB. I, 7, 3, 1 says that when the gods attained heaven, *Rudra remained behind.* Here, the earthly character of Rudra is thought of. Under the name Mahādeva, Rudra is said to have *killed the cow, to slay cattle* (TMB. VI, 9, 7; RV. II, 33, 1); since cow-cattle are light-shadows (Sec. IV), the killing of cows signifies the disappearance of the shadow which is summer solstice time and Rudra then becomes Śanku responsible in the matter. I, 114, 4 tells us that *Rudra is bent to one side*; this description suggests positively to the writer that it is a description of the Śanku of the Samrāt-Yantra type bent to the north, to the Dhruva star, and as such he kills the "cow," absorbing in himself the midday shadow on the solstice day (Sec. II). The worship of Mahākāla at Ujjain (over which the sun attains the solstice point—its maximum declination in north) is therefore clearly the worship of Time as Rudra through the Śanku and celebrated in a Vedic hymn as Purusha. The story (X, 86, 4) of Vṛishakapi (Śanku), the Dog (Sirius) and the pursuit of the Varāha (Hydra) is explained. The heliacal rise of Punarvasu with its regent Aditi (Milky Way—Sec. IV) in Pushya puts in the connection of Aditi with Rudra, or Gaṅgā placed in the matted hair (rays) of Śiva and later, the relation of Bhīshma and Gaṅgā.

Thus Rudra as Sirius but primarily the Śanku can help us to follow the AV. 6, 80, 1-3: "He (the celebrated Dog) flees in the firmament observing all things. We adore the greatness of the Heavenly Dog with this offering . . . *Your birth is in water, your station is*

in heaven, your majesty is on earth and in the ocean. We will adore the greatness of the Heavenly Dog with this offering . . ." Waters are the rains, heavenly station is of Sirius and the other majesty on earth and high in air is of Śanku.

Several Rudras then mean several Śankus which may include those of vertical type too, leading to the "Liṅga" form. The chief of Rudras may be the imposing figure of Samrāṭ-Yantra, the subordinates, or the Yakshas may then be the smaller ones. AV. 11, 2, 24 seems to refer to the association of the Śanku and Light (Shadow) when it says that Yaksha within the waters belong to Rudra and the Waters of the Heaven increase their flow for him. Waters are light (Sec. IV).

The cows are light-shadows (Sec. IV.) and the resultant religion is equated to the offspring—the Bull—of the cows. This is how *the Bull is synonymous of Dharma* and has its place in front of the Liṅga a symbol of Śanku and Dharma. Ride on the bull is the same representation in connection with the divine male and female. The lexicons of Amara and Hemachandra make bull and mouse to stand for good acts and Dharma; and we see the mouse strutting before the image of Gaṇeśa. X, 90, 15 makes Paśu in connection with Purusha which brings us back to the Bull and Śanku and recalls the title Paśupati, celebrated in Nepal as the Paśupati-Nātha and in Mb. the bestowal of the bow (it is ecliptic) Pāśupata to Arjuna, son by god Indra. The form of Śanku with its side-quadrants elucidates the Triśūla associated with Śiva and with the divine female. I, 43, 1, I, 114, 4, 13, II, 33, 7, VI, 49, 10, and X, 92, 9 draw a beneficent picture of Rudra; *he is called auspicious Śiva.*

Because Rudra-Śiva is Śanku, his associations with Agni, with the regent gods at the principal calendar points like the Aśvins (at Ver. Eq.), Maruts (at Aut. Eq.), Soma, with Indra (regent of Sun), Ushas (at either equinox), and with symbols like Vajra (it indicates Svāti: another name of Hanumān is Vajrāṅga) and with seasons spring up: the

principal season, the Autumn, the divine evening and the dust of the equinox (Sec. II) get into the famous dance of Naṭarâjâ, a projection on Śanku of the social and religious rejoicings and festivities as well as that of the autumnal celebrations of sacrifices when all the 'gods' assemble (Sec. IV), when Hydra has ended. Śanku is portrayed as mountain and as such he comes to stand for the Mēru, the Kailāsa, the Himālaya, etc., and accordingly, the Rudra has his abode there. The (son of Dharma) Yudhisṭhira (it is Śanku) finally repairs to this place with the Dog (Sirius), the two surviving elements of the Calendar wherein, Draupadī (the light as Shadow) is the first to fall off (at the summer solstice).

Vasus: the light on Śanku on its side-quadrant.—Rudra has several names like Śarva, Bhava, etc., and they all stand for Śanku; the female names therefrom then refer to the light on it and accordingly, Vasu(s) are invoked with Rudra (TS. 1, 11, 13). Naturally, Indra is their lord (VS. 38, 8). They have a heat-giving wheel (II, 34, 9) and a beneficent and a pleasant boat (VIII, 18, 7) . the 'boat' refers to the side-quadrants of Śanku which are equatorial and accordingly, the earth is styled Vasundharā ; the ecliptic is the heat-giving wheel. Since Vasu is the associate of Rudra-Śanku, she is naturally thought of with (I, 163, 2) Tṛita (it is Śanku—Sec. IV), Indra, and the Gandharvas (at Svāti, autumnal equinox—Sec. IV). As Light on Śanku, the Vasus naturally lead to Agni. VII, 5, 6, tells us that *they have established strength in fire and served the work of fire* (VII, 11, 4). Kindling of fire irrespective of time and season can serve no purpose. AV. XIX, 6, 11 says that the worshipable *Purusha* was born *first* and was sprinkled by the *rainy* season ; by him the gods Sādhyas and Vasus performed the sacrifice. The 8 Vasus cannot be fixed up; but the discussion brings out the thoughts around the Śanku, calendar, the Vasus and to the conception of Tīrthas along with them. Vasu's cows are begged for food (V, 41, 18), showing how the light (shadow on Śanku) acquires the merits and associations of

the season. Here we can trace the germ of Annapūrṇā or of the Jagadambā conceptions around light and food. Matthew XXVI, 26-27 is quoted to elucidate the thoughts along with RV. X, 125, 4 "मया सो आन्नमत्ति यो विपश्यति" ।

Beyond the Vasus.—Although the Light-Vasu alights on Śanku, it is neither terrestrial light like Agni nor is it celestial like the earlier form of (lunar) light that we find. Hence the Vasus (connected with Indra) recede to the background when either the Śanku is magnified in thoughts, or when the (later) light as Agni or early light as prime (lunar) light is magnified in thoughts. Thus Vasus get displaced entirely in post-Vedic literature when the divine female is emphasized except when the semi-divine heroines are depicted. We shall see how the lunar lights embodying the Prime Light stand in the forefront in early conceptions and then the Śanku is out of the mind of the seer as in X, 125. So X, 90 would dwell only upon the magnitude of Time factor irrespective of Light, concentrating exclusively upon Purusha-Śanku. Thus the midway position of the Vasus has to be noted when we note the early conception of Light and when we consider the later forms that retain the traits of early conceptions but mixed up with terrestrial Agni. The considerations of Rudra and Vasus now clear our way for understanding the basic nature of light as propounded in Vedic thoughts. That again helps us to follow the various forms of later goddesses and to see for ourselves where the paths diverge, and how and why they diverge. It is to be remembered that *Light is the cherished central object in the Vedic thoughts* and this brings in the gods Hiraṇyagarbha, Prajāpati, the true nature of Ajā, Savitṛ and Pūshan, all of them arising out of the *lunar* lights in one or another stage. They are near the Prime Light than either the heavenly Vasu(s) or the terrestrial Agni. Their connection with the Ojas light (*on earth—in* living beings) is pointed out later.

Pūshan: *Regent of Moon.*—Commonly understood as Sun, the God Pūshan really refers to Moon as we find it to be the case. He is bright (I, 23, 14; VI, 48, 16), a visible deity (VI, 56, 4), and called Agohya not to be concealed. He appears in heaven *at night towards the* morning (VII, 39, 2) and *goes away at sunrise* (X, 139, 1). Pūshan has been called the lord of Night (VI, 55, 5). The night in Vedic thoughts is not dark but lustrous with the stars (X, 127, 2) and benevolent as such.

The goad of Pūshan called the Ārā or the Ashtrā (VI, 53, 8-9) which resembles the horn of a cow (cow is light—Sec. II) is therefore the crescent or the digit of the moon. Likely, it is the "Aja," the 16th digit, the "shodasi" which is ever there (A/Jā) [cf. *Kāla Loka Prakāśa*, XXVIII, 329-34 आद्यांशद्वयरूपा सदैव स्यादनावृता"] and accordingly, we can understand the 'Ajā' carrying along the Pūshan (VI, 55, 6; VI, 57, 3) and the one described in the Śvetāśvatara Upa. IV, 5 "अजामेकां लोहितशुक्लकृष्णां बह्वीः प्रजाः सृजमानां सरूपाः"। That is how the moon having Ajā—the immanent light—is dear to the gods "Devānām-priya" (cf Inscriptions of Aśōka and "भगवन् क्षपानाथ—रविमावसते सतां क्रियायै सुधया तर्पयते सुरान् पितृंश्च" Vikram. III, 7) and not the goats (ajā), or the sacrifices of goats. VI, 58, 3 "यास्ते पूषन्नावो अन्तः समुद्रे हिरण्ययीरन्तरिक्षे चरन्ति ॥" is a description of the lunar digits (nāvaḥ), in the ocean (lunar orb) *of Hiranya colour* which is both yellow and white since it comprises gold and silver (Amara. II, 9, 91) the two respective colours of moon in the dark and bright fortnights. With the two fortnights and the third Ajā, the Pūshan has *three* manifestations in VI, 58, 1; herein, Śukra refers to the Śukla light, the sacrificing form refers to the Krishṇa fortnight and the all pervading form to the Ajā. This is the real लोहितशुक्लकृष्ण form of अजा। Thus his nourishing light makes the Pūshan the most beneficent power, a gift to the universe (भुवने विश्व अर्पितः), lord of food (VI, 58, 2-4) protecting animals invigorating and inspiring best thoughts

"धियंजिन्वः" (cf. VI, 53, 4 'साधन्तामुग्र नोधियः' and III, 62, 10, the Sāvitrī hymn 'धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्.') In VS. 32, 5 *Prajāpati has been designated as Shodaśī* and is said to maintain *3 great lustures.* We saw them in the case of Pūshan. VS. 23, 63 connects the Prajāpati (the Shodaśī and therefore Moon, Pūshan, and Prajāpati-Brahmā) with the Hiraṇya Garbha when it says "He is born from the Timely germ laid lown by the strong, self-existent first, one within the mighty flood." X, 121 will thus be clear with reference to lunar lights. Its second verse refers to the Amṛita in the lunar lights and its Mṛityu as Amṛita, since the subsequent transformation to an entity of the lunar orb is also Amṛita, and since the distribution of the nourishing lunar lights proceeds unabatingly, in the later 3 forms of Pūshan). The sixth verse says that the solar orb shines when it gets the light from it (cf. VI 56, 3). In Sec. IV, we saw how Indra drinks Sōma which then generates the Sun (cf. also III 61,7, VI, 58, 4, X, 121, 6 and X, 85, etc.); Sōma placed light in the Sun (VI, 44, 23, IX, 97, 41), generated Sūrya (IX, 96, 5; IX, 110, 5) caused him to shine (IX, 63, 7) or raised him in heaven (IX, 107, 7): this is how the moon stands in the Vedas with reference to the Sun and Indra, on a primeval level.

Savitṛ: the Creative Lunar Deity.—The god Savitṛ seems too to refer to the moon, mainly by his bestowal of Amṛita which is an exclusive *lunar* function and *never* a solar one. As the regent of Hasta (Corvus constellation, he marks the divine evening and the important period of Harvest—the earth full of transformations of Sōma as Juice, etc. (Sec IV) and at the heliacal arrival of Saptarshis and Agastya, in the Śarad season. It being near the end of Hydra, this god is also a Vṛitra slayer, when invoked *with Indra* (VIII, 82, 1, 2, and 4), who is the regent of Sun. The functions of Sun and Savitṛ are in perfect contrast. Aroused by Sūrya men pursue their objects and perform their works (VII, 63, 4) but Savitṛ is spoken of as sending to *sleep* (IV, 53, 6; VII, 45, 1).

He (Savitṛ) unyokes his steeds, brings the wanderer to rest; at his command *night comes*; the weaver rolls up her web and the skilful man lays down his unfinished work (II, 38, 3-4)—it all marks the decline of the day terminating the activities. Invocation of the Night and rest harbinger the invocation to Savitṛ (I, 35, 1-2) who is present in the black spaces, sending *to rest* both the mortals *and* the immortals. Most of the I, 35 is explained in the article. TB. 1, 6, 4, 1, relates that *Prajāpati becoming Savitṛ* created living beings. IV, 54, 2 tells us that Savitṛ bestows immortality on the gods as well as length of life on man. [We meet with heliacal setting as 'death.'] Thus Savitr is the first awakener to life and as such Sāvitrī, the Gāyatrī celebration "तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि । धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात्" ॥ (III, 62, 9-10) has its entire significance through the nourishing lunar lights. *Savitr is alone the lord of vivifying power* and *by his movements* (*yāmabhiḥ* strides) *becomes Pūshan* (V, 81, 5). Savitṛ impels (*veti*) the Sun (I, 35, 9). Savitr is called Asura; here we suggest to take Asura to be gods visible at night, the Sura signifying those visible during day-time. The greatest Asura is Varuṇa, the Ahuramazda. Such is the position of the Moon as the greatest embodiment of the original light in the Vedic conceptions. It has to be noted that the lunar godhood and lights are nowhere to be confused for the Agni, the medium, light as the light terrestrial. As a time factor, the moon has a central place in the luni-solar calendar. Śanku has to be thought of with reference to this prime light which is lunar in character and solar in subsequent aspects prior to later form of hevenly Vasu and terrestrial Agni. We see in varied imageries of Rudra-Śiva and in those of the divine female (Kālī) as it differently impressed the various masters.

Divinities.—Śanku Rudra, when cannot be thought of without Light, has the crescent moon placed always on

the forehead of Śiva. He is then Chandra-Śekhara. When Light herself is in the mind, she retains the same crescent. She is then Chandra-Śekharā. When Śanku and Light are intermingled in thoughts, it is the Ardha-nārīśvara, the parents of the universe (Raghu. I, 1). When Śanku alone is thought of, the constant association of light and its steadiness with uninterrupted concentration (in unison with the Dhruva) marks Śiva as Yōgīśvara and when light is away, as Digambara, or as Śava under the heels of the Divine female. As Śanku, he is Sthāṇu (and classically, the Yudhishṭhira). As an embodiment of time, the Śanku Rudra is the Kāla and when magnified, the Mahā Kāla. Being an embodiment of time, he is Mṛityuñjaya. With the heliacal rise of the Milky Way (with Punarvasu, at Pushya) he is Gaṅgā-dhara; so too with the Ganges by its side as Sirius.

When Light alone is thought of she is the Prime Effulgence as in X, 125. Later it is then the Shodaśī worship, known in the Vedas as Ajā. The thought of Ajā decapitating herself into various lights (cf. 'यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः' । X, 121, 2) seems to lead to the unusual Chhinna Mastā conception wherein the central female figure is the fountain head of light, (herself *of sixteen* years' age), receiving a fountain back in perpetuity and with two other fountains out of herself for the two side female figures (of *twelve* years' age)—this is how the lunar light is converted into the time and the calendar. Since Śanku is Parvata—a mountain, she is as consort Pārvatī. The 'swords,' 'spears,' and 'arrows' are symbolical of the rays of light: (swords and spears come in when Christ is arrested—it is the nearing of the heliacal setting of Canopus; the Bhīshma is on a bed of 'arrows' (heliacally set Sirius for 56 or 58 days); such incidents with their significance are explained and they come in the hands of the Divine female when she fights the demon Hydra, the obstructor. One word for sword is "*Nistrimśa*" which connotes that 30 (digits of the 2 fortnights) have left

and what remains is the immanent 16th digit, the Shoḍaśī and accordingly, we find the sword "Chandra-Hāsa—the laughter of the *moon*—in the hands of the divinities, the sword being *shaped like the digit of the moon at its end.* The Dēvi Bhāgavata XII, 16, 48 says "चन्द्रहासा चारुदात्री चकोरी चन्द्रहासिनी" and the Śabda Kalpa Druma quoting it says that the Chandrahāsa is "गायत्रीरूपा भगवती." Thus the whiteness of the Moon leads to two, the गौरी and the महागौरी. The light when it becomes Vasu, acquires the stellar and seasonal attributes and thus the goddess Śāradā Sarasvatī arises out of the Chitrā (Spica—A Virgo) constellation and Mahā Lakshmī (worship of Plenty) out of Svāti (Arcturus—A Böotes) The same in relation to the Hasta (Corvus) constellation (which is styled elephantine from its shape *and* named 'Hasta') comes to be the Mātaṅgi and Kamalā (Seasonal from Kamala lotus) The connection of Vasu with the Virgo sign and the then taking place of the heliacal rise of Agastya—Canopus is pointed out in the Madonna conception.

Later on.—The light has reference to time and thus to the zodiacal constellations which set one after another in rotation and we get a garland of decapitated heads or skulls around the divinity, at times holding one head or skull (*kapāla*) and in a pot (*karpara*) at times. Head (*muṇḍa* shaved because heliacally set. hairs lost—rays lost), *kapāla* and *karpara* are identical terms herein. As the Vasus, the autumnal equinox is bound to get represented and we find the divinity riding a lion (colour and symbol of Svāti), treading down the demon (Hydra) or holding snake (Hydra) like Śiva. She is in such forms the later Kālī, the Mahā Kālī, Durgā, the Kātyāyanī, Chaṇḍī, etc. [The form which we do not find in the works of Kālidāsa. The same lion (Svāti) as the head of Divinity acquires Nṛisiṁha avatāra, tearing up the demon (Hydra). Here and in Bhīma *at this moment* blood as the colour of (Svāti) light is highly emphasised.] Bull has a place with several of these forms very naturally as Dharma.

4*

Heroines.—The later conception of the Vasu light coming to Śanku develops into the light (its portion) come to earth in the form of semi-divine heroines like Sītā, Draupadī, Rādhā (and Gōpīs). In the Rāmāyaṇa, the sojourn (*ayana*) of Rāma (Sun) with Lakshmaṇa (Moon) and Sītā (Vasu) is the theme. The disappearance of the heroine marks the rainy season, prominent by Rāvaṇa (Hydra); the recovery marks his end and therein for an *early* discovery (at Lankā which the golden Svāti), the son of Vāyu (regent of Svāti), Hanumān has a most important part to play. The purification and the ultimate disappearance of the heroine are chapters of Vasus—shadow and Agni at the autumnal equinox. In the Mb. the Vasu as Draupadī has (from calendar) five husbands, the two from the Aśvinī regents, one from the Svāti regent, one from the Indra (regent of Sun), and one from Dharma-Yama, regent to Śanku. (We need not think of the Nepal tribes for the plurality of husbands.) The hero of the calendar and of the period is Canopus—Agastya, personified in Kṛishṇa. His departure (heliacal setting in Taurus sign) precedes the finale—the summer solstice when the Yuga ends: when the heroine is the first to fall off. So too the points of the calendar dissolve leaving behind the Śanku, alone, the son of Dharma in company with the Dog—the celestial Rudra, mounting the Himālayas, indicative of Śanku and the North; Mb. episode mainly being the distress through the 100—the Vṛitra, the Hydra, the Kauravas; Bhīma (of Vāyu-Svāti) killing the chief ones. The young (then recently risen) Canopus acquires the central place when Rādhā and her female friends, the lights as shadow in autumn and harvest have a playful 'dance' (*rāsalīlā*) around him. The site is the Yamunā, the side quadrant of Śanku; and peacock's tail crowns the young hero, suggesting the then heliacally risen Saptarshis (peacock).

Heroes.—It is young Kāma risen once again after it was burnt at the end of Spring (heliacal setting of Canopus in Taurus) by the third eye (Sūn: two eyes is normal feature) of [illegible] (Śanku). The same young Canopus—the

heliacally risen—gets the other two imageries, the (symbolical) sons of Śiva: the Kārttikēya comes riding a peacock which is his (heliacal) arrival with the Saptarshis (peacock—Amara. II, 5, 30-31; I, 3, 27) fighting the demons —the Hydra. Gaṇēśa revived with the 'elephantine' (Hasta constellation set heliacally) head. II, 33, 12, refers to *Kumāra* and Rudra but the text is still unintelligible. The same young Canopus is as Āyuḥ and Bharata (in the hermitage of Marīchi, the 7th of the Saptarshis) in the dramas of Kālidāsa and there too, 'peacocks' come in.

Like the Light and young heroes, the Śanku and Sirius acquire classical and mythical or other form of divine characters and that has been noted. Bhīshma is the son of Gaṅgā while John the Baptist is always baptizing (symbolical of the rainy season) at the Jordan (Milky Way) while we have water always pouring over the Liṅga. It is the heliacal rise of the Milky Way and Sirius, and the rainy season in these imageries around Śanku and Sirius. The disciple of the Baptist is Andrew representing the *fourth* (sign—Cancer) out of the twelve and with Peter (gemini—it has the longitude of Sirius) he knows the master. The three-legged, deformed Kubera is another conception over Śanku, who is always with wealth (lights as Vasus). Balarāma always fond of wine (symbol of light) is another figure out of Śanku, on a pilgrimage for the Prabhāsa (aut eq.) and on the banks of the Sarasvatī (Chitrā).

The side quadrants of Śanku come to be (the shining) *Karṇa* (ear) and the Mb. hero comes out as a half brother to the son by Indra. The same is the thigh (*ūru*) and the mace (Svāti symbolically) of Bhīma falls there with emphasis on blood—the colour of Svāti. Hanumān too carries the mace himself being painted with the minimum colour of Svāti. The same quadrant is 'wheel' and it sinks in 'earth' (it is ecliptic and not the equatorial quadrant that is to count ultimately) in the case of Karṇa.

As from Sanku, several figures arise from the Hydra head—from Āślēshā, such as Duryōdhana, Rāhu/Śakuni, Kālīya on the Yamunā (equatorial quadrant of Śanku), Varāha, Kēśin and from the Hydra tail, like Kētu and Duśśāsana: their relation and depictions have been noted.

Symbols and symbolical accounts under various names have been noted such as those relating to Hastināpura, Prabhāsa tīrtha, pilgrimage of Balarāma, Gōkula (aut. eq. and the period with reference to Böötes stars from Alcor to Arcturus, from Arundhatī to Svātı), Avi with reference to Ajā and Lamb of God, the Asura/Sura and the Holy Ghost and the Holy Spirit with the Father in Heaven, and many other usages and expressions.

The meeting of the Ṛohus and Agohya, celebrating whom they came to the house of Savitṛ and received Amṛita, then recalls the gospellic narration of the arrival of the Magi from east (heliacal arrival of the Saptarshis) celebrating the young Child (heliacally risen Canopus—Agastya) and the Babylonian narration of the quest of the hero Gilgamesh (*Canopus*) in search for immortality, for meeting his ancestor (who had attained it—heliacally risen condition) Ut-Naphishtim—the Vedic *Vasishṭha*, the 6th of the Saptarshis—for the purpose, directed on his way by the *female* Sabitu traversing thick darkness of 12 Kasbu (12 days of sleep of the Vedic lore?) and reaching the garden which has the tree of god (Svātı the kalpataru) whose top is all lapis-lazuli.

Several hymns have been reinterpreted and elucidated. They are X, 125 (of the Prime Effulgence), X, 121 of Hiraṇya Garbha, X, 90 of Purusha Śanku,) I, 35 of Savitṛ and several ones of Pūshan VI, 53-4, 57-8, all around the lunar lights and lunar deities.

Blood and Wine for Light.—From the depictions around the Śanku and Light the article develops an interesting phase of Light which may be called the inward (in the living beings irrespective ~~of~~ sex) compared to the outward, the most known of which is the terrestrial Agni and behind (which are, now we *realise*, the solar and

stellar lights after the Vasus and behind *all* of them the Lunar Lights. In the celebrations of the divine females we note several currents of light while the principal one was the Lunar one. Where it (light) is thought of as *red and* such as that of the terrestrial or physical Agni, we find *the red outstretched tongue* of the (later) female divinity, after the 7 *tongues* of fire such as ' Kālī, Karālī,. Sphulliṅginī . . . etc., of the Muṇḍaka Up. I, 2, 4. This is *away from the lunar character of godhood* or from its nourishing predominant connotation (the fire and 7 are the autumnal sacrifice with the seven saptarshis cf. X 90). It is also away from the *Hiranya* colour of Light or the 3 great lustures, the cherished object of worship. The adoption of the *red colour* of light seems to have passed on to 'blood' as we could notice from the blood fountains of the Chhinnamastā which are essentially the 3 light fountains. The term like 'lohita' for the Ajā (in the Śvētāśvatāra Up. IV, 5) seems to have further (wrongly) emphasized the blood in the case of light. We see the same even when the Chandrahāsa sword is smeared red at its edge. The bloody sacrifices sprung around the Agni celebrations seem to have contributed towards this development as a past history and practice lending authenticity to the same. Thus we can notice the drift away and away from the real nourishing—never killing—lunar lights. The red colour of light (godhood was light—Sura) seems to have brought in its female form as Surā for light and with the redness of wine and blood, both (blood and wine) seem to have replaced the Light, for which originally they were symbols only. Passages from the gospel also are cited for the usage of blood and wine wherein the original value is light or stellar—therein the red colour is of Canopus. The later Śāktas have faithfully enshrined them on the religious pedestals but then they have got away from the real original light. The conventional phase of male and female (of Śanku and Light) have been lost sight of and physical relations of sexes have set in their practices as much as blood and wine.

It is all the negation of Lunar Lights as of AJÂ-Shodasi, or of its nourishing character such as "विषुरूपे अहनी द्यौरिवासि ।" (VI, 58, 1); "यस्य छायामृतं यस्य मृत्युः ।" (X, 121, 2). What is worship if the start is something different (say Amṛita of lunar lights) and the end is something else, totally foreign to the origin (say wine-blood-dissipation)?

Light on Earth—the Ojas.—RV. II, 33,10 says "न वा ओजीयो रुद्र त्वदस्ति"—O Rudra, there is none else who has the amount of Ojas that you have." This depiction invites attention since Ojas has been styled the Light ("दीप्ते बले") by Amara. III, 3, 232 and Hemachandra (अवष्टम्भे बले धातुतेजसि') and by many others. It is the light, beyond the seven constituents (dhātus) of the body (blood being one of these 7) as per medical authorities like Vāgbhaṭa, Charaka and Suśruta "रसादीनां शुक्रान्तानां धातूनां यत्परं तेजस्तत् खल्वोजस्तदेव बलमिति' "ओजः सोमात्मकं स्निग्धं शुक्लं शीतं स्थिरं सरम्"। It is described as constituted of Soma, cool and white and in the frame near the breast (हृदि संस्थितम्). It is the fourth portion of body (cf. अनाहतचक्र) where astrology would put moon mother and remote past to hold sway. Where this Light—Ojas tends to flow upwards towards the head, the condition is called '*Ūrdhava Retas*' of which the greatest embodiment is Śiva showing perfection (purity in thought, word and deed), the lesser one being Bhīshma and sages. The (Ojas) light which would then spread on the forehead would therefore amount to the glow of *the crescent moon* on the forehead of Śiva. The downward flow would come to mere sex-urge and would tend towards its dissipation. The extreme points of upwards and down- [illegible]w are under a common planetary sway (of Mars.) [illegible]a is Ūrdhva Retas, the Linga and Bull can *never* [illegible]allus worship but they would represent the Brahma- [illegible] which again would point to the conservance of

the lunar lights (Brahma) in the body with the upward flow of Ojas. The medical texts point out that wine is *opposed* to the Ojas. Ojas is also called Chaitanya, Jīva, Bharga, and Ātmatattva (cf. चाक्. सं. १). Extensive quotations are given for this section which dwells upon this form of light mostly connected with Rudra, as Lunar light with the divine females and available on earth as Ojas, the spark in *all* the living beings on earth. Agni is on earth: but it is a medium and the objective one, away from the lunar light with reference to the subjective one in the lunar-natured Ojas. How far that can be the cherished object to-day like Agni of the olden times? To what practices will that longing for increased Ojas lead? How can the developments around Agni be set right and around the divine females where Agni-traits have displaced the real lunar character of the divinities be set right? On all such questions, the results of the present investigations have a direct and profound bearing. They give a perspective to the Agni cult as it naturally ought to be and as it has come to grow. The investigations into the Vedic conceptions rest here. The conclusions arrived at are independent of any authority, ancient or modern, while strict conformity to texts and data has been constantly kept in view. The following table will elucidate the trend of thoughts as they are found to be.

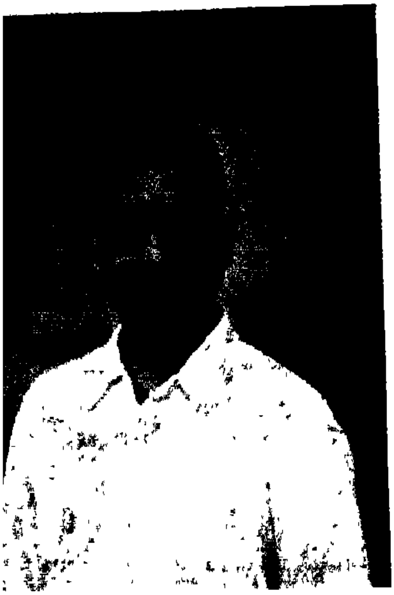
TABLE.

Prime Effulgence	Cosmic Light ...	(Cf. X, 125 " अहं रुद्रेभिर्वसुभिश्चरामि । etc.")
Hiranya Garbha—Prajāpati functioning as Savitṛ = Moon god.		Tb. 1, 6, 4, 1. Cf X, 121 " हिरण्यगर्भः समवर्तताग्रे । etc." Cf. V, 82, 5, II, 38, 3-4, IV, 53, 2, 6; VI, 67, 2; VII, 45, 1. Cf. Mac. "Vedic Myth." pp. 32-34; Cf. Amara. II, 9, 91—"Hiraṇya" = Gold *and* Silver.

[illegible] in [illegible]=Aja =Prajāpati.	Cf. VS. 32, 5. RV. X, 121, 2, 9.
[illegible]—Full with Amrita=Pūshan god.	Cf. VI, 54, 3; 55, 6; 57, 3; 58, 8–9; X, 121, 8.
[illegible] Amrita—pervading the universe as Sōma to stars and sun.	Cf. III, 61, 7; X, 121, 6; VI, 53, 8; 58, 1, and Mac. (*ibid*) p. 31, re Soma and Surya, Cf. V. 12, 14.
Stellar Lights—Vedic Gods ...	Cf. "Vedic Gods" I–IV.
Solar Light=fusion of lunar and stellar lights	Cf. Mac. (*ibid*) p. 112-wedding of Sōma and Sūryā.
Lights on Śanku (Solar and Stellar) Śanku=Rudra, Lights=Vasus.	Cf This article: Rudra and Vasus.
Shadow—Time-determining calendar, seasons, days, hours, actions, sacrifices, etc.	Cf. sec. II "Vedic Gods"; also sec. IV; of "Soma Pavamāna."
Kindling Agni on earth—Yajña, Hymns, worship, etc., celebrating divine-grace of Light--of Nourishing Ajā, of the Prime Effulgence.	Cf. sec. III–IV "Vedic Gods" as also this article.

Cognisance in the presence of Rudra=Śanku=Purusha=Kāla. cf. X 90.

Emphasis on the Inner form of Light=Ojas, leading to subjective forms.	(1) Yajñas. Objective form of Light=the terrestrial Agni, *the medium*.
	(2) Meditation—Yoga.
	(3) Devotion—Bhakti.
	(4) Regulated life, with four "Purushārthas" in four stages of life (cf. Raghu I, [illegible]).



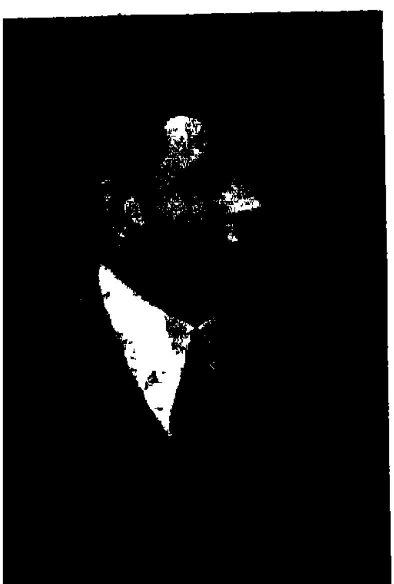
President, Vedic Section

DR LAKSHMAN SARUP, M A D PHIL,
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University of Punjab, Lahore



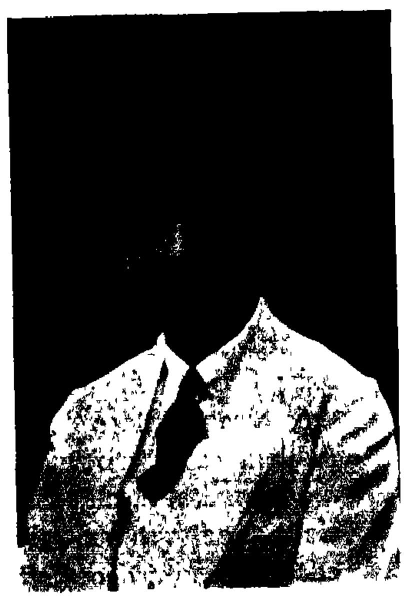
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II. IRANIAN SECTION

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By B. T. Anklesaria, M.A.,

Principal, Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zartoshti Madressa and the Mullan Firuz Madressa, Meher Villa, Beasant Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay, 23.

The idea of holding conferences is Iranian. The oldest Iranian literature fortunately existing to-day has preserved for us instances of conferences held in pre-historic times. The Avestan 'Vi-daêva-dâta,' the Vandîdâd, gives a beautiful instance of God having inspired Yima Khshaêta to call a conference of the best men of the world to consider ways and means in order to preserve the race of mankind against the destruction from the fatal winter which was to destroy all beast and man save the select few who were to be saved in the 'Vara of Yima.' The Avestan Gâthâs tell us of the conference of the holy sage Zarathustra with the creator Ahura Mazda and the Beneficent Immortals wherein the revelation of salvation by Thought, Word and Deed, of a spirit realm whence the souls of men descend but to ascend after the completion of their earthly travail, was shown to him.

Old Iranian history, be it read from the Old Testament or from the indigenous records of Irân, embedded in the archives faithfully preserved, bears evidence to the government of the people by a conference of elders deputed by the sovereign to frame the laws, to [illegible] cultural progress by inviting to the Iranian [illegible] sages of the world who had done service [illegible] their own countries by the effective means of science and knowledge. The Pahlavi Dinkart recounts the story of

the parliament of wise men of the world who were invited by King Khusru Kavât (531-579 A.C.) to discuss all the questions relating to science, philology, philosophy and religion. Greek and Hindu philosophers then debated the 'vyâkaraṇa' and the 'philosophies.' We, in India, who worship Saints and Ṛishis, Sages and Pandits, following in the footsteps of the English who have come to India for centuries, have been convening congresses and conferences to discuss political, historical, social, cultural and scientific problems. It is for the eighth time that we meet in the Oriental Conference in Mysore (='Mahishâpura'). May Ahura come to the help of 'Mahishâpura' and give all possible help and inspiration to advance the cause of culture and civilization! If it be the first time that the questions relating to the culture of Îrân are to be discussed in Mysore, may they be discussed from generation to generation, year after year, in times to come, by the faithful sons and daughters of the soil. Mysore is fortunate enough in having learned men, who before the advent of the Oriental Conference in it, have worked upon Iranian history and Iranian questions of import; I refer to two gentlemen whom I know, Professors Shustery and Wadia. May we have many more scholars of the type, who, under the inspiring guidance of His Highness the Maharajadhiraj and his cultured Prime Minister, can propagate the study of Îrân and her culture.

Learned men are usually mere book worms. They only sit in their studies or class rooms and discuss philosophy, philology and the dicta of their own special line or creed. Conferences like these held far and wide in distant parts of India, in cultural centres possessing many minds and many thoughts, awaken these men in the chair, secluded in their retirement, from lethargy to a sense of their own duty to their country and their literature and traditions. In order to bring about the rise of a country, it is the duty of the educated men of that country to meet together and revive the old civilization and culture which have slipped from their

hands and to introduce new forces of progress and advancement. Let us, therefore, earnestly pray that God will enable us to make the best use of this and the future conferences which will meet in years to come for the proper understanding and advancement of the literatures of India and Îrân.

Perhaps the first step to the study of Iranian culture was laid in 1760 when Dr. Thomas Hyde, Professor of Hebrew and Arabic of the Oxford University, wrote his "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Modorum." Before him some travellers to Îrân and India did refer to the Zarathustrian Community living in Îrân and in India; but it was Dr. Hyde who first set the ball rolling and for a period of 175 years the world has begun to hear the story of Iranian religion, history, science and culture, written for the most part by authoritative men who have studied their subject at first hand. But there are difficulties, though not insurmountable, in the way of arriving at the truth, due to various causes.

1. The history of Îrân, as we read from the Avestan, Pahlavî, Greek, Roman, Arabic, Persian and Indian sources, is very imperfect owing to the bias of the authors, however veracious, who wrote it. The destruction of the archives of Îrân, deposited in the palaces of the Achæmenian kings, at the time of the conquest of Îrân by Alexander the Great, and nine centuries and a half later, on the conquest of Îrân by the Arabs, has been instrumental a great deal in bringing about deficiencies and gaps in the history of Îrân. Historians have not been able up to now to secure the facts of history between the Kayanian and the Achæmenian dynasties, these two dynasties having been considered as one by the Greek historians and the Iranian writers who followed them. It will really take a long time to discover the real events which happened betwixt these two periods. In the meanwhile those who have depended on the statements of the Pahlavi books which have fixed the life of the world to last for twelve millennia, place Kay Vistâsp about 635

years before Christ, the prophet of Îrân and his Gâthâs, the most ancient document of the history and religion of Zarathustrians being thus brought down to seven centuries before Lord Jesus. Modern archæological researches at Balkh, Bâmîyân, Mohenjo-daro, Susa and Persepolis militate against this fixation of the age of Kay Vistâsp, archælogists working at Susâ and Mohenjo-daro supplying us with facts and arguments to prove the greater antiquity of Zarathustra and his age. Now that archælogical work has been undertaken on a scientific basis in the various parts of Îrân, in Raê near Teheran, in Nehâvand, in Susâ and in Persepolis, the rich finds made in these places have begun to tell their own tale and to divulge secrets which had remained hidden up to now. The old theories of history will have to make room for conclusions based upon the finds made by excavations in these various fields. We find a scholar of critical acumen like Dr. Hertel of Leipzig trying to prove the truth of the traditional age assigned to Kay Vistâsp and to show that the Achæmenians were the Kayanians. Aga Pour-e Davoud tries to place Zarathustra a few centuries earlier. Let us have scholars who will be enabled to adduce rational arguments to prove that the Kayanian Vistâsp flourished long before the Achæmenian Vistâsp. The Vedic school of thinkers, consisting of Bâl Gangâdhar Tilak, Ervad Sheheriarji, Dadabhai Bharucha, Jayanâth Pati and others has made efforts to prove that the Ṛig Vedas and the Gâthâs of Zarathustra are contemporaneous documents and that Kay Vistâsp flourished during the Vedic period, which according to its opinion is as old as five millennia before Lord Jesus. Iranian research can only be placed on the right track by those who will study the Vedas, the Mahâbhârata and other Sanskrit works as counterparts of the Iranian literature. Ever since the foundation was laid of the study of the Avestan language and literature, so[illegible] Europe have depended on sacerdotal and tra[illegible]thorities. Anquetil du Perron translated the Ave[illegible] as per the renderings, interpretation and

version of his Parsi Guru, Dastûr Kumâ-nâ Dâd-dârû, who imparted his knowledge on the basis of empirical studies, such as were handed over from father to son, without any attention to grammar or philology. The Parsis of India had to depend for a long time on the empirical translations offered by their sacerdotal authorities. The accumulated ignorance of ages of the Zoroastrians of Irân and India, the acting on blind faith which breeds fanaticism and hatred of everything and anything other than one's own religious practices and views the faith which is half misfaith when founded on passions and prejudices, and last but not the least, the religious persecution of the Zarathustrians in Irân, the destruction of their vast literature by the Mongols and the Tartars, all these and many other reasons had brought about the forgetfulness of their own literature. The Gâthâs, written by Zarathustra, were in need of commentation at a time when the later Avestan dialect was still spoken. Three Avestan commentaries existed of the Gâthâs of Zarathustra, which were embodied in the Sûṭkar, Varstmânsar and Bak Nasks. During the reign of Sâpohr II (309-379 A.C.), the great saint and leader of the Zarathustrians Âṭarpâṭ-i Mâraspendân and his disciples translated the entire Avestan literature into Pahlavî. Nineteen out of the twenty-one Nasks of the Avestâ were extant, three centuries after the last Sasanian king Yazda-karṭ (931 A.C.), when Âṭarpâṭ-i Aêmît, the leader of the Zarathustrians, prepared the summary of the nineteenth Nasks. Nêryôsang Dhawala, the ancestor of the Zarathustrian âthravans of India, had translated, from Avestâ and Pahlavî into Sanskrit, the Yasna, including the Gâthâs of Zarathustra, along with other works (in about 850 A.C.). The Parsi âthravans of India depended for the most part on the Pahlavî translation and commentaries of the Avestan texts as well as the Sanskrit version of Nêryôsang. Attempt was also made by the âthravans to translate the Pahlavî version into New Persian at the time when the Persian language was spoken by the Parsis of

India. Such was the critical apparatus of the Zarathustrian Athravans of India when Anquetil took it in his head to come over to India in order to study texts of the Zarathustrian Scripture. When Anquetil handed over his publication to the literary circle in Europe and when doubts were expressed as to the authenticity of the Avestan Scripture, the great French founder of Iranian philology, Eugéne Bournouf, proved the veracity of the Avestan texts by writing his monumental 'Commentaire sur le Yasna.' In Germany, Spiegel proceeded further in the work. He prepared the grammars of the Avestan, Pahlavî and Pâzand languages, translated the whole Avestan literature in German, and studied a great part of the Pahlavî traditions. He followed the traditional version of the Avestan texts. Here followed a battle as to the methods of translation when Haug criticised Spiegel's method of translating the Avestan texts by following and adopting so far as possible the Pahlavî version. Haug laid down the scheme of translating the Avestan texts according to the rules of philology, giving to the Avestan words the meanings consistent with their Vedic and Sanskṛit equivalents. Darmesteter came on the scene as a peace-maker. With his French frankness and brilliant genius, he adopted the middle course of interpreting the Avestan texts from the Vedic and Sanskṛit languages so far as possible and of depending on the Pahlavî traditions and glosses when the Vedas and the Sanskṛit could not help the Avestist in his work. His French translation of the Gâthâs is a marvellously close rendering of the traditional Pahlavî version. In his time he was considered such a great authority that Mills had to bow to him and to follow the Pahlavî traditions in his translation of the Gâthâs of Zarathustra, in order to bring his work in a line with the great Avestist's French rendering. [illegible]eed not record and recapitulate the work done [illegible] m[illegible]ore literati for special parts or for the whole of [illegible] literature; Harlez's monumental work, the F[illegible] translation of the Avesta, his very interesting

Introduction, his Manuals of the Avestan and Pahlavi languages, Cossowicz's Latin translation of the Gâthâs, Bartholomæ and his pupil Wolff's works, and the works of other amateurs who with or without any knowledge of the Avestan language, its grammar, idioms and colloquialisms have essayed the translation of parts of the literature, especially of the Gâthâs.

A mighty task still remains to be achieved, a standard translation of the Avestâ based on the rules of grammar and philology prepared by one or more scholars who have studied the Vedic and Sanskṛit grammars and dictionary and have perfectly understood all the Pahlavî traditions up to now preserved in the home of the Parsi Community in India. It is very easy to obtain academic degrees and distinctions of foreign or Indian Universities; the great task which lies ahead of the Iranists is to patiently serve as apprentices for the life-long task of a correct interpretation of the document which is the pride of the Iranian world, the earliest Iranian writing extant written in the Orient in the language which is the mother of all the Iranian languages and a sister language of the Vedic, which in its turn is the mother of the Aryan languages spoken in India. It is an uphill work, a work to be undertaken only by those who will ignore themselves in this life for the sake of leaving after them a work of use to all the progeny of the world. Name and fame must be sacrificed for use and utility, for the service and salvation of the oldest Iranian literature.

Aga Pour-e Davoud's New-Persian translation of the Avestâ has been a great achievement for the Iranians eager to learn the culture of antiquity which they have received as heritage from their forefathers. Ervad Kavasji Kanga's Gujarati translation has inspired the Parsi Community of India for well nigh four to five decades. But a real scholarly work, undertaken by Parsi students and pursued with patience and perseverance, is the most urgent need of the Iranists of the age. The spade work has already been done by pioneers who have

prepared the texts, dictionary, grammar and translation. The Parsis ought to raise monuments to the memories of Spiegel, Justi, Darmesteter, Westergaard, Geldner, Haug, West, Eugene Wilhelm, Camo, Sheheriarji, Cawasji, Tahmuras, Edulji, Dastur Peshotan and Dastur Darab for the immortal services rendered to Iranian culture as pioneers in the field of Iranian research. These services cannot be forgotten for centuries to come. But pioneers have to work under difficulties which are insurmountable at least at the time when they applied their brains as so many spades to dig out the virgin soil untouched, undug, unexplored for millennia and ages. Let us appreciate the work of the pioneers to the utmost when their errors and mistakes of omission and commission lie exposed to our eyes. But let us with all humility and reverence remember their achievements, but to advance further and to give to posterity useful solid work. Let us take note of the work done and is being done by civilized Europe for the Old Testament and the New, the work done before our eyes by our Indo-Aryan brethren in India, in Poona, Calcutta and Madras to prepare the translations, commentaries and vocabularies of the sacred texts of all the Vedas, and of the Mahâbhârata. If we will, we can. We have got three leading institutions in Bombay, the Mullan Firuz Madressa, the Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai Zartosti Madressa and the Mancherji F. Cama Âthravan Institute. We might utilize these three institutions as factories to turn out a few rare specimens of students who might be enabled to take up the work and be of service to the Iranists' cause. I am one-sided in my statement. It will not be the Irano-Indians, the Parsis of India alone, who can materially help in the work. A renaissance of culture has been brought into being in Îrân. A study of Pahlavi has been lately made compulsory in all the colleges of Îrân. There are brilliant scholars : Dr. Razâ-[illegible] Shafaq, Malek-us-so'râ Nao-Bahâr, Rashîd-i Yâsemî, [illegible] Sayid-i Nafisi and others who are teaching and studying [illegible] the Avestan and Pahlavi languages. There is a

young poet of the type of Aga Spenta who has been instrumental in interpreting the thoughts and aspirations of old Îrân to the new Îrân. The various parts of the machine are ready, let us rear the factory, oil the machines, chip off rude excrescences and begin the work in right earnest; culture is life; ignorance is death. May it not be said in times to come that the descendants of the old Iranian stock, who migrated from their beloved farms, houses, abodes, mansions, land and country, became so unworthy as to be mere Mammon-worshippers, hewers of wood and drawers of water and threw to the winds their ancient heritage, due to lack of cultural attainments. I for one am sure that the Irano-Indians, the Parsis will prove true to their obligation and fulfil the task which they are destined by their Creator to achieve.

2. If the Avestan studies are deteriorating in India, it is because of the absence of discovery of any new material, because of the sameness of the texts surviving which are now in our hands. But, let us cast our glance at the Pahlavî literature. It is difficult to assert with certainty what amount of literature the ancestors of the present day Parsis had brought with them from Îrân. We seem to have had in India the Pahlavî versions with commentaries of the Yasna, the Vi-dêv-dât, the Visperad, the Khvarta Awistâ and some of the Yasts; the 'Skand gômânî Vijâr,' the 'Dânâ u Mînûy-i Khrat,' the 'Artâ-Vîrâf Nâma,' 'Yôstî-Fryân' and 'Hâtôkht Nask' Fragment, the 'Bundahisn,' the 'Sâyast nêsâyast,' the 'Gajasta Abâlis,' the 'Chîtn-i ez Gâsân,' and other texts contained in Dastur Jâmâspji M. Jâmâsp Âsâ's edition of the Pahlavî texts. Five important works: the Avestâ-Pahlavî sections of the Aûspârûm Nask named Aêrpatistân and Nîrangistân, the complete 'Bûndahisn' the 'Dâtastân-i Dînî' of Manûs-chîhr-i Gôsn-Jam and his epistles, his brother Zâtsparam's select writings, he Dînkart and the 'Mâtîgân-i Hazâr-dâtastân' came too late to India from Îrân. This is perhaps a complete list of the entire written Pahlavî literature that the Iranists

[illegible] claim to possess, along with other 'Rivayats' ("traditions") published or unpublished. The Pahlavi of the Inscriptions engraved in two scripts has been lately enriched by the discovery of the Pâikuli Inscription, by far the longest of the Sasanian Inscriptions as yet discovered and deciphered, which affords evidence of the cultural contact of the Iranians with the other nations, especially the Indo-Aryans. The other Inscriptions which were formerly read and deciphered require a revision and a re-edition. Most of the written Pahlavi texts, catalogued above, have been published, edited, transliterated and translated by scholars of great calibre. By far the greatest of these, the Dinkarț required nearly fifty-four years to be published (1874—1928 A.C.) by two great Pahlavisants of the Parsi Community, Dastur Peshotan and Dastur Darab. Dr. E. W. West had a hand in the translation of a great part of the text, and Madan edited the entire text of the Dinkarț, basing it on the unique Mullan Firuz Kitâbkhânâ Manuscript and using other Manuscripts for the lacunae in the M F K Manuscript. The 'Dâțastân-i Dini' was translated by Ervad Tahmuras, who had secured the unique MS. TD of the text from Îrân, with the help of Ervad Sheheriarji. The Aêrpatistân and Nirangistân text was edited by Dastur Darab and translated by Bulsara. The Board of Trustees of the Parsi Punchayet deserves the thanks of the Iranists for having spared no pains to make the works of the Parsi scholars available to the public, under the wise guidance of its zealous Secretary Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi who for four decades encouraged Parsi as well as non-Parsi scholars to study and publish the Pahlavi traditional lore. The 'Mațigan-i Hazâr-Dâțastân' is the latest find of the Pahlavi literature containing the Sasanian Law. Dr. Bartholomae of Heidelberg published the translation and notes of various chapters of the work, and Bulsara S. J. has under the patronage of the Parsi Punchayet prepared [illegible]eration and translation of the remaining fragments of the great work. The publication of the work is [illegible]

nearing completion and we expect to see the work out within a few months. Perhaps the greatest pioneer in the field of Pahlavi research was Dr. Haug who laid down the rules for the reading and decipherment of the inscriptional and the book Pahlavi and Dr. West ceaselessly laboured at the translation of Pahlavi works, the fruit of which is to be tasted in the five solid volumes of the "Sacred Books of the East" series, containing the translations of the Pahlavî texts. It is certain that the translations have become superannuated and more correct translations are desirable, but the masterly method of translation and the unbiassed way in which he judged the texts are worthy of imitation by the Iranophile. It has become imperatively necessary for the Parsis of India to publish a Pahlavi translation series under the able management of an expert Pahlavisant, in order to give to the Iranists of the world the advantage of accurate standard translations of the difficult Pahlavî texts and tradition. The Parsi Punchayet has long ago entrusted the work of compiling a Pahlavî Dictionary to Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar, one of the leading scholars of the Parsi Community who has studied and taught Persian and Pahlavî for well-nigh four decades. It is to be wished that he will be enabled to finish his task by the help of God during his life-time.

After the important finds of documents written in Middle-Persian from the plains of Central Asia, the aspect of Pahlavî studies has changed a good deal. The Turfan, the Manichaean, the Sogdean and other Pahlavî documents have caught the eyes of the Iranists and captivated them for a long while. Muller and Salemann have edited and translated the texts of the Manichaica. There is at least one learned scholar who can fluently talk in the Turfan Middle-Persian dialect as if he were talking in his own modern mother tongue. I refer to Dr. Freiman whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of forming in Irân last year. These finds have opened a new vista of thought as to the reading and decipherment of Pahlavi. The work of standardizing the transliteration of Pahlavi commenced

with Spiegel. Anquetil only followed the empirical method of reading taught to him by his Guru, Dastur Kumâ-nâ Dâd-dârû. Haug outstripped Spiegel and after a careful study of the Aramaic dialect and with his vast knowledge of the Vedic, Sanskrit and New-Persian succeeded greatly in standardizing the reading of Pahlavî. The European has his morning, evening and other dresses. Great Iranists in Europe began to alter the readings of Pahlavi words incessantly, just as they changed their dresses. The Parsi Dastûrs had their own esoteric method of reading Pahlavî which was abandoned in India as soon as they began to follow the European Iranists: Spiegel, Haug and West. The method was to treat the Aramaic words as ideograms and logograms and to read in their stead their Iranian equivalents as given in the 'Frahang-i Môlâ-Khvaṭâ, *i.e.*, the 'Pahlavi-Pâzand Glossary,' a very learned edition of which was published by Hoshang and Haug about seventy years ago, and a new edition by Heinrich Jünker has been published later. A revolutionary change was introduced in Germany by Dr. Andreas and Paul Horn soon after the discovery and decipherment of the Turfan fragments and the Sogdian script. It came upon the German Iranists as a revelation that the Middle-Persian dialects were spoken just as the Parsi Athravans of India read them before the innovations in the reading were introduced by Spiegel and Haug. Ibn Muqaffa's statement made nearly twelve centuries ago was realized that the Aûzvârisn part of the Pahlavî was to be treated as ideographic and the Aramaic words were not to be read as written and spelt. Other scholars, West, Darmesteter and Bartholomae, began to follow this new theory and there are very few Iranists in Europe who now follow Haug's method of Pahlavi decipherment. But to imagine that the dialects used in the 'Manichaica' and in the Sogdian and Turfan documents were the same as the Pahlavî of the books may not be very correct. The Pâzand readings assigned to Pahlavi words by the 'Frahang-i Môlâ-Khvaṭâ', by Nêryôsang Dhawala who transliterated in his time the

Pahlavî texts from the difficult 'Pârsik' handwriting into the Awestan alphabet, and by other ancient dasturs, as found in the Pâzand prayers embodied in the Parsi Book of Common Prayers, the 'Khvarta Awistâk,' should surely guide us in the decipherment of Pahlavi. It is now high time that the reading of Pahlavî be standardized. The only proper leaders in this matter will be those who study the indigenous dialects of Îrân still spoken in the various parts of the country. Without a first-hand knowledge of these dialects, mere accumulation of philological data will not be sufficient to find out the correct mode of reading Pahlavî. Dr. Christensen is making a careful study of the various dialects of Îrân; last year, he stayed in Samanâu for a few days to study at first hand the Samanâni dialect. Houtum Schindler has given the result of his study of the Gabrî or Darî dialect (Parsisprachen) in the journal of the 'Deutscher Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft'. A young scholar of Îrân, Kasravi, has written learned works on the various dialects of Îrân: Gîlakî, Mâzandî and others. He is also studying the Pahlavî literature. The guidance of such scholars is indispensable. We Irano-Indians, who study in India the Middle-Persian and New-Persian languages without guidance from the Iranians make ourselves sufficiently disgusting and ludicrous when we dare to speak Persian in the presence of the Iranians. Very often our speech is the Persian of the Arabs, who removed various sounds unutterable by them, the vowels 'e' 'ê', 'o' and 'ô' and the consonants 'p', 'ch', 'z' and 'g' from the Middle-Persian, considering these sounds as "barbarous" because they were not to be found in the Arabic language. The literary Iranian has found out the value of these sounds in the noble language which he has inherited from his ancestors. There are men in Îrân who wish to purify their indigenous Iranian language, by removing from it all foreign words and elements, and reviving the use of words of the Middle-Persian language which has become obsolete in the course of ages. This will help us in India to study

[illegible] better after the renaissance in Îrân has wel [illegible]. Our learned scholars, who study the Arabic language without a knowledge of Avestâ, Pahlavî, Old Persian and New-Persian, have confounded Iranian words with Arabic. It was, therefore, that I was asked by an influential learned man of Teheran to undertake a study of Middle-Persian words which have been Arabicised during the course of long centuries and I have placed before you this year a small imperfect list of Arabicised words.

3. If we turn our eyes to the Old-Persian Inscriptions, their decipherment began with Rawlinson and Grotefend and perhaps the last to work in the field is Dr. Jamshed Unvala of the French Archæological Mission at Susa, who was fortunate enough to decipher the inscriptions on the gold and silver plates discovered in Hamadân about eight years ago. The discovery is of great value as showing the contact of the Indo-Aryan and the Irano-Aryan twenty-four centuries ago. It is gratifying to note that the Parsis of India helped Dr. Jamshed Unvala to study the science of Archæology and he has become useful to the French Mission in particular and to the Parsis in general by his intelligent work at Susa. Professor Jackson has done good service for furthering researches in the Achæmenian Old-Persian inscriptions by venturing to decipher some of the words of the Behistân which were not correctly read. This is not the occasion to reiterate the beautiful story of the reading and decipherment of the Cuneiform inscriptions of Îrân. The work begun in 1792 has not still come to an end. Great English, French, German and American scholars have continued the work of research and laboriously prepared the grammar, glossary and translation of the Old-Persian language and texts used in these Inscriptions. Rawlinson, Grotefend, Spiegel, Oppert, Roth, Lasson, Cama, Weissbach, Tolman, Jackson and many more, who have assiduously worked at these Inscriptions, will leave the [illegible] their labour on the pages of history. The

latest excavations at Persipolis have yielded thousands of clay plates and pieces containing Cuneiform texts. May they be deciphered as early as convenient and speak to us the stories of what had happened in Îrân, twenty-two to twenty-five centuries ago.

4. It is difficult to find the coins of kings and emperors of Îrân before the time of the Achaemenian Darius. But coins of the Askânian and Sasanian kings have been found and studied since the last century by learned Numismatists. Mordtmann, Longperier, Bartholomy, Drouin, Babelon, Father Schiller, Thomas, Princeps and many others in Europe have made their name as Numismatists. To this long list of famous men two Parsi names have been added. Fardunji Pârakh of Bombay published his monumental work on the 'Sasanian Coins' about eleven years ago. Dr. Jamshed Unvala read and deciphered coins of the Parthian, Askânian and Sasanian times found at Susa during the last few years and by way of recognition, the French Numismatist Society has given to Parakh and Dr. Unvala the Drouin prize. This reading of the inscriptions on the coins has not proved an idle pastime. The Numismatists have been able to resuscitate the history of the kings of Îrân, Parthian, Askânian and Sasanian, their number, their correct dates, and many other important data. The decipherment has greatly helped the study of the Middle-Persian dialects and of the alphabets used on the coins. It is to be desired that intelligent Parsis of India will take up the study and decipher the inscriptions on the coins so as to reconstruct the history of the kingdoms where the coins were struck. Perhaps by far the largest collection of Iranian coins is to be found in the Hermitage Museum, in Stockholm, in Berlin, in the British Museum and in Paris. Let the millionaires of the Parsi Community take to the very useful and interesting pursuit of the collection of coins, especially of coins relating to Îrân. When I write this, Dr. Unvala is laying before the Cama Oriental Institute a history of the princes of Tabaristân gathered from the

coins lately found by him. Father Heras during his tour of historical research in Afghanistan, last year, secured a collection of important Kushân and other coins which will help the study of the history of Kushân kings a great deal. Those who have studied the Bactrian coins, following in the wake of Princeps have been able to study the history of the kings of the Bactrian kingdom.

5. When the Parsis of India became ignorant of their religious and social usages and customs, they sent their brothers to Îrân, to Kermân, to Yazd and other cities inhabited by the Iranian-Zarathustrians to bring from the learned Zarathustrians of Îrân replies to questions on interesting topics. Various persons had gone to Îrân and brought to the Parsis of India the information sought for from the year 1453 to 1735 A.C. The Persian Rivâyats, written in the New-Persian language as spoken by the Zarathustrians of Îrân are twenty-two in number. During these 228 years these Persian Rivâyats were considered authoritative guides for the Parsi divines to solve the difficult problems relating to religious and social laws and customs. These Rivâyats decided questions relating to marriage, adoption, inheritance, disposal of the dead, conversion of children of Parsi and non-Parsi parents, performance of ceremonies at birth, 'Navzôt', *i.e.*, the Zarathustrian Baptism, marriage and death, and ceremonies for the consecration of the Âtas-i Bohrâm and the Âtas-i Âdarân and of places of disposal of the dead. Even for a long time after the introduction of a careful study of the Avestan lore and the Pahlavi traditions, the orthodox Parsis of India depended rather on these Persian traditions than on the authentic statements found in the Avestan texts. As the reform movement gained a foothold on the minds of the educated members of the Parsi Community, they began to ignore the Persian Rivâyats which became a dead letter in the Community. But their importance for a study of the evolution of the Parsi religion, customs, manners, ritual and culture, was felt by the thinking members of the Community and a full text as far as

possible of the twenty-two Rivâyats was published for the first time by Ervad Manekji Rustamji Unvala with an introduction in English from the pen of Dr. Sir Jivanji Modi. But perhaps the most important service to the Persian traditional literature has been rendered by Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar, who has compiled a monumental work on the Rivâyats and has for the first time given in English translation, an organised work of patient labour of years. His 'Hormazdvâr Farâmarz's Rivâyat' will supply a long-felt want to the Parsis whenever the occasion will arise for them to study the usages of the Zarathustrians of Îrân during a long period of 282 years from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. Ervad Dhabhar has given all possible quotations from the Avestan and Pahlavî texts to be compared with the Persian Rivâyat traditions. The attention of Spiegel was first drawn to the important task of the study of these Persian traditions and he was the first to have given interesting notes from these Rivâyats in his work of annotating the Vandîdâd. In India a very learned scholar of New-Persian, Principal Shapursha Hodiwala, has devoted a great deal of his time and attention to the study of the Persian Rivâyats.

6. I have given a short summary of the cultural progress, during the long stay of nearly eleven centuries, of the Zoroastrians in India. Now let us turn our eyes to the progress of scientific culture of the Iranians during the period. As after the conquest of Îrân by the Arabs, many Iranians left off their cherished religion and adopted the religion of Islam, an interesting position arose. The Iranians iranianised the precepts of Islam, they gave to their Arab conquerors their habits, usages and habiliments, their arts and sciences, and they began to speak the Arabic language as fluently as if it was their mother tongue and to compose learned works of history, science, Islamic theology, chronology, astronomy and astrology in the Arabic language. They adopted names derived from Arabic in their intercourse with the outside world, retaining their Iranian names in the home and in the family circle.

Some of the Iranian Zarathustrians came over to India, some went to China, as fugitives, and some of them kept their hold in the Northern Provinces of Îrân, in Tabaristân and Gilân where they ruled as 'sepehbads' for about three centuries and a half. They Iranianised all that belonged to the Arab, his religion, his dress, his language, his forms of social manners and customs, his food, nay anything and everything that was pliable and alterable by a race which began to live together with another of divergent views and opinions, in some cases diametrically opposite. If the conquered Aryan nation iranianised, the conquering Semite Arabicised many things of which he was in need. Perhaps, the Semite had borrowed from the Aryan his 'Asura', his 'Dænâ', his 'tanura' and his 'naska' millennia before the Arab conquest. He, the Semite, appreciated the Aryan ideas of aeschatology and imbibed them during the period of the Achæmenian rule as beautifully delineated by Rabbi Kohut long ago. But the mutual feelings of appreciation and otherwise, which laid the foundation of Irano-Arabic culture, which travelled far and wide in Asia and Europe, and became the basis of a world-wide civilization all over the world, which inspired the poets and the literati, the mathematicians, scientists and architects all over the length and breadth of the world's cultural dominions, require an impartial treatment at the hands of the unbiassed children of the Iranian and the Arab. Let them meet together, let them confer, to give justice one to the other and inform the modern day civilized world of the achievements of their forefathers during the Perso-Arabian rule over Îrân. If the Aryan and the Semite have fought amongst themselves in days of yore, they were both brothers descended from the same stock, from the same common ancestors, and let the decendants of the Aryan and the Semite remember that as their prophets have inspired and taught them, the basis of their salvation, material and spiritual, will rest upon the bonds of love, truth and justice. Let us not be vain-glorious remembering the deeds of our own ancestors.

exaggerated by ourselves or minimized by our opponents; Semite or Aryan, whoever we may be; and the union of hearts will be brought about very effectively when a history of the great Perso-Arabian culture will be written by members of the Iranian and the Arab races, giving unstinting praise to one another for the achievements of their forefathers in the post-Sasanian period thirteen centuries ago, when they were wakeful, when humanity in the other parts of the world was lulled to sleep owing to the absence of civilization and culture. It is a mighty task to be performed by team work. In these days of Aeroplanes and Motor cars, let us prepare a chariot and secure good horses of all the communities of the world, of the best breed and of tamed temperament and judgment who will not get jaded at the sight of storms, typhoons and mirage. Let the horses, Arab, Persian, Indian, English, German, French, Spanish and many more, not think of outstripping their fellows in the yoke. Let them help one another to reach the goal, to accumulate the scattered pearls of wisdom, knowledge and science which were taken from Îrân, from the Perso-Arabs, which changed hands from one country of Europe to the other, from Spain to all the civilised nations of the West, which came to India with the Perso-Arab conquerors, which went to the farthest East, to China, Mongolia and Japan with the good missionaries who disseminated thither the tenets of Buddhism, which in fact has gone to all the corners of the world where the sciences of astronomy and astrology, mathematics, arithmetic, geometry and algebra, chemistry and physics are studied. Let us find out ways and means to attain to this monumental work. It will be said that the work has been already achieved. I humbly lay before you the statement to-day that only a very small fraction of the work has been done, and the present time is the most opportune to utilize the work already done, to correct the errors, to remove the pitfalls into which the great pioneers have fallen, to divide the work into parts and fractions and proceed to the work with good cheer,

assigning each part of the work to specialists who have devoted their life and soul to the particular branch of the work. This will be a great service not only to the Perso-Arabian culture, but to all the nations of the world, to all the creeds and religions, to all the philosophies, to theosophy and theology, and will lead to the furtherance of thought.

We have up to now been thinking that all those who used the Arabic language as the channel of expression of thought after the prophet Muhammad had given the holy Quran to the world were Arabs, and that all the writers who used the New-Persian language in their writings were Persians or Iranians. It is requisite that a careful catalogue be compiled of all the authors who wrote their works in Arabic or New-Persian, and an attempt be made to show the descent, origin and parentage of these authors. We have not as yet been very successful in tracing the thoughts, words and sciences to their real source, as to whether a science or knowledge of a certain philosophy owes its existence to Aryan or Semitic, to Iranian or Indian, to Oriental or Occidental teaching. Copyists and imitators have oftener than necessary claimed to be the originators and first exponents of learning which they have received or borrowed from others. Men of various races and creeds give vent to thoughts and expressions without the knowledge of the fact that the same thoughts or expressions had received birth before them in times and places far remote from the time they were last reiterated. Men following one creed or culture, therefore wrongly attribute to posterity, to those that follow, the sin of plagiarising, of stealing the merit and meritorious work of their predecessors. It is easy to take upon oneself the task of being judges, but it is very difficult to be just and judicious. The instinctive bias of men who presume to be [illegible] being lenient and partial to their own ancestors, [illegible] culture and literature of their own ancestors, to the detriment of those who trace their descent and pedigree from a separate stock, and many other causes

very important to be studied, will come in the way of a right study of questions which will prop up in the course of our investigations. But when just like Grimm's axioms of philology, axioms will be laid down to be followed by those who will take up this very important branch of science, we will have as it were placed our right foot on the first rung of the ladder and the work of reaching the last step will be much easier than the last but one step, which in its turn was easier than the step last but two.

Men of letters and explorers of antiquity, when taking up the work of research in any branch of science, are very cautious to lay aside flights of fancy and to stick closely to conclusions which can be arrived at by facts and figures, by reason and argument; many of them, therefore, receive a bad name from those who create imaginary grievances against those researchers who aim at bringing out the truth without caring to receive the applause of the interested. Let applause be not the target of the man in quest of truth.

Of late years England and Russia especially, and other European countries generally, have served Îrân by holding exhibitions of Iranian Art, by holding special sessions for the investigation of Iranian coins, of Iranian paintings of various styles and type, of Iranian industries, carpet weaving, silk manufacture and the like. Let this revival and appreciation of Iranian Art and Industries be taken at its true worth without attributing motives to the countries which have undertaken to be partners in the Iranian renaissance of the twentieth century. Let India rise and join with the Occident in bringing about a true appreciation of Îrân.

In conclusion, I take leave to thank the promoters of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference for having appointed me President of the Iranian section of the Conference. If I have succeeded in these scrappy notes to portray for you impartially and justly the great work of scholars in the East and the West, all over the world, to decipher the languages and literature of ancient Îrân, I

humbly bow my head to the Most High for having enabled me to serve Îrân, the Iranians and Iranian culture. If I have erred, I beg of you to pardon my slips, but pray believe me that I have not erred purposely with the intention to mislead; if you cannot agree with my conclusions, I will be always ready to give a patient hearing to friends and critics and correct my errors. May the Conference thrive and do good work in years to come. Amen!

THE IRANIAN WORDS INTRODUCED INTO ARABIC AND THE ARABIC WORDS TAKEN IN SANSKṚIT

By B. T. Anklesaria, M.A.,
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A silent drama lasting millennia is being enacted in the four directions of the world where people of various castes and creeds conglomerate and introduce in their languages words borrowed from the neighbouring races whom they love or hate, on account of cultural contact. It is a fascinating study to see the Semites of old having borrowed words and ideas from their Aryan brothers and the Aryans having utilized the rich Semitic culture to enrich their languages and literatures. It is my intention to place before the learned Orientalists of India who have come over to Mysore a very brief note on the Iranian words which were Arabicised soon after the fall of the Sasanian dynasty, during the first two or three centuries when the Arab and the Iranian dwelt together as the conqueror and the conquered, when the New-Persian language emerged from the Middle-Persian which was written and spoken in and up to the time of the Sasanids. It is not my intention to give the detailed rules of philology showing the changes which were necessary, when Iranian words were Arabicised. It will be enough to bear in mind the commonplace laws of change which have affected the process of adaptation, owing to the peculiarities and inabilities of the two races; the Iranian and the Arab.

The Arab could not utter 'p', 'ch', 'z' (=ژ) and 'g'. He, therefore spoke other letters instead of these four Iranian sounds. Instead of 'p', he spoke 'b' or 'ph'

[illegible] ‘f’; *e.g.*, ‘asp’ was made ‘asb’ and ‘pîl’ was articulated ‘fîl’. He replaced the Iranian ‘ch’ by ‘ṣ’, ‘j’, ‘z’ or ‘s’. Even the Aryan brothers of old had amongst themselves this peculiar difference of speech; *e.g.*, Avestan ‘khshathra-paiti’ = Sanskrit ‘kshatra-pati’, ‘chhatra-pati’. Iranian ‘chaugân’ = Arabic ‘sûlajân’; ‘Bôchrâ’ = ‘Baṣra’; ‘vichîr’ = ‘vazîr’; ‘charw’ = ‘sarb’. The peculiar Iranian ‘z’ (=ژ) was altered into ‘z’ (=ز) or ‘j’; and ‘g’ was transformed to ‘j’ or ‘k’; *e.g.*, ‘vazorg-mitr’ = ‘Buzarja-mihir’; ‘gô-chîhr’ ‘jû-zîhr’; ‘Gôsn-asp’ = ‘Jasnasf’; ‘Gayô-marṭ’ = ‘Kayômarth’.

The Iranian could not pronounce ‘th (=ث), ḥ (=ح), ṣ (=ص), dz (=ض), ṭ (=ط), z (=ظ), x (=ع),’ and ‘q (=ق)’. When, therefore, the New-Persian language began to be formed, the two great nations, the Arab and the Iranian, had to make up for their peculiar deficiencies by introducing alterations in the spelling and pronunciation of words so as to reproduce the articulation of the words as they were spoken.

If we turn our attention to the old history of Îrân as written by the indigenous historians, as found in the Avestan and the Pahlavî literature of old, as narrated in works written in the Arabic language, after the downfall of the Sasanids, by the Iranians who had adopted the the religion of Islam, in Firdausî's *Shâh-nâmah*, by far the greatest epic of the world, which can be placed in a line with the other greatest epic of the Aryans, the Mahâbhârata, we gather interesting details as to the relationship existing between the Aryan and the Semite, as being of the same blood, descended from the same stock, having the same feelings and sentiments, till dissensions separated them from each other.

[illegible] Pahlavî Bundahisn, which claims origin from [illegible]estan Nasks, the final edition of which was prepared about 250 years after Yazdakarṭ, declares Tâj, brother of Hôsyêng, to have been the ancestor of the Arabs. The same opinion is reiterated by Zâṭsparam, who wrote a little before the author of the Bundahisn, and by the

Dinkart which was compiled a little after the Bundahisn,[1] Azi Dahâka, the inveterate enemy of Îrân was descended from Tâj. According to the statement of the Bundahisn, "Of the fifteen races of mankind, which separated in early times, nine races went outside of Khvanîras and settled in the six other regions around Khvanîras, and one of the other six races which remained in Khvanîras and which was descended from Tâj and his consort Tâjak, made its abode in the 'Dast-î Tâjîkân, and Azi Dahâka was the fourth in descent from Tâj: Dahâk-î Khrûtâsp-î Zainigâv-î Airyafswâ-î Tâj." The Tâjîks, *i.e.*, the Arabs, formed one group of humanity which remained in Khvanîras and they belonged to one of the fifteen races of mankind. Azi Dahâk, fourth in descent from Tâj was the eighth in descent from Gayômart.

Thraêtaona, the eleventh descendant of Yama Vivasvat, (= Yima Vivanhana) belonging to the valiant 'Âthwyânî' family (*cf.* the Vedic 'Trita Âptya,' Pahlavî 'Frêṭôn Âspîyân'), became the monarch of Khvanîras, the middlemost of the seven regions, by defeating Azi Dahâk. There were ten Âspîyâns between him and Yima Vivanhana who was the monarch of all the seven regions ('hapt kêsvar'). Thraêtaona (=Frêṭôn), the monarch of Khvanîras, divided his kingdom among his three sons Aira (= Pahlavî 'Airij'), Tura (=Pahlavî Tûr) and Sairima (= Pahlavî Salm). Tura and Sairima, the two elder brothers, killed their youngest brother, Aira, because their father Frêṭôn gave him the best part of his kingdom named Airyana (= Pahlavî Aîrân) after him. The middlemost region Khvanîras was thus divided into three parts and the descendants of Aira became the monarchs of Aîrânsahr, those of Tura inherited Turân, and those of Sairima possessed Salmân. For the purpose of grouping the families of the human race according to the languages which they speak, we have up to now fixed our eyes on

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[1] See 'Sacred Books of the East,' Vol. V, pp. 58,131-132, 329. Ervad Tahmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria's 'Bundahisn', p. 106, ll. 9-10, p. 229, *l.* 1.

the three sons of Noah: Ham, Shem and Japhet, and trace the Hamitic, Shemitic and Japhetic languages from these three sons. It will be no vain speculation to trace the various languages from Tâj, the eponymous ancestor of the Arabs, from Aira, the ancestor of the Aryans, from Tura, the ancestor of the Turanians, and from Sairima, the ancestor of the Salmanians. There will be difficulties in our way whilst attempting to secure historical data, to find out the descendants of Tâj: the Arabs, the Jews and other Semitic members of the race of Tâj, as well as the multicoloured history of the Aryan descendants as to how they occupied the various countries of Europe and Asia, and of the Turanians and Salmanians, and of their peregrinations in the various parts of the world. I cannot venture to enter into further details of this subject, lest I deviate from the theme I have taken up in this short essay.

With the Arabicising tendencies of the Iranian language, certain vowel sounds of the Aryan languages which are even now retained in the various dialects of Îrân were dropped as having been considered 'majhûl' (= "barbarous") by the Arab, *e.g.*, 'e', 'ê' 'o' and 'ô': 'i' 'î', 'u', and 'û' having been respectively replaced in their stead.

Before the Arab conquest of Îrân, the Iranian was using a non-Aryan alphabet, adopted by him at least for seven to eight centuries, from the time of the Askânian rulers; in fact, various scripts were utilized during these centuries to write the Aryan dialects of Îrân at the time. The orthography of these scripts was not as accurate as that of the Avestan and the Sanskrit languages. As the short vowels were usually dispensed with in writing in the middle of words and as there was no good method of showing the words ending with short vowels, it was found difficult to express in writing the correct reading and expression of words. If we add to this the bias of the Arab conqueror against everything Iranian which he imbibed, adopted and Arabicised from the conquered race,—the language,

the mode of dress, the social and economical structure, customs and usages,—the old Iranian alphabet ceased to be used and the Arabic alphabet was introduced in Îrân to write the language of Îrân, as it was thought more perfect than the then existing Pahlavî alphabet, better capable to express the short vowels and containing no ambiguity in reading, provided the rules of Arabic orthography were strictly followed. But the Iranian brain was capable of reading the language of its country without any superficial help from marks specially introduced to denote the short vowels; nay, they have habituated themselves to read their language without even the insertion of the diacritical dot marks appended to Arabic letters to distinguish one letter from the other. It was due to this that the literary Arab whilst essaying to write on subjects relating to Iranian history, religion and culture has misspelt, miswritten and misunderstood many Iranian proper names and words having bearing on religion and culture: *e.g.*, 'Nastûr'[1] for 'Bastûr'[2], 'Tabâk'[3] for 'Bavâk'[4] 'Sumâsb'[5] for 'Tumâsp'[6] 'Banakhjâchî'[7] for 'Patahhâhî'[8] and many more words impossible to be collected within the compass of this small paper.

Even after the Sasanian conquest, the Iranians, who retained their religion, customs and social usages, preserved in their hearths and homes their mother tongue, its idioms and expressions pure and unsullied, with the inborn love, residing in the heart of a noble race possessing ancient traditions, of a civilization and a culture inherited from a glorious line of ancestors, in spite of the stubborn wish of the conquerors to prohibit the use of the Persian language in the conquered country. There were authors and writers of prose and poetry, who persistently used the New Persian language as the channel of transmitting their thoughts to their country and to the outside world, and it would be right to assume that the New-Persian

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1. (نستور) 2. (بستور) 3. (تباک) 4. (بواک)
5. (سماسب) 6. (تماسپ) 7. (بنخجاچی) 8. (پتححاحي)

language actually commenced its public career with Firdausi and Asadî. There is no need of mentioning the works of the great father of Persian poetry, Firdausî Tusî. Various works have been assigned to Asadî, and his 'Frahang' published in Germany by Dr. Paul Horn is an important asset of the Oriental world.

It now remains for us to trace the Iranian words which have gone to the Arabic language when the two races, the Iranian and the Arabian, lived together in Îrân. I give below a select list of Middle-Persian and New-Persian words which were Arabicised at the time. The Middle-Persian, *i.e.*, the Pahlavî language had borrowed Aramaic words, perhaps taken over in the Askânian period. The Aramaic element introduced in Pahlavî was known as 'Auzvârisn' just as we learn from Ibn Muqaffâ. But the 'Auzvârisn' of the Pahlavî literature did not come down to the New Persian and the latter remained a purely Iranian dialect for a while after the Middle-Persian was divested of the Aramaic borrowings. But if the new language which replaced the Middle-Persian did not preserve in it the Aramaic borrowings of the former, it began to borrow Arabic words, phrases and expressions as freely as to make itself a mixture of Aryan and Semitic; *in fact*, the Iranian race fully revealed her inherent traits and susceptibilities of adopting whatever was found worth having. The Iranians thus introduced a large number of Arabic forms and expressions in their New-Persian dialect and gave to their Aryan brothers speaking the Sanskṛit language a large number of words and phrases relating to science, astronomy and astrology. I will rest satisfied with giving only a few astrological terms borrowed from Arabic into New-Persian and from the latter in the Sanskṛit literature. It is to be wished that a group of learned men will take up this study and write at length on this subject I have ventured to place before the Conference. This type of research will evoke great interest as inciting a critical study of the history of the world's culture and how it was transmitted from one

nation to the other during generations wide apart from one another. During the Sasanian period, the best works of the Sanskrit literature were introduced in Îrân by great Sasanian kings such as Bahrâm-i Gûr, Khusru Kavât and others. The Persian translations of the Mahâbhârata, the Upanishads, the Vedas, and other Sanskrit texts are, up to date, sealed books rotting in libraries preserving these texts in manuscripts. May the day come too soon when they will be utilised by the Sanskritists. The fables of Bid-pây have travelled all over the world in various languages after having been translated in Pahlavi during the Sasanian period. The Arab thus received a knowledge of the various sciences as heritage from the Sasanian Îrân, attaining to the highest point of culture possible. He gave to Europe his store of knowledge through Spain, and to the great Aryan culture of India, he transmitted his knowledge as preserved up-to-date in the Sanskrit literature, in the terms of astronomy and astrology especially.

When two nations of different culture live together in the relation of the conqueror and the conquered, they naturally misunderstand and misinterpret each other. The values assigned to words and phrases are changed, nay, at times values and meanings diametrically opposite are assigned to words by the nation borrowing them. That the very interesting word 'firdaus' is a term borrowed from the Iranian has been forgotten and it is considered an Arabic word. The misunderstanding has been aggravated as the corresponding word with the same meanings as are assigned to it in New-Persian, cannot be found in the old dialects of Îrân, the Avestâ, the Old Persian and the Middle Persian. The Aryan concept of 'pari-dhi' *i.e.*, "a fence", "an enclosure", which surrounded the heavens, was considered too precious to be cast aside. The Iranian 'pairidiz' (pairi-daêza '="paradise") was found as an asset of the old Aryans, still lurking in the Avestan literature, when the Arab and the Iranian manufactured the New Persian language, and they saw in

Firdaus' 'a garden', 'a heaven' and preserved for the world a noble Aryan ideal which humanity will cherish so long as the Persian language will be living and the Shâhnâma of the great Iranian poet, who adopted 'Firdausi' as his nom-de-plume, will be sung in the world. It will be difficult to decide as to whether the Arab borrowed the idea of 'Firdaus' from the Iranian or from the Jew who also has got the word in the Hebrew language. The Hebrew word 'p-r-d-s', meaning "an orchard, garden, enclosed plantation" occurs in Nehemia II, 8, Ecclesiastes II, 5. "The Greeks have acknowledged that the word . . . came to them from the Orientals or Persians who gave this name to their *fruit gardens* and their *parks*, where they kept all sorts of wild creatures. Xenophon and other Greek writers often make use of the word in this sense". Calmet's Dictionary. "The Septuagint almost constantly render . . . when it refers to the garden of Eden, by . . . Hence the word . . . *paradise* is in the N. T. applied to the *state of faithful souls between death and the resurrection*, where like Adam in Eden, they are admitted to *immediate communion* with God in Christ, or to a participation *of the* true *tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God.* Comp. Luke XXIII, 43. Revelation II, 7. Of this blessed state St. Paul had a foretaste, 2 Corinthians XII, 4."—'Hebrew and English Lexicon,' by John Parkhurst, M. A. pp. 434-435.

Anyhow, this long quotation from John Parkhurst, an authority on the Hebrew literature, will show that the 'paradise' of the Jews and the Christians was taken from the Iranian, ages before the Arab conquered Îrân, and it is quite likely that the borrowing had taken place at least over a thousand years before the Arab conquest of Îrân.

I will give only one more instance of misinterpretation of the meaning of a word borrowed by the Arab or rather Arabicised and for apparent reasons which do not need explanation.

The appellation 'Gabr' 'Guebre', 'Giaour', 'Gâvr', given to the Zarathustrians of Îrân has been variously

interpreted. As is usually the case, the conquering Arab considered the Iranian to be a pagan, an infidel and a barbarian. The term 'gabr', therefore, was considered applicable to one unworthy to be ranked in a line with the civilized worshipper of one God, and the 'Majûs' the magian priest, was taken to be a "fire-worshipper", a "magician", who by charms and spells performed wicked actions. His incantations, therefore, were forbidden as productive of evil influences. Such misinterpretation was either due to ignorance or intentional misrepresentation on the part of the conqueror.

Without waiting to give the real meaning of the word 'magha', traceable to the Vedas and the Gâthâs, two Aryan monuments of unimpeachable value, for finding out the facts of history, and trace the original meaning of the modern word 'majûs', borrowed by the Arab from the Greek, let us trace the real meaning of the term 'gabr'. The 'gabr' was 'a king', 'a hero', 'of noble descent', a 'jabli', 'an inhabitant of Media or Persian Iraq'.

It is not possible for me to treat more words in detail and explain the change of meaning undergone by the Iranian words taken over by the Arab, giving them an Arabic garb.

Whilst studying the question of cultural contacts of the Indo-Aryans and the Irano-Aryans, the facts supplied by actual history must always be kept before our eyes. Members of the Indo-Aryan stock went to Îrân in old times in quest of knowledge and the Irano-Aryan used to send his representatives to India to bring to Îrân the best that was in Ind. If the Oriental Conferences could be of any avail, let us have learned men from all over the world, of all castes and creeds, to come down to India, let the Iranian, the Arab, the Irâqî, the Turk, the Russian, the Lithuanian, the English, the French, the Italian, the German, the Hun, the Copt, the Amheric, nay, men of all the nations of the world, meet together for cultural unity, to form an eclectic circle of friends and lovers, brothers and sisters, to appreciate what is found the best in the

world and to remove the evil of all kinds and of all shades.

I give below a choice list of the Sanskrit borrowings from the Persi-Arabic literature. It will be imperfect without the statement as to the borrowings of the Irano-Aryans from the Indo-Aryans of some of their astronomical terms. The great Iranian traveller of the 11th century, Abû Raihân Al-bêrônî, has done a very great service to bring about cultural contacts by writing his learned works in Arabic, some of which, ('Âsâr al-bâqiyah' and 'Tanjim') have seen the light of day through European efforts.

The great poet and saint Khâja Hafiz would have given away Samarkand and Bokhârâ for the 'khâl-i Hindû' = "the black mole" on the cheek of 'Tork-i Sîrâzî = the heart-ravishing thief, *i.e.*, "the fair beauty of Sîrâzî". The very name 'Hindu' was given by the Irano-Aryan to his brother the Indo-Aryan, in times immemorial. We find reference to the 'Hapta Hindu' (= Vedic '*sapta-Sindhu*') in the Avestan Vandîdâd, (I, 18) and the 'Us-Hindva' Mountain in the Mihir Yast (104)[1] and in the Yasna (57,29).

The Sogdians and Chorasmians of Îrân have borrowed the Sanskrit names of at least three asterisms in their dialect.

Sanskrit	Sogdian	Choroasmian
Proshṭhapadā	(فرشنبات)	(فرخشبيث)
Rêvati	(ريوند)	(ريوند)
Maghā	(مغ)	(امغ)

The Iranian writers in Arabic of some of the important books of Astronomy have borrowed the Sanskrit *siddhānta* and used it as (سند هند) 'Sind-hind' in their works.

They have borrowed the names of precious fruit trees such as *nārikera* or *nārikela*, *nārikeli* انارجل , انارگل =

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1. Dr. Ed. Sachau's "Chronology of Ancient Nations," pp. 227-228, 266.

"the cocoanut tree"; *amrita* = امرود = pear; *amalaka* = آمله = "Embilic myrobalan"; *bilva* = بیل = "Bel fruit"; *haridra* = ہلیلک = turmeric.

The European astronomers owe a great deal to the Arab for having received from him the Perso-Arabic names of constellations, a list of which shows that the borrowing enabled the Greek Astronomers of old to fill in the gaps and blank spaces in their sky.

List of Arabicised Words.

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised*	*Meaning.*
('âwgâr')	آبجر	Ebb.
('awrang') اورنجن - اورنگ - اورند	أبْرَجن - ابرنجن - برنجن	A bracelet ; an anklet.
('Awarkôp') ابرکوه - اورکوه - برکوه	ابرقوه - برقوه	P. N. A town in Persian 'Irâq.
('Parvêz') ابرویز - پرویز	ابرواز - ابرویز	P. N. Name of a Persian king.
('awazâr') افزار - اوزار	ابزار - افزاز	Potherbs ; spices.
('âwzan') آبزن	ابزن - افزن	A bath ; a laver.
آبک	آبق	Quicksilver ; measles.
اگور	آجر	A burnt brick ; a tile.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('ajêr') ازیر - زیر	اجیر	Lit. One under; a mercenary; a hireling; a labourer.
('ajêrîh') ازیری	اجيري	Servitude.
('ajêrâna') ازیرانه	اجیرانه	In a mercenary manner.
('Âtarpâṭakân)	آذربايجان	P. N. Âdharbâîjân.
('Arwand') اراوند - اروند	ارفند - اروند	P. N. Dajlah; Tigris.
ازننگ - ارژنگ	ارثنک - ارثنج ارجنک - ارجنج ارسنک - ارسنج ارغنک - ارغنج	Name of Mânî's idol-temple.
ارغوان	ارجوان	Purple.
ارگلی	ارقلي - ارغالي	A wild sheep.
('Arvatasp') اروند اسپ	اروند اب	Name of Zahâk's father.

('Zamân')	دمان-زمان	*pl.* ازمان - ازمنه	Time ; season.
('Zarvân')		زمن	
('damân')			
('Zamâna')	زمونه	زمانه	Period of time ; hour.
('Zamûna')			
('Azî-dahâk')		ضحاق	P. N. Azî Dahâk.
اژدهاک - اژدها - ازهراک			
('Austaṭ')		استاذ - أستا	Teacher ; sage.
اوستاذ - اوستاد		*pl.* اساتذه	
('setôn')	ستون	استون - استن	Pillar.
		pl. اساتین - اساطین	
		اسطوان	
('asp')	اسپ	اسب	Horse.
('aspanch')		اسفاناج - اسفاناخ	Spinach.
سپنج - اسپاناج اسپناج		اسفناج - اسفنج	
اسپنانج - اسپناخ			
(Stakhr')	استخر	اسطخر - اصطخر -	P. N. Istakhr ; Persepolis.
		اسطرخ - اصطرخ	
		استلخ	

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
استرنگ	استرنج	Mandrake.
اسرپ	اسرف	Lead (metal).
('stawr,) ستبر	اسطبر	Thick.
('Aspânvar')	اسبانبر - اسفانبر - اسفا بور	P. N. of a city.
('asp-râs') اسپراه - اسپرس - اسپرز	اسفرسب - اسفرسف	Race-course.
('sparam') اسپرم	اسفرم	Myrtle.
('Asp-ast')	اسفست	Horse's food.
('spend-armaṭ')	اسفند ارمذ - اسفند مذ	P.N. of the month Spen—dârmaṭ, and of the third Gâthâ day.
('spâh-paṭ') سپهبد	اسفهبد	A commander-in-chief.
('spâh-sardar')	اسفهسالار - اصفهسالار	Chieftain of the army.
('spêṭ') سپید	اسفید	White.
('spêṭâ')	اسفيداج - اسفيداد	White paint used by ladies.
('Gâs') گاه	جاه	Time; place; position; rank.

('âsmân-gâs')	آسمانجاه	Of heavenly dignity.
('âsmân-gôna') آسمانگونه	آسمانجونی	Sapphire (sky-coloured); hyacinth.
('Spâhân') اسپاهان	اصباهان - اصبهان - اصفهان	P. N. Isfahân.
('Stîr') استیر ـ استار	اصطر - اصطره - اصطور	A pound troy; a troy balance.
('mayî-pokhta') میپختہ	میفختج	Syrup of dates and grapes.
أف	أفّ	Particle expressing disgust.
('kawûṭ') کبود ـ کوود - کود	اقفوده	Lit. Blue; the Caspian Sea.
کلید	اقلید	Key.
('Khvasrôb') خسرو - خسروی	کسري - کسروی کساسرة ـ اکاسرة *pls.* قیصر - قیاصره *pl.*	Caesar; Czar; Kaisar; a king; royal.
('marṭ') مرد	امرد ـ امرط	Beardless handsome young man.
آمله - امیله	آملج	Myrobalan tree.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('ân-jâk') آنجای	آنجاق	There ; thither.
انگبین	انجبین	Honey.
انگدان - انگیان - انگوان	انجدان	Asafœtida ; mace ; a satyr.
('andâcha') اندا چه - اندازه - اندز	انداس	Measure.
	هندس	Skilful.
	هندسة	Geometry.
	هندسه	Arithmetic.
	هندسی	Geometrician.
	مهندس - مهندز	Engineer.
	مهندسی	Engineering skill.
('handâm') اندام	هندام	Stature ; symmetry.
	مهندم	Prepared with regard to rule and proportion.
('andargâs') اندرگاه - اندرگاهان	اندرجاه	The five supplementary days of the Iranian calendar named after the five Gâthâs of Zarathustra.

اینک - ایناک - آنک	انق	Lo ; behold.
('namûṭa') نموده - نمودش	انمودج - انموذج - نمودج - نموذج	Sample ; specimen ; copy.
('auj') اوگ	اوج	Zenith ; summit ; top.
Sans. ओजस् ('auj')	اوجس	Radiance.
('varak') برگ	ورق - *pl.* اوراق	Page ; leaf.
('âhang') آهنگ	آهنج	Intention ; resolution.
('hû-tokhsîh') هوتخشي	اهنوخوشی	Artizanship.
ایگ	ایج	P. N. of country in Iran.
('Bâwîr')	بابل	Babel ; Babylon.
بابونر - بابونگ - بابوک	بابونج	Wild ivy.
('Pâpak') پاپک	بابک	P. N. Bâbak.
('vâṭangân')	بازنجان - بادنجان - بادلجان	A species of cucumber ; citron ; quince.
('vâṭrang') باتنگان - بادنگان - بالنگ - بادرنگ - بادروک	باذارنگ - باذروج - بادروج - بادرو	

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('Apâkhtar')	با ختر	The north.
('Bâkhr') بلخ	با ختر - بختر	Bactria ; the east.
('awâja')	با زغ	Rising of the sun or moon.
('gôhar') گوهر - گهر	زیور - جوهر	Essence ; jewel ; precious stone.
Sans. गोच ('chihar)	*pl.* جواهیر	
('pâsa') باشه	با هق - بواشق *pl.*	A sparrow ; hawk.
بانوچ	با نوج	A swing ; see-saw.
('patiyâra') پتیاره - پتیار	بتیاره - بتیار - بتیسیار	Calamity ; misfortune.
('vacha') بچه	بچ	Young one of a bird.
Sans. वत्स "calf".		
('bag-tâk')	بجتاق - بغتاق	A high cap.
('vichast')	بجست	A voice ; sound.
('pazesk') پزشک - بچشک	بزشک - بجشک	A physician.

چراغ - چراخ	سراج	A lamp.
('Bahar-i Baharân')	بحران - بحرین	P. N. Sea of Bahrain.
('Pâṭ-khvasrôb') سرویمن	بخت النصر	Nebuchadnezzar.
('hêr') هیر	خیر	Welfare ; riches ; wealth.
('hêm') هیم	خیم	Temper ; nature.
('Dîn') دین	دین	Religion.
('dâṭ') ذات	ذات	Nature.
('paṭrâm') پدرام	بدرام - بذرام	A delightful place.
('paṭrôch')	بدرج	The purple amaranth.
('pîyâṭa') پیاده	بیدق - بیذق - بدق	A pawn at chess.
لگام	لجام	The reins of a horse.
('varzigar') برزگر - برزکار	بذرگر - بزرگر	Farmer ; cultivator.
	برزیق	A clown.
('paṭîraptan') پذیرفتن	بذرفتن	To accept.
('vitast') بدست - بذست	بذهت - بلست	A span.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.		*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('brâṭ')	برادر - براذر	برازر - برازد	Brother.
('bar-mak')	پورمغ	برمک	P. N. Barmak.
		pl. برامكة	The Barmakides.
		برجیس	Jupiter.
	برچاف	برجاف	Pease; beans.
	پرچم	برجم	The sea-cow; tail of the sea-cow; banner.
	پرخاش	برخاش	Battle.
('borṭa')	برده	بردج	Captive; prisoner.
('pornây')	برنا - برناک	برناق - برناه	A young man.
('baranz')	برنز	برنج	Brass; copper; bronze.
('vazarg')	بزرگ	بزرج	Great.
('vazag')	وزگ	بزق - بزغ	A frog.

بسا تین *pl.*	Gardens.	('bôdastân') بوستان - بُستان
بستقان	A gardener.	
بستق	A servant.	('basta') بستر - بستک
بستوقر	Joint of the neck.	بُستو
بسد	A flower garden.	بست
بسنجیدن - فسنجیدن	To prepare.	('pasakhtan') پسیچیدن
بسغده	Prepared.	('pasakhta')
بسغدیدن	To be arranged.	('pasâkhtan')
بسفایج - بسفالج	Polypody ; having many feet.	('vas-pâya')
بسذ	Coral.	بسد
بسنج	Any male animal ; a stallion ; a horse not broken in.	('gosn') بسنگ - گشن - بسفر
بسند	Worthy.	('pasand') پسند
بسنده	Worthy.	('pasanda') پسنده
دانج	A grain of corn.	('dâna') دانه

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('pasîch')	بسیج	Preparation.
پسیچ - بسیچ		
پسیچنده	بسیجنده	Preparer.
پسیچیدن	بسیجیدن	To prepare.
بشبم	بشبق	P. N. A village in Merv.
('Têstar') تیشتر	بشتر	P. N. The star Sirius.
('Bochrâ')	بصرة	P. N. Basrah.
('Paṭramyûs')	بطلمیوش	P. N. Ptolemy.
('Bag-pôr')	بغفور - فغفور - فغافرة *pl.* فخفور	Lit. A king's son ; P. N. Title of the emperors of China ; surname of the Askânians.
('Bak-dâṭ') بغداد - بغداذ	بغداذ - بغدان - بغدين .. مغدان	P. N. Baghdâd.
...	بغنج	Coriander seed.
بلبل	بلابیل *pl.*	The nightingales.
('nê-pa-kâr') نابکار	بلابه کار	Immoral ; unchaste.

('valkhas') پلاش	بلاش	P. N. Vologeses.
('valkhas-karṭ) بلا شگرد	بلا شجرد	P. N. Balâsgird, four miles from Merv.
...	بلجم - بلغم	Phlegm.
('paranjmosk') بلنگمشک - بلنگمشت	بلنجمشک } فرنجمشک }	Wild tamarisk ; sweet basil.
('balûṭ')	بلوط	An oak ; a chesnut tree.
('sâ-balûṭ')	شاه بلوط	Royal oak.
('Abalêh') ابلہ	بُلْہ *pl.*	Fools.
('halîla') هلیلہ	بلیل - بلیلہ - بلیلج - بهیرا	Belleric myrobalan.
لبم	بمّ	The bass string having the deepest tone.
بندر	بنادر *pl.*	Sea ports.
('bondâr'') بُندار	بنادرة *pl.*	Dealers in precious stones.
پناغ	بناغ - بنانج - بنج	A ball of raw thread or yarn ; a man having two wives.
('mêng'—bang) بنگ	بنج	Henbane.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
پنجره	بنجره	Door ; opening.
گلنجشک	بنجشک	Sparrow.
پنج انگشت	بنجنجُشت	Cinque foil.
('bandûk') بندوک	بندوق	A musket.
('Banapsa' or 'Vanapsa') بنفشه	بنفسج	Violet.
('nakhl') نخل	بنو نخلہ	A kind of wild wetch.
('borak') بورک ـ بوره	بورق - بوراق	Borax.
('bûs') بوس	بوس	Kissing.
بوزی	بوضي	A boat.
('vahâr') بهار	بهار	A species of odoriferous herb.
('vêhîzak') بهیزک	بهترک	Intercalary.
بهرام	بهرامج	A species of willow.

بهمنگان	بهمنجنه - بهمنجیه	A festival of the Zarathustrians on the second day Behman of the eleventh month Behman.
بیرگند	بیرجند	P. N. Name of a city.
('pêrôja') پیروزه - فیروزه	بیروزج - فیروزج	Turquoise.
('pêrôj') پیروز	بیروزن - فیروز	Victorious.
('paṭkâr') پیکار	بیغار	Debate.
پیغوله	بیغوله	Corner ; hole ; cave.
('paṭrôk')	فروغ	Light ; radiance.
('pâṭ-zahar') پاد زهر - پاتزهر - پایزهر - پاوزهر - پازهر - پاژیر - پازیا	باد زهر - فاد زهر - فادج	Bezoar stone.
('P-â[illegible]k') پارسی	فارسی	Pârsî.
انارنگ - پارنج	نارنج	Orange.
پاستان	باستان	Ancient.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
چاپلوس - چپلوس - چبلوس - چالپوس	جابلوس	A flatterer.
('yâtû') جادو	جاذو	A sorcerer.
('kârêz') كاريز	جاليز	A meadow.
جامكى - جامكي	جامقيه	Gift ; stipend ; salary.
('gâv-mês') گاوميش	جاموش - جاموس	A buffalo.
('gân') گان	جان	Life.
('gâvars) گاورس	كاورس - جاورس	Millet.
('gâvsîr') گاوشير	جاوشير	The oppoponax tree.
گوزن - گاويزن	جاويزن	A stone found in the gall-bladder of an ox.
('gâsânbâr) گاهنبار - گاهنبارها - گهنبار گهبار	جاهنبار	The season festivals of the Zarathustrians.

8 ('gabrâ') گبر ـ گور ـ گاور	جبر	According to the Zarathustrians : a king ; a hero ; of noble descent. As explained by the Muhammadans : an infidel.
گبری		The dialect of the Zarathustrians of Yazd, Kerman and Teheran.
گبري	جبری	A fatalist ; one belonging to the Zarathustrian community.
گبر	جَبْلي	Native of Media or Persian 'Irâq.
('chachâ')	جَبَل	A lord ; a prince.
	ججا	An eagle.
زدوار	جدوار	Zedoary of China, the root of which is considered a panacea.
گوراب ـ گورب ـ گوگاب ـ گرگاو ـ گرگاجي	جوراب ـ جورب ـ جرابه	A stocking ; sock.
('charw') چرب	جرب	Greasy ; fat ; sweet.
گربز ـ گُربُز	جربز ـ قُربُز	A deceiver ; a cheat.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavî or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('Gorgân' — varkân) گرگان - گرگستان - گورجستان	جرجان - جرجستان	P. N. Georgia, Gorgan.
('gargar') گرگر - کِرکِر	جِرجِر	Vetch.
('vazr') گُرز	جُرز	A mace.
چرستیدن	جرستیدن	To gnash the teeth.
چراغان	جرغان	A cipher alphabet used by the Zarathustrians of Iran.
چراغنده - چرغنده - چرونده چرغند - چروند	جرغد - جرغند - جروند - جلوند	A lamp; a lampstand; a candle.
('vazag') چغز	جزغ	A frog.
('garm') گرم	جرم - قلم	Warm.
('darmôk') سرموزه	جرموق	A kind of hose or gaiters.

Galangal.	جسرو دارو	خسرو - دارو
A bird resembling an owl.	جغو	چغو
An owl.	جُغد	چُغد
Hypocrisy.	جسبوسي	چسپوسي
To adhere ; to cleave.	جسبيدن - جفسيدن	چسپيدن - چفسيدن ('jôptan') چپسيدن
To stick.	جفسانيدن	چسپانيدن - چفتن
Summit of a mountain.	جكاد	چكاد - چگاد - (chakât) چغت
Muddy water.	جلاب	گلاب - چهاد - چغد
Rose-water.	جلّاب	گُلاب
P. N. A town near Merv.	جُلفار	گُلپر
Pomegranate flowers.	جُلنار	گُلنار
Pistachio nut.	جَلَنْجوجه	گُلغنچه - گلفيچه - گلفچه
Portly gait of walking.	جمش	('chamisn') چمش
Enclosure made by Jamsêd	جمكرد	('var-i Iam kart) جمكرد
A restive horse.	جموش	چموش

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('Zanân') زنان	جنان	Women.
('gombat') گنبد - گنبذ	جنبد - زنبد	A dome.
چنبلول	جنبلول	A swing.
ژند شاپور - کند شاپور - جند شاپور	جند سابور	P. N. A city in Iran.
چنگار	جنکار	A crab.
ژنگار - ژنگ - زنک	جنکار - زنج	Rust.
چنگال	جنکال	A butt ; a fork.
('chînvaṭ') چینود - چنود - چینوار	جینور - جنیور	The Chinvat bridge.
('gôb') گوب	جوب	A stammerer.
('Gôbâr')	جوبار	P. N. of a place in Bokhara.
(Gô-chihr) گوزهر - گوزچهر	جوزهر	The Dragon's head ('s-ar') or tail (domb) ; a comet.
جوخ	جوق	A troop.

('chowkân') چوگان- چویگان	صولجان - جوکان	A stick used in the game of ball ; a bat ; a club.
حولخ	جولق	Dress of a religious mendicant.
گومستڤ	جومست	
('gêhân') گیهان - گهان	جهان	The world.
کهبد	جهبذ	A clever money changer.
('chîbâ') ('aêsam') چیپا	جیبا	Fuel ; firewood.
('jôsîṭon') جو شیدن	جیش	Ebullition.
('Gîlân) گیلان	جیلان	P. N. Province of Gîlân.
چا خشوک	جا خسوک	A sickle.
('junbîtan) چنبیدن	جنبیدن	To jump ; leap.
('chandar') چندل	صندل	Sandal wood.
('châṭarpân ; sâṭarpân') چادرپان	شادربان _ شادروان	A large veil, curtain or tapestry suspended before the gate of a royal palace ; the sky.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('zozag') زوزک - ژوژه - ژوژ - چژک - چزک - چزغ	جزغ	A porcupine; a hedgehog.
('chôbpân') ('sawân') چوپان - چوبان	شبان - شوان	A shepherd.
('chatrang') چترنگ - شترنگ Sanskrit. (चतुरंग)	شطرنج	The game of chess.
چوجه - جوژه	جوجه	A chicken.
چهرم	جهرم	P. N. of a place in Iran.
('Chêchast') چیچست	خنجست - جیجست	P. N. Lake Chêchast, close by which the prophet Zarathustra was born in a village named Anbah.
('Dâț) ذات	ذات	Nature.

	نژاد نهاد	نزاد	Descent.
('domb')	دنب	ذناب	The tail.
		ذانب	One who follows.
	دنب	ذَنب	The Dragon's tail; descending node (in Astronomy).
		ذنوب	Long-tailed.
		pl. ذوانب	
	درخش	ذرخش	Lightning.
('zîywân')		ذکان	An illogical statement.
('zâch')	زاژ – ژاژ – زاگ – زک	زاج	Copperas; vitriol.
	زاگ – زاغ	زغ	A crow.
	زاغک	زاغج	A small crow.
('zand pîl')	زنده پیل – ژنده پیل	زندفیل – زندبیل	A large elephant.
		کنجر	
('zâk')	زه	زآج – زاق	A birth; offspring.
('zâkdân')	زهدان	زاقدان	The womb.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

[illegible]*avî or new Persian.*	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
	زاجسور - زاجرو	Feast on the birth of a child.
زاچه - زچه	زاجه - زجه	A woman in child bed.
('hâmak') همه	زامج	Entire.
زربرگ	زرورق	Talc.
	زعفران	Saffron.
زگال	زغال - زوغال - زلک	Charcoal.
('amrût') (Sans. [illegible]) امروت-امرود }	زمرّد - زمرّذ	The immortal fruit; pear; emerald.
('zandîk') زندیک - زندی	زندیق (= ثنوی) - *pl.* زنادیق	He who follows the commentary; According to Muhammadan interpreters: a heretic.
	زندقہ	A belief in the two principles of light and darkness.
('champa') چنپہ	زنبق - زنبہ	The 'champa' flower.
زنبیل - زنبیر	*pl.* زنابیل	Baskets.

شکنگبین - شنگبیز - گزانگبین - کزا نکبین - گزنیو کزنگبین - کزنگو	زنجبیل - کزنیو	Ginger; date wine; manna.
شنگرف	زنجرف - زنجفر	Red lead.
آرنگ - ارنج	زند	The elbow.
زنخدان	زنمتان	The dimples in the chin.
('jopt') جُفت	*pl.* زوجتهٔ - زوج - زوجات	A pair; couple.
('zôr') زور	زور	Falsehood.
('zîk') ('zâîcha') زیچ - زیگ	زیج	Astronomical tables; horoscope.
('gâv') گاو	غاو - کاب	Ox; cow.
('âsravan')	کاتوزی	The Zarathustrian priesthood.
کاس	کاس - کاسک - کاسہ - کانسہ	A cup; goblet; bowl.
('karp')	کالب - قالب - مثالي - کالو - کالوب	The spiritual body; the mould; the body; the figure.
('kâmak') کام	کامخ	A tonic to create appetite.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavî or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('Râs-i Kay-Usân') راه کاوسان - کاهنگان کتران - کتیران	کاهکشان - کهکشان - کاهنگان	The milky way.
	قطران	Liquid pitch.
('karpâs') کرپاس - کرباس	کرفس - کرابیس *pl.*	Cotton ; *pl.* Fine linens.
('Kôrâsa') کوراسه	کراسة	A tract or leaflet.
('gardan' or 'grîv') گردن	کرد	The neck.
('garô-tamân') گروثمان گرزمان	کروثمان - کرزمان	The mansion of Ahura Mazdâ.
('vars')	کُرس - کُرسه	Hair.
('karkadan') Sans. खड्गधेनु کرگ - کرگدن	کرکدن	A rhinoceros.
	کُسبند	A belt ; a girth.
('kostîk') کُستي	کُستیج	The sacred thread girdle of the Zarathustrian.

('gôs-dânak')		کشد انک	A kind of corn.
(Sans कश्यप)	کشو	کشف	Tortoise ; cancer.
	کاک ـ کک	کعک	Biscuit.
('gerântar')	کلانتر	قلندر	The chief man of the village ; a class of Muhammadan darvishes ; name of its founder.
	کنب ـ کنو	کنب	Hemp ; cannabis Indica.
	کندگ	خَندق	A ditch.
	کندو	کندوج	A clay vessel in which grain is kept.
('ganj')	کنج	*pl.* کنز ـ کنوز	Treasure ; treasury.
	کنگنه	کنه کنه	Quinine.
		کَوراَب	Mirage.
	کورسي	کرسي	Chair.
	کوز ـ کوزه	*pl.* کوْزَة	Jugs.
	کوسه	کَوسج	A thin-bearded man.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd.*

Pahlavi or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('[illegible]') بو هاسب - بشاسب بو هپاس - گوهاسپ - گو شتاسپ	کشاسب	Lethargy.
('kôpak') کوهـ - کهـ	کوفج - کوفجان *pl.*	Karmanian mountaineers.
کهیج - کهي	کهیج	P. N. of a fortress in Sîstân.
('Kay Kavâṭ') کیکباد	کیقباد _ کیغباد	P. N. Kai-kobâd.
('Gayômarṭ') گیومرت _ گیومرد	کیومرث	Gayô-marethna, the first man.
('gerân') گران	کلان	Great; heavy; important.
گزیت - گزیه - گزید	جزیتهٔ	Capitation tax formerly levied from non-Muhammadans.
گلان	جولان	(Pres. part.) Shaking.
گلبانگ - گلبنگ	جلب	Noise, tumult; a loud shout; note of the nightingale.

	خان	قا اَن	Khân.
('kapâ')	کبا	قبا ـ قباه	A long gown.
('Kavâṭ')	کباد	قباه ـ قباذ	P. N. Kobâd.
	کپان	قبان	A large balance with one scale ; a steel-yard.
	کبک	قبج ـ قبجتهه	A partridge.
	غچک	قجک	A musical instrument.
	قرپوس	قَربوس ـ قربوس	The bow of a saddle.
	کرته	قرطق	A shirt.
	کرنای	قرنای	A flute.
Sans. पूगफल		فوفل ـ قوفل	Betel-nut.
Pâzand.		قونج	The oxyacanth.
	کُندُر ـ کندرو	قوندروج	Frankincense.
('awâ')	با ـ ابا ـ اوا	فا	(Prep.) With.
('awâch')	اواج ـ باز ـ وا	فاژ ـ فاش	(Adv.) Back ; again ; away ; yawning ; divulged.
	پا ختک	فاختہ ـ فاختک	A ring dove ; a small ring dove.

List of Arabicised Words—*contd*

Pahlavi or new Persian.		*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
	پاخیز	فاخیز - فراخیز	Crawling ; staggering ; tottering.
('fryâw')		فاراب - فارياب - فارياو	Irrigated land.
('Pârsîk')	پارسي	فارسي - فُرسي	Of Pârs.
('Pârs')	پارس	فُرس	Persia ; the Persians.
....		فَرس	A horse ; the knight at chess.
....		فارس - فرسان *pl.*	A horseman ; the Persians ; Persia ; Pârs ; horsemen.
	پاشان	فاشان	P. N. of a village near Merv.
	پال	فال	An omen.
('pâlûṭ')	پالود	فالود - فالوذ	(Past part.) Purified.
('pâlûṭak')	پالوده	فالودج - فالودق - فالوذق	A dish made of starch, honey and water.
....		فانوس - فنوس	A lantern.
	پانید	فانيذ	A sweet-meat.
	باهم	فاهم	Together.
('sûptâṭ)	قتاتس	قُتاتس	A crumb ; a fragment.

('paṭriṭ')	پلید	فترید ـ فترد	Anything old, worn, torn; defiled.
('paṭrîṭ karṭan')		فتردن ـ فتلیدن	To destory; to pull to pieces.
('paṭvand') پدوند - پیوند		فدوند ـ فدود	
('par vand')	فردره	فروند - فرونده فزوره	The bar of a door.
('Frât)	فرات	فرات	The Euphrates river.
		فراتان (dual)	The Euphrates and the Tigris.
	فراخناک	فراحناک	Wide; broad; joyous; cheerful.
		فردوس - فرادیس *pl.*	Paradise; a garden.
('Frachîn')		فرزین ـ فرزان - فرزی - فرز ـ فرازنہ *pl.*	Queen at chess.
('parastûk')	پرستو	فرستوک - فرستو - فرشتوک - فرشتو فراستوک - فراستو فراشتروک - فراشترو فراشتک - فرلوک	A swallow

List of Arabicised Words—contd.

[illegible] or new *Persian.*	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('frasang') فرسنگ	فرسنج - فرسخ *pl.* فراسخ	A league = three miles.
('frasman')	*pl.* فرامين	Mandates.
('framân') فرمان		
('fravânak) پروانک - پروانه	فُرانق	A guide; a courier; the animal preceding the lion to point him out his prey.
('frakâr') پرکار	فرجار	A pair of compasses.
پرخاش	فرخاش	Battle; war; fight.
برمايون	فرمايون	P. N. of the cow of Frêdôn.
('fravartîkân') فروردگان - فوردگان	فروردجان - فوردجان	The five supplementary days added at the end of the year when the Zarathustrians remember the spirits of those that have passed away.
('pîstak') پستہ	فستق	A pistachio.

('pistân')	پستان	فستان	Breasts of a woman.
9 ('Frakhô')	فلان	فلان	A certain person ; so-and-so.
	پنگان	فجان	Dish ; cups ; saucers.
('panchak')	پنجه	فنزج	A dance with joined hands.
	پودنه	فوتنج ــ فودنج	Thymol.
	پوشنگ	فوشنج	P. N. of a village near Herat.
('pôlâwṭ')	پولاد	فولاد ـ فولاذ	Steel.
	فهرست	فهرس	An index.
('pêk')	پیک	فیک	A courier.
('pîl')	پیل	فیل ـ فیول ـ افیال *pls.*	Elephant.
('dastôbar')	دستور	دساتیر *pl.*	The leaders of religion ; a well-known book of that name written in a border dialect containing an account of the prophets of old.
		دجله	P. N. the river Tigris.
('druj')	دروغ	دجّال	Antichrist

List of Arabicised Words.—*concld.*

Pahlavî or new Persian.	*Arabicised.*	*Meaning.*
('Teahm-urap') ('Takhm-urêt')	طهمورث	P. N. The Pêsdâdîan king Tahmuras.
('Tumâsp') (Av. Tumâspa)	طهماسب - سماسب - نماسب	P. N. Father of the Pêsdâdian king Zû.
('Tîspôn') تسيفون	طيسفون	P. N. Ctesiphon.
('mak') مغ	مجوس	The Magian.
('makîh')	مجوسية	The Magian religion.
ميخور	ماخور	A drunkard.
('march') مرز	مرج - مروج *pl.*	A meadow.
('marchangôs') مرزنگوش	مرزنجوش	A white rose.

List of Sanskrit Words traceable to Persi-Arabic..

अवरङ्ग साह		اورنگزیب	Aurangzib.
इक्कवाल		إقبال	An astrological term ; perfectio ; hyleg.
इत्थशाल		اتّصال	N. of the third yoga in Astrology ; conjunction.
इन्थिहा		إنتها	Terminus (Astrol. term).
इन्दुवार		إدبار	Infortune (Astrol. term) ; detorioratio.
इसरफ		اصراف	Disjunctio.
कंबूल or कबूल		قبول	N. of the 8th yoga in Astrology ; receptio.
खर्बूज	Pers.	خربوزه	The water-melon.
खुरासान	Pers.	خراسان	P. N. Khorâsân.
गजनवी		غزنوی	P. N. Ghaznavi.
गञ्ज	Pers.	گنج	Treasure.
गञ्जवर	Pers.	گنجور	Treasurer.

List of Sanskrit Words traceable to Persi-Arabic—*contd.*

गैरकंबूल or गैरि कंबूल	غیرقبول	N. of the 9th yoga in Astrology; inreceptio.
जलालदीनाह्कबरसाह	جلاالدین اکبرشاه	P. N. Jalâl-ud-dîn Akbar-sâh.
जल्लालदीन्द्र	....	P. N. Jalâl-ud-dîn.
तम्बीर or तम्मीर	تمویر	The 14th yoga in Astrology.
तर्बूज	Pers. تربز	A water-melon.
तरबी	تربیع	In Astrology: quadrature; an angle of .90°; the quartile aspect.
तस्ली	تثلیث	In Astronomy: trigon; the trine aspect.
तसीर	تسییر	....
तस्दी	تسدیس	In Astronomy: hexagon; the sextile aspect.
ताजक or ताजीक	تاجک تاجیک	Certain parts of Astronomy translated from the works of the 'Tâjîks', *i.e.*, the Iranians and the Arabs.

ताबुरि	Ar. ثور, Gr. TXUPOS	The sign Taurus of the Zodiac.
तूत	Pers. توت	The mulberry tree.
दमावन्द्	Pers. دماوند	Mount Damâvand of Îrân.
दीनार	Pers. دينار	A gold coin of Îrân.
नकत	نَقْل	In Astrology : 'translatio', the 5th yoga.
पह्लव or पह्नव	Pers. پهلوان	The Parthians.
फतिहशाह	فتح شاه	P. N. Fatiha sâh.
बाहादुर	Pers. بهادر	A title of honour.
मजमुदार	Pers.-Ar. مجموع دار	A record-keeper.
मनऊ	منع	N. of the 7th yoga in Astrology ; prohibitio.
मलिक	ملک	A king.
मालिका	ملكه	A queen.
महमद पदल	محمد ايدل	N. of a king.
महल or महल्लक	محل	A eunuch in a king's harem

List of Sanskrit Words traceable to Parsi-Arabic—*contd.*

मीहिर or मिहिर	ahl.	Pers. مهر	The sun.
मीहिरकुल or मिहिरकुल			Name of a king.
महमद खान		محمّد خان	N. of a king.
मामुद गजनवी		محمود غزنوی	Mahmûd of Ghazni.
मुकाबिला		مقابله	Opposition.
मुकारिणा		مقارنه	Conjunction.
मुथाशिल		مُتّصِل	N. of the 3rd yoga in Astrology; conjunctio.
मुन्थहा or मुन्था		منتها	Astrological term: terminus.
मुरसिदाबाद		مرشد اباد	N. of a city.
मुसाहुह or मुसलहुह		مصالحت	An astrological term.
मूशरिःफ or मूसरीफ		مُصْرِف	N. of the 4th yoga in Astrology; disjunctio.
मौशुल		مسلّم	A Moslem.
कुस्था		جمعة	N. of the 6th yoga in Astrology; congregatio.

रद्द		ردّ	N. of the 11th yoga.
रोम	Pers.	اروم	Asia Minor ; Mesopotamia.
रोमक	Pahl. 'Arûmâîk'		Epithet of a certain astronomer belonging to Asia Minor. रोमकसिद्धान्त was one of the five chief Siddhântas in the age of Varâhamihira ; रोमकाचार्य was a teacher of Iranian astronomy.
वराहमिहिर			N. of the author of the बृहज्जातक, the बृहत्सिद्धान्त, etc. Note the 2nd part of the name मिहिर = Pers.
सहम	Pers.	سهم	Good or evil luck arising from the influence of the stars ; sors.
सीसतान	Pers.	سيستان	P. N. Sistân ; Sigistân.

List of Sanskrit Words traceable to Persi-Arabic—*contd.*

[illegible]			
[illegible]		حد	N. of a division of each Zodiacal Sign, 30 such divisions being specified and distributed variously to each planet; fractio.
हद्देश		....	Lord of a 30th division of a Zodiacal Sign.
हर्मुज	Pers.	هرمز	P. N. The island of Hermazd.

DUALISM IN AVESTA AND ITS PHILOSOPHIC IMPORT

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I.

In the history of every religion it is a noteworthy fact that the followers have generally failed to understand the inner significance of their master's teaching and hence they have also failed to live up to the purity of their Master's teaching. Zoroastrianism has proved no exception to the rule. The Vendidād and the later Avesta generally revolve round the idea of dualism in so extravagant a fashion that the world at large has been thoroughly justified in speaking of popular Zoroastrianism as Dualism. In the later Avesta Angra Mainyus is not merely the opponent of Spenta Mainyus, but he figures as a creator, even though a creator of all that is evil and noxious in the world. Not merely does he delight in beguiling the soul of man into unrighteousness, but he is portrayed as the creator of night and the creator of all animals like serpents and wild beasts. The dasturs of the later Zoroastrian age did not pause to consider the untenability of their position. They bestowed no thought as to how day could have any significance without night or how any animal could be spoken of as wholly evil, when every species that exists has to fulfil its function whether we mortals like it or not. How can a lizard be of Angra Mainyus's brood, what sins can it be held guilty of, when as a matter of fact in a malaria-infested locality its fondness for mosquitoes may even be regarded as a boon to

humanity? The blazing flame is a creature of Spenta Mainyus, but the unfortunate charcoal is pilloried as a creature of the Evil Spirit, and yet in the cold and bleak Iran the warmth-giving capacity of charcoal may well have endeared it to the shivering Iranian. Thus can it be seen that this type of dogmatic dualism easily reduces itself to absurdity. No one to-day, whether among the Parsis or the Avestan scholars of the West, is interested in it, still less does he care to defend it.

The question becomes much more intriguing when it is asked whether this extreme type of dualism is not based on something in the teaching of the Prophet Zarathustra himself, in short the question is whether Zoroastrianism even at its best does not involve a fundamental dualism. the Dualism of Good and Evil, of Light and Darkness, of Knowledge and Ignorance? Most of the Christian missionaries contrast the Dualism of the Parsis with the Monotheism of the Christians. Even the most sympathetic of European scholars are content to speak of Zoroaster's own teaching as dualistic, though there are exceptions like Dr. Haug, Dr. West and Dr. Moulton. On the other hand, Parsi scholars of their Scriptures appear to be stung by the Christians' talk of Zoroastrian Dualism and are keen on denying Dualism altogether, though here again there are a few exceptions, the most notable being Dr. M. N. Dhalla.

In the fairly voluminous literature that has come into being round this question, discussions tend to centre round textual considerations, and far too little attention has been paid to the philosophic implications of Zarathustra's teaching in the Gāthās. The words *Monotheism* and *Dualism* carry no particular charm for me. I am rather interested in what they stand for in the ethical and religious life of mankind. This is the only excuse I can plead for adding one more essay on an old old topic. I dare not hope to carry conviction to all, but I shall be content if I succeed in making certain philosophical implications in the Gāthās clearer than they have been made

so far. I should like to show how Dualism is fundamental to every theism that claims to be ethical and in this respect no religion has succeeded in transcending Zoroastrianism. Further I should like to show how religious dualism finds its completion in philosophic monism.

As contrasted with the thoroughgoing dualism of the later Avesta, the dualism of Zoroaster is purely ethical. Genuine morality carries with it moral responsibility, and Zarathustra recognises this in Yasna 451.1 "Yea, I shall speak forth; hear ye, who come from near and far. *Ponder* well over all things. Weigh my words with care and clear thought," just as in Yasna 30.2 he has said: "Let each man choose his own creed for himself." The import of this is free will, without which morality would be mere mockery. If a man is not free to choose, it would be adding insult to injury to speak of him as evil or as unrighteous. If a man is free to choose, what is he to choose between? The answer of Zarathustra is clear as given in the famous passage, Yasna 45.2: "I shall tell you now of those twin spirits, which took their birth at the beginning of life. The benevolent Spirit of Goodness thus spake to the Spirit of Evil: *Neither our thoughts, nor commands, nor our understandings, nor our beliefs, nor our deeds, nor our consciences, nor our souls, are at one.*" (Italics are ours.) Such a rigorous opposition so rigorously expressed is the very bedrock of Zarathustra's religion. It would be difficult indeed to explain it away. Nor is it necessary, for he had a very clear conception of morality and all its implications, and his soul rebelled at the very idea of any compromise between good and evil. They have nothing in common. They are in perpetual conflict. Hence the aroma of strenuous fight which generally pervades all Zoroastrian writings. Hence too the "Kusti" round the Zoroastrian's waist as a symbol of his being ever ready to fight the good fight against Angra Mainyus.

The difference between Spenta Mainyus and Angra Mainyus is clear cut, but the difference is not between two substances—it is rather between two principles. Hence

they are not as such two persons, though they are personifications. Such personifications are allowable in poetry and are freely used by Zarathustra in the Gāthās, *e.g.*, the *Ameshāspentas* or the Holy Immortals. *Vohu Manah* or Good Mind is one of them. The others are *Asha* or Righteousness; *Āramaiti* or Devotion; *Khshathra* or Sovereignty; *Haurvatat* or Perfection and *Ameretat* or Immortality. *Aramaiti* is described as a daughter of Mazdā, and this is enough to show that these *Ameshāspentas* are not substantive, but merely representations of the different aspects of God or the Saktis of God. Hence the Parsi scholars who seek to differentiate between Ahura Mazdā and Spenta Mainyus miss the most essential point in the teachings of the Gāthās, for Ahura Mazdā apart from Spenta Mainyus is a nonentity and to make Angra Mainyus an aspect of Mazdā is to stab Zarathustra's religion in its most vital part.

In popular theism it is customary to conceive of God with all the attributes man can think of raised to the superlative degree. Thus he is conceived as omnipotent, omniscient, all-merciful, all-just, not to mention the strings of names by which God is known in the Avesta, the Bible and the Koran. But in the frenzy of devotion people are apt to forget some of the palpable contradictions involved in this chaotic description. The most fundamental contradiction is that between God's power and God's goodness. If He is really all-powerful, why does He tolerate so much evil and sin on earth? If His nature admits of no evil, then the existence of evil is due to some other agency. If such an agent exists, who can create evil in spite of God, surely then we have here a definite limitation of God's power. This is the dilemma which has pursued theism right through the ages. It is significant that on the very threshold of the birth of theism on our e[illegible]arathustra saw the conflict. He could have accep[illegible] omnipotence of God and made evil a part and parce[illegible]. But his moral fibre did not stand this desec[illegible] and he preferred to emphasise the goodness of

God as against His power. That is why he has so openly declared in Yasna 45·2 that there is nothing in common between Spenta Mainyus and Angra Mainyus. He made his choice, and the whole subsequent history of theism shows that the best minds in the history of humanity in every epoch and every clime have followed in his wake. What is power without goodness? That is why in the whole of the Gāthās Mazdā is never spoken of without reference to Spenta Mainyus or to Asha or to Āramaiti or to Vohu Manah or to Haurvatāt and Ameretāt. It is only in the aroma of these benign attributes that Mazdā has significance, and is worthy of our worship and homage. It is only His goodness that imparts strength to us to withstand the temptation to deviate from the path of righteousness. Angra Mainyus may make himself felt in a thousand ways, may by his insidious whisperings and prospects of wealth and power seek to assert his sway over us. But Ahura the Good abhors Angra Mainyus and commands us to stick to the path of goodness so as to earn the immortal fruits of a good life, peace and harmony. Woe to the man who prefers power to being good.

Such is the Dualism of Zarathustra's Gāthās. There is, indeed, the hope held out that Angra Mainyus will be ultimately annihilated and Spenta Mainyus rule triumphant all by Himself. But this refers to the far distant future. To us mortals it is an idea, even perhaps an ideal, to which our faith gives a shape. But till the day of *Ristakhiz* comes, it is our lot to carry on the good fight, for every victory gained over Angra Mainyus is a strengthening of our soul, and thus inch by inch is evil conquered. This is in itself a great reward for the true soldier who has understood the significance of warfare with evil and is prepared to do his duty and leave the rest to Ahura Mazdā. Whatever be the defects of this type of thought, has theism anywhere anything better to show?

Take the teaching of the Hebrews. Yahweh has honoured them as His own chosen people. But He expects an unquestioning obedience from his children.

He is a "jealous" God and will not brook rivals. "Vengeance is mine," saith the Lord God of Wrath, and He punishes the worshippers of false gods like Baal and Moloch. He has disclosed to Moses His Ten Commandments, all of which with the exception of the injunction regarding Sabbath are moral injunctions universal in character. They who observe them are of Yahweh. All, who do not, are of the brood of Satan. And Satan is but the Hebrew edition of the Iranian Angra Mainyus. It is this insistence on righteousness that constitutes the burden of the generations of the great Hebrew prophets.

Whatever be the advance represented by Christianity over the Old Testament it has not shaken itself free from the conception of Satan. God is there, but the myth of a rebellious angel, offering battle through the ages to the hosts of Lord God, is hardly consonant with the omnipotence of God. This constitutes the fundamental difficulty of Christian theology. This explains the vogue of the so-called Manichaean heresy, an off-shoot of Zoroastrianism, in the heart of Christendom itself for several centuries. If Christ is the Redeemer, from whom is He to redeem mankind except from Satan himself? He, the Son of God, was not above being tempted. How then could an average mortal escape the assiduous attentions of Satan? Thus the conflict between the power of God and the goodness of God runs right through Christian theology and Christian folklore and Christian life. In the austere Milton Satan is unconsciously endowed with all the traits of a hero, even though it be the hero of a lost cause and losing fight. Goethe's Mephistopheles constitutes the highest literary embodiment of Satan, and the whole philosophy of Faust becomes meaningless apart from the dualism of God and Satan. It is only because Satan is real that Christ has meaning. Take away Satan and Christ's occupation is gone.

[illegible] ult to understand the gibe of the Christian mi[illegible] Zoroastrianism is dualistic while Christianit[illegible] eistic. The establishment of the Kingdom

of God on earth may come, as well as the day of Resurrection, even as in Zoroastrianism, may come in God's good time, but till then the power of Satan is there to be reckoned with. It is a misuse of terms to deny the monotheistic character of Zoroastrianism, if Christianity is monotheistic; or to deny that Christianity is dualistic neither more nor less than Zoroastrianism, I mean of course the Zoroastrianism of Zarathustra himself. The eminent German missionary Dr. Albert Schweitzer in his *Christianity and Religions of the World* does not hesitate to argue that every theistic religion that can claim to be ethical must be dualistic. "Every rational faith has to choose between two things: either to be an ethical religion or to be a religion that explains the world. We Christians choose the former, as that which is of higher value."

Islam has gathered so much from the Old and New Testaments that it would be a miracle indeed if it could have steered clear of dualism: which it must accept if it is to make good its ethical character. Its highest hopes and aspirations centre round the conquest of *Iblis* and this is not a matter of choice, but a matter of inexorable logic of religious facts.

Thus we find that the four great pure theisms are dualistic. I cannot pause to deal with Hinduism and Buddhism, for they rest on philosophic bases different from the great ethical theisms we have dealt with.

Religions involve fundamentalism and hence are dogmatic. But we find that even in the history of philosophy theism has tended to be dualistic. In the *Republic* of Plato we find the idea developed that God can only be the creator of good, and if his ultimate position tends to be monistic, it is only because he transcends the theistic approach to philosophy. It was in the last generation that Mill declared his willingness to go to Hell rather than bend his knee to a powerful but unrighteous God. More recently William James has emphasised the morality in God rather than his power. The conception of a finite God holds the allegiance of many thinkers, who

would technically be called unchristian. Their only justification is that a righteous God with limited powers is a loftier idea than a God of might and power without the will to be good. This means that "either God wished to create all good and He could not, or He could and He would not," *i.e.*, He is either all good, but not all powerful; or that He is all powerful, but not all good. To the moralist, to the man of religion the choice is clear. Power is of little significance compared to goodness, and though in the evolution of religious ideas the idea of power preceded the idea of goodness, it is the idea of goodness that has gained a decisive victory over the thoughts of men. And in this great evolution the Prophet of Iran played the role of a pioneer, and though his followers be a mere handful today, it is his thought which has permeated all subsequent theisms. At the ethical and religious level the Dualism of Good and Evil is inevitable.

II.

In human mind there is a tremendous urge towards simplicity, which is beautifully represented by the famous Occam's Razor: *entia non sunt multiplicanda.* It is this which has urged some of the highest minds towards unity, which becomes monotheism in religion and monism in philosophy. I have tried to show above that pure monotheism is an impossibility except in the sense that it considers only one God worthy of worship and adoration although there is another principle, which is continuously obstructing the work of righteousness in men. But there has been no dearth of philosophic endeavour to reduce religious dualism to monism. One such attempt that has been made by some Parsi scholars is to distinguish between Ahura Mazdā and Spenta Mainyus and make both Spenta Mainyus and Angra Mainyus attributes of Ahura Mazdā. So far as the Gāthās are concerned there is only one passage Yasna 48 which as interpreted by Dr. Haug gives some countenance to this view, but it has been translated quite otherwise by Dr. Mills and Ervad Kāngā. Dr. Haug's

translation makes it quite irreconcilable with Yasna 45.2. Making Angra Mainyus a creation of Ahura Mazdā destroys the ethical character of the Gāthās. That the Gāthās are through and through ethical is clear from the very fact that Ahura Mazdā is always addressed through his moral attributes. It is these that constitute His nature, for evil is alien to Him.

Apart from any specific reference to the teaching of Zarathustra, I may point out the consequence of making both good and evil attributes of the one ultimate Being, and that is to obliterate the very distinction between good and evil. Spinoza's philosophy is very pertinent in this connection. He regarded good and evil as only our human ways of looking at things, but from the standpoint of substance, as he conceived God, *i.e.*, *sub specie aeternitatis*, there is nothing evil, for everything is as it ought to be. This is the defect of pantheism of the usual type, which finds God in everything, so that there is no room for evil. If I lend money to a friend and he does not repay me, it is an evil from my own limited standpoint, but from the standpoint of God there is no evil in it. It is this sterile optimism that makes all moral endeavour superfluous, and that is why every religious theism, including of course Zoroastrianism, is so thoroughly opposed to it. It indeed has the merit of overcoming dualism, but it reminds one of the vulgar analogy of throwing the baby out along with the bath water or of curing a disease by killing the patient.

III.

It has to be honestly admitted that the task of reconciling religious and ethical dualism with the intellectual demands of monism is not an easy one. That is why Dr. Schweitzer writes with desperation: "We hold to the absolutely and profoundly ethical religion as to the one thing needful, though philosophy may go to rack and ruin." A little later in a more subdued mood he writes: "The God who is known through philosophy and the God whom I experience as Ethical Will do not coincide. They

are one; but how they are one, I do not understand." This also explains why there has been a certain amount of strained relations between the men of religion and philosophers. The latter's main endeavour is to understand the world, the man of religion is content to take the existence of God on trust and make His will his own. Their interests are different. That is why the thinker is repelled by the dogmatism of mere religion, while the man of religion is repelled by the cool and almost "diabolically" analytic intellectualism of the philosopher. The chances of conflict used to be greater in the past when the crude and dogmatic cosmology of the old religions came into sharp collision with the discoveries of modern science, especially as represented by the discoveries of Copernicus and Darwin. Cosmology is outside the domain of religion and therefore to-day we side with science in all questions that pertain to the understanding of the cosmic forces. This leaves untouched the demands of morality, which for the vast majority of mankind go hand in hand with religion. Even so human spirit will not brook two water-tight compartments of philosophy and religion. They must meet somewhere somehow so that the palpable reality of evil, which alone gives a significance to our moral endeavours, is not denied to satisfy the logical demands of unity.

It would be too long to establish in this paper the various arguments and the dialectic by which philosophers seek to establish monism. But assuming it is established we may summarise its conclusions. In modern philosophic parlance there is one ultimate reality, which is Spirit. It alone is, it alone is real, so that whatever exists is Spirit or is a manifestation of Spirit. The manifestations are transient, but the Spirit is eternal. Its very nature is to manifest itself, its life is an eternal process. Hence at no point is it complete or perfect. Its perfection is to evolve. Its manifestations constitute a hierarchy from the dumb organisms we know as minerals to the self-conscious being

we know as man, and there may be superior beings unknown to us. What we call nature is not dead or inert as we are often apt to assume. It is fully alive with the breath of Spirit. Only it is Spirit at the lower levels of its manifestations. Man with a body is a part of nature, he is phenomenon, but in Kant's words he is also noumenon, or to use the language of religion he is a soul with the free capacity to distinguish between right and wrong and to choose between right and wrong and to act accordingly. The ethical goal of men is peace and harmony among themselves. The more they succeed, they are spiritual; their failures constitute the evil. At the level of men Spirit does not work mechanically, and this gives rise to evil, which is an incident in the life of the Spirit in man. It is his duty to overcome this obstruction, however difficult it be. This gives rise to the moral struggle in him and it is this struggle which is pictured in the Gāthās and other ethical theisms. It is not an easy struggle, nor a struggle in vain. It is not the latter, because a single diviation from the path of rectitude may involve a shattered life or create confusion in a thousand innocent people. It is not easy, because there is no clear cut demarcation between what is good and what is evil. Each concrete situation carries with it its own moral tone, and therefore each person must shoulder the responsibility of solving each moral problem as it arises. Truth is indeed good and it is the corner stone of Zoroastrian ethics, but who would praise a physician that bluntly tells a dying patient that there is no hope for him? Or take the case of a patriot who condemns his own son in the interest of his country as was done, *e.g.*, by Lucius Junius Brutus. A virtue may come into conflict with a virtue, and so in a particular case what is normally a virtue may come to be an evil. What conduces to the love of God and his creatures is good, all else is evil. Thus moral conflict is rooted in the very nature of human evolution. His choice makes or mars him, declares him to be on the side of God or of Angra Mainyus. It is futile to say that evil

is a mere negation in itself. It is as positive as good, because evil has as definite consequences as the good. It is negative only in the sense in which it is true to say that a chair is not a table. Though both good and evil are positive, there is a vital difference between the two : the good is universal, synthetic, while the evil is always disruptive. The good is such that every person can will it and make the society and himself all the better for it, while the evil is such that it can never be universally willed without making all social life impossible.

So the Spirit which is continually evolving affords a metaphysical basis for the facts of morality. I cannot venture to say that all these metaphysical implications can be made good by citations from the Gāthās, but I believe that it is not inconsistent with the ethical teaching of Zarathustra. In those early days when he lived, the need for ethics and for God who was the embodiment of goodness was imperative. The need for metaphysics was a luxury then and did not arise for perhaps five hundred years after him. I cannot go the whole way with Dr. Schweitzer and repudiate metaphysics altogether. But I do think that for the vast majority even to-day the need to lead a good life is far more imperative than the need to understand the world at large and that is why religion continues to have a greater significance for the generality of mankind than philosophy.

AZI DAHĀKA OR ANTI-CHRIST

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The conception of the two opposite forces operating in nature is the chief feature of Iranian religions. Zarathuštra was the first great prophet of Iran to declare that all inanimate objects, plants, animals, mankind, their languge and thoughts, are either Ahurāic or Ahrimanic. He says thus in Yasna 45-2.

"At fravakhshyā aṅhēus mainyu paouruyē yayāo spanyāo uiti mravatyēm angrem: 'nōiṭ nā manāo, nōiṭ Sēnghā, nōiṭ Khratavō, naēdā varanā, nōiṭ uxdhā naēdā shyaothanā, nōit daēnā, nōiṭ urvānō, hacaintē'" *i.e.*, "I speak of the two primeval spirits, that which is Spanya said to Angra: 'we (two) agree, neither in thoughts, neither in doctrine, neither in wisdom, nor in conviction, neither in speech nor in deeds, neither in conscience nor in Soul.'"

All subsequent thinkers and reformers of Pre-Islamic and Post-Islamic Iran followed this doctrine. These two spirits are named Spenta-mainyu and Angra-mainyu. They are symbolized in various phases as light and darkness, soul and matter, fertility and drought, justice and tyranny, truth and druj or lie. They always oppose each other and in their great conflict initial success is with the 'druj' but finally truth shines over the false delusion and 'druj' is overthrown and destroyed. The capacity for growth and assimilation as well as for decay and disintegration is inherent in the nature of all things. This idea is so deep-rooted in the Iranian mind that it appears in all aspects of their life and is extended from religion to philosophy, legends and mythology. Every

good and just hero is opposed by an evil tyrant. Yima, son of Vivañhvat, (the Indian Yama, son of Vivasvat), the organizer of Iranian society, whose epithets in Avesta are Khshaēta, hwāthwō, Xvarenañuhastemō, *i.e.*, the shining, the magnificent, the most glorious, is opposed by Azi Dahāka (the Vedic Ahi), the dragon, the water stealer, the druj, the deceiver and is vanquished by him. Among his descendants Thraetaona, son of Āthwaya, (the Indian Trita, son of Āptya, or the waters), took Azi captive but did not kill him and as directed by the angel, he left him bound in chains on the summit of mount Dimāvant, the Hima-vat of Iran. Azi remains there till the rise of Keresāspa (the Indian Kṛiś-aśva), the slayer of the horned dragon and vanquisher of the great monster named Ganderewa (the Indian Gandharvas). Like Jesus, Keresāspa is wounded by his enemy but enjoys eternal life. He is asleep in the valley of Pishiṇ near Kabul guarded by a large number of Fravashis and will rise again towards the end of the world to destroy the great druj, who will be set free for a short time and once again bring sufferings to mankind.

In this short paper, I venture to point out the close resemblance between the legends of Azi and the great deceiver in the apocalyptic writings of the Jews and the Christians.

The dragon myth is common to many ancient nations such as Egyptian, Babylonian, Chinese, Greek, Iranian and Indian. The description of the dragon is more or less similar. For instance, take the following lines of Ṛigveda:

> "na mā garan nadyaḥ mātṛitamāḥ dāsāḥ yat īm, su samubdham avādhuḥ śiraḥ yat asya Traitanaḥ vitakshat svayam dāsaḥ uraḥ amsāv āpi gdha."

Ṛig. I 158-5.

which means:—

"Let not mother Nadya (river) swallow me as Dāsa throw well bound, have not devoured me.

As Traitana wounded his head, so has Dāsa wounded his own and has struck his breast and shoulders.

> "Saḥ id dāsam tuvīravam patiḥ dan shaḍ aksham tri śīrshāṇam damanyat asya Tritaḥ nu ōjasā vridhānaḥ vipā varāham Ayaḥ agrayā han."
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> Ṛig. X 99-6.

i.e., He the Lord and giver subdued Dāsa, who roared aloud (lik) six eyed, three headed and through his power Trita, the mighty, smote the water laden with his pointed arrow.

In the Avesta (Haoma yast), Azi is described thus:—

> "Yō janaṭ Azīm Dahākem, thri zafanem thri kameredhem xshvas ashīm, hazaṅra yaoxshtīm ash-aojaṅhem daēvīm drujem aghem gaēthāvyō drvantem yām ash-aejastemām drujem fraca kerentaṭ angro-mainyush aoi yām astvaitīm gaēthām mahrkāi ashahe gaēthanām."

i.e., Who killed Azī dahāka three-jawed, three-headed, six-eyed and with one thousand powers (of deceit), the very strong devilish, druj, evil to the living creatures, unbeliever, whom Angro-mainyu made the strongest druj against this material world for destruction of the creation of Asha.

The lie or druj was so hated by the ancient Iranians that King Darius repeatedly mentions in his inscriptions; for instance, he says:—

> "Martiya hya auramazdāha framāna hau taiy gasta ma thadiya pathīm Tyām rāstām ma avarada, ma starva"

i.e., O Man! The command of God may not seem repugnant to thee, do not leave the true path, do not sin; and:—

> "Tuvam ka khshāyathiya hya aparam āhy, martiya hya draujam āhatiy hya vā zūrakara āhatiy avaiy ma daūsta biya, ūfraśtadiy parsa."

i.e., 'Thou who will be king after me, to him, who is a

lie or tyrant, never be a friend but punish him with severe punishment and :—

"Aūramazda pātum haca haināya, haca dušiyara, haca drauga."

i.e., May Ahuramazdā protect (my people) from evil host, from famine and from lie.

These were the three most dreaded evils all manifested in the person of Azi who, in course of time, lost his abstract character and gave his name to a certain semitic dynasty which ruled long in a remote period over the Iranians. One thousand which signify a large number and originally meant many sources and means of deceiving mankind according to Firdousi and other Iranian historians became the one thousand years' rule of Zahhāk in Iran.

When Cyrus the great became master of Babylon, he ound a large number of Jews interned there as captives. He permitted them to return and live free in their motherland. This kind and benevolent policy was followed by his successors and therefore the Achaemenian kings are mentioned and praised in the Old Testament, particularly Cyrus, who is called the liberator. But the Selucides, who succeeded the Iranians as rulers in Syria and Palestine, ill-treated the Jews King Antiochus IV Epiphanes may be called the Azi Dahāka of the Hebrews, and it was at this time that the Jewish apocalyptic literature was developed. The object of the writers was to console their co-religionists in their present suffering and to encourage them by giving hope of future deliverance and happy life. If the Iranian idea of Saoshyant who will purify and regenerate the world and will remove the evils of druj was current and known to the Jews when they lived as subjects of the Achaemenian kings, then it is not impossible that the idea of Messiah was borrowed from Iran. But if we suppose that Iranians have imitated the Jews, the portion of the Avesta in which Saoshyant is mentioned must have been composed during the first century B.C. or A.D., but at this time Iran was under the Parthian Empire and enjoyed all freedom and power

and there was no reason for such a prophecy. When the Christians were persecuted by the Pagan Roman Emperors, they imitated the Jews and formed their own apocalyptics. The struggle continued to be between right and wrong, between the true believer and the heathen. Though the wrong believers and oppressors were in power, the true believers were assured of a happy life and final victory. The angels' help was promised and thus the conflict was not restricted on earth but extended over heaven.

In Avesta Azi is Babylonian and hence of Semitic origin. Firdousi makes him an Arab and says that his centre was in Palestine, where he was captured by Faridun and brought to Demāvand and left there bound in chains. He says: the Iranian commanders (after passing the river Tigris) reached the land and marched towards the Holy Land. In the Pahlavāni language it is called 'Kunge-e Dez-Hukht,' but in Arabic you must read it as 'Bait-ul-mogaddas' where Zahhāk built a lofty palace.

The following is the Christian description of "the Great Druj" in the "Revelation" of St. John:—

"And there appeared another wonder in heaven and behold a great red dragon, having seven heads, and ten horns and seven crowns upon his heads and his tail drew the third part of the stars of heaven and did cast them to the earth and the dragon stood before the woman which was ready to be delivered for to devour her child as soon as it was born." (Ch. 12, 3-4.)

"And I saw an angel come down from a bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand, and he laid hold on the dragon that old serpent which is the devil and Satan and bound him a thousand years." (Ch. 20,1-2.)

"And cast him into the bottom pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season." (Ch. 20, 3.)

"And when the thousand years are all expired, Satan shall be loosed out of this prison, and shall go out

o deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of he earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to attle, the number of whom is as the sands of the sea nd the devil that deceived them was cast unto the lake f fire and burning stone where the beast and the false rophet are and shall be tormented day and night." Ch. 20, 7-8-10).

The Muslims followed, the Christians and the Jews in heir turn. and developed a Muslim apocalyptics in which besides Jesus, Imam Mahdi, a descendant of the Prophet by his daughter Fatima, will appear and both will fight with Dajjāl, the Muslim Anti-Christ. His full name is Al-masih al-Dajjāl, *i.e.*, the false Messiah. Dajjāl is a superlative degree of Dajal which means a lie. I suspect this word to be a corrupted form of 'druj,' because it agrees with the latter in meaning and even in form. The change of 'r' into 'l' is common and so is the displacement of certain letters in a word, such as 'sukhra' nto 'sorkh' 'chakhra' into 'charkh,' 'mazga' into magz,' and so forth. This epithet of the Anti-Christ clearly shows that its origin must be sought in Iran. According to Muslim writers Dajjāl is 'one-eyed.' He will appear from Khurāsān or Ispahāh, which is not far from Demāvant. He will ride on an ass and will be followed by the Jews. He will destroy many places but he will not come to Mecca and Medina and he will be killed by Jesus in Syria. Jesus himself will descend from heaven near Damascus in Syria and under him once again the world will enjoy peace and prosperity. The appearance of Dajjāl will be preceded by great hardship. He will be assisted by Yājuj and Mājuj or Gog and Magag. According to Tamim-al-Dari, Dajjal is a demon of the sea and to complete his analogy with Azi dahāka, he will kill men by cutting them with a saw as Azi did to Yima whom he sawed in twain.

PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF ZARATHUSTRA

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I.

Like many prophets of old, Zarathustra has become the target of a flourishing tangle of numerous legends and stories, which has obscured the activity, and still more the personality of the Prophet to such an extent as once led some scholars like Kern,[1] Darmesteter,[2] and Tiele[3] to raise doubts as to whether the Iranian Prophe ever existed on earth. Thanks to the researches of the modern Avestan scholars, these doubts exist now no more and Zarathustra has been accepted by all Iranists[4] as a historical figure, as the true founder and spiritual leader of the national religion of ancient Iran. The fact remains, nevertheless, that it appears extremely difficult to determine the definite details about the life of Zarathustra: even the much-discussed questions such as the birth-place, the scene of early activities, and the birth-date of the Prophet still await final and satisfactory solution. Our difficulties are particularly enhanced by the regrettable

[1] Edvard Lehmann, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte* (fourth edition), Vol. II, p. 203.

[2] *Sacred Books of the East* (*SBE.*), Vol IV. (1880). Introduction, p. 76.

[3] *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum* (second edition), Vol. II, p. 203.

[4] Even so late as in 1919, G. Husing declared that Zoroaster was a figure of pure fiction (*Mitteil d. Geograph. Gesellschaft*, 1919, pp. 409 ff.), but he has found not a single supporter.

loss of the *Spend Nask* of the Avesta, which is said to have dealt with the ciscumstances of the Prophet's life, though perhaps, some information, contained in the original text, has reached us through the Pahlavi literature, specially through the Dēnkert and the Selections of Zātsparam.[5]

Let us however take those three questions, one by one, and see if we can come nearer the truth about them.

II.

The native sources throw certain light on all these points. According to one tradition,[6] Zarathustra was a native of *Rai* whose old name was OP, *Raga*, Av. *Ragha*, Gk. *Rhagai*.[7] This city was situated[8] in the province of Media, in the north-west of Iran, and its ruins are still to be seen in the neighbourhood of modern Teheran. Evidently this tradition has its origin in Ys. 19, 18,[9] where it is said that all countries have, ordinarily, five rulers (*ratavō*). 'the lords of the house, the village, the province, and the country ; and Zarathustra as the fifth,' but the case is different with Zarathustrian *Raji*. 'The Zarathustrian *Ragha* has four lords: the lords of the house, the village and the country ; and Zarathustra as the fourth.' Now, is the mere mention of Ragha as *Zarathustrian* in this passage sufficient to stamp it as the

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[5] See *SBE*. Vol. XLVII, *The Marvels of Zoroastrianism*; Jackson, *Zoroastrian Studies*, p 16 , cf. also West's translations of other Pahlavi texts, *SBE*. Vols. V ; XVIII ; XXIV ; XXVII.

[6] See particularly Markwart-Messina, *A Catalogue of the Provincial Capitals of Ērānšahr*, p. 23 · the explanatory comment on *Ragh* in Zsp. XVI, 11-12. For other references see Jackson, *Zoroaster* (New York, 1901), pp. 202-205.

[7] Strabo XI, 9, 1, p. 514 ; 13, 7, p. 525 ; Arrian III, 20, 2 ; Diod. XIX, 44, 4, etc. For further references, see Markwart-Messina, *ibid* p. 112.

[8] ...e foundation of Rai, there are various legends, for which ...arkwart-Messina, *ibid*, pp. 112 ff

[9] ...Vendidād I. 15.

birth-place of the Prophet? The later tradition replies this question in the affirmative. According to the Pahlavi version of the passage in question, Ragha was Zarathustra's "own district" (*mata-i-nafsman*), while Neryōsangh, in a gloss to his Sanskrit translation of Ys. 19, 18, says that it was Zarathustra's "own village" (*grāma*).[10]

The other Avestan tradition, which is not so definite as the one just mentioned, places the birth-place of Zarathustra also near the north-western frontier of Media. He is said to have offered sacrifices in the *Airyanem Vaējah*[11] on the bank of the river *Dāityā* (Yt. 5. 104; 9, 25; 17, 45). In Ys 9, 14 he is described as "famous in *Airyana Vaējah*," Again, according to Vd. 19, 4 and 11, the Prophet communed with Ahura Mazdā and the arch-angels on the high bank of the river *Darej*[12] where the house of his father Pourushaspa was situated, and this river lay in *Airān Vēj*.[13] Now, *Airyanem Vaējah* has been identified to a certain degree with Adarbaijan (Atropatene) and the river Darej with the modern Daryai, also in the same province.[14]

Another point in favour of Media as the birth-place of the Prophet is that *Spitama*, the family name of Zarathustra happens to occur at an early date in Media.[15]

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[10] Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Sanskrit Ubersetzung des Yasna*, Leipzig (1861), p. 99, *Collected Sanskrit Writings of the Parsis*, edited by E. S. D. Bharucha, Bombay (1910), part II, p. 46.

[11] Andreas reads *Aryāna vyōcah*—Ved. *vyacas* n. "a vast extent, compass, domain."

[12] So also Bundahishn XX, 32; XXIV, 15; Zātsparam XXII, 12, see West, *SBE*. Vol. XLVII, 162 n. On the other hand, this scene of Zarathustra's revelation and communion is laid on the banks of the river Dāti (Av. *Dāityā*) in Dēnkert VII, 3, 51-54; 4, 29, 8, 60; 9, 23, Zsp. XXI, 5 and 13; 22, 2 and 9.

[13] Bundahishn XX, 32.

[14] For fuller discussion, see Jackson, *ibid.* pp. 191 ff.—Markwart (*Ērānshahr*, I, p. 155) identifies *Airyanam Vaejah* with Chorasmia.

[15] See Justi, *Iranische Namenbuch*, under 'Spitama' (p. 309), and 'Zarathushtra' (pp. 379-80).

We may, therefore, accept the verdict of the tradition and conclude that Zarathustra was born in Western Iran, although some scholars, like Geiger[16] and his followers, have argued in favour of Eastern Iran, apparently because they confused the birth-place of the Prophet with the home of the Avesta.

III.

Does this necessarily mean that the scene of Zarathustra's early activities of religious reform was also laid in the western part of Iran? How far does Eastern Iran claim to be considered? As opinions differ, a fresh examination of the most relevant internal and external evidences bearing on this question may be permitted here.

Whether the tradition had indubitably grasped the exact geographic position of the *Airyanem Vaējah* and of the rivers in question is indeed open to doubt. The Avestan references, on which the tradition rests, had their origin in a period[17] later than the life-time of Zarathustra. Amongst the internal sources, only the *Gāthās*, inasmuch as they contain in most parts the *prophetae dicta*, can be our most reliable guide but, unfortunately, they do not directly make mention either of the place where the Prophet began his early missionary activities, or of his birth-date. An intimate study of these contemporary records is, nevertheless, indispensable, for they offer some important, if indirect, clues to the solution of these vital problems.

Where did the language of the *Gāthās* origin? This is a very crucial question, which needs a critical examination at our hands. In their early writings, Geldner and Bartholomae do not express a direct and definite opinion on this point, but it must not be forgotten that the latter has peremptorily countered the contention that the

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[16] *O[illegible]e Kultur in Altertum*, Erlangen (1892).

[17] [illegible]ference to Bund. 29, 12 it is said to have originated in [illegible] second century B.C. under Mithridates I; see *ZII*. Vol. 8, p. [illegible]8.

Gāthic texts had been composed in the Median language.[18] We have, on the other hand, the authority of Andreas and Wackernagel who jointly maintained that the Gāthās were composed and subsequently submitted to writing in the Eastern part of Iran.[19] This view, which precludes once for all any consideration of the south-west of Iran—the proper Persis, has been also upheld of late by A. Christensen. In discarding Tedesco's recent theory[20] of the western localization of the two Avestan dialects, Christensen says: ". . . . les quelques traits ouest-iraniens qu'il signale dans la langue avestique n'exluent pas la possibilité de son origine est-iranienne, car il se peut que quelques formes ouest - iraniennes et quelques particularités syntaxiques appartenant aux dialectes occidentaux se soient glissés dans les rédactions des Gāthās et Yasts anciens faites par le clergé médique pendant la période des Achéménides, comme, plus tard, la rédaction arsacide a introduit dans l 'Avesta des traits moyen-iraniens (l'penthése, le groupe *uhr* pour *urt* etc.)"[21] In his latest book, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, v. Wesendonk also sounds a note of warning against rash conclusions regarding ancient languages, based on a few stray cases of doubtful similarity in modern dialects.[22]

The state of the civilisation and the nature of the religious conflicts as reflected in the hymns of the *Gāthās* themselves, lend support, indeed, to the claim of Eastern Iran as the land of the first scene of Zarathustra's missionary labours.[23] And it is significant that those who would still seek to place in Western Iran the Prophet's

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18 *Zum Altir. Wb.* pp. 16 ff.

19 *NGWG.* (1911) pp. 2, 15.

20 " Dialektologie der West-Iranischen Turfan-texte" in *Le Monde Oriental* (1921), Vol. 15, pp. 184-258. Cf. Meillet, *Trois Conférences*, pp. 26-7, J. Vendryes, in Meillet-Cohan's *Les Langues du Monde*, Paris (1924), p. 36.

21 'Sur les plus anciennes periodes du Zoroastrisme in *Acta Orientalia* (1925) Vol. 4, p. 83.

22 P. 55.

23 A. Christensen, *ibid.* pp. 83 ff.

earlier activities of religious reform are silent about this point.[24] In a masterly analysis and localisation of the geographical and ethnological references of the Avesta, W. Geiger long ago concluded that the home of the Avesta was really Eastern Iran, the land of the Syr-daryā, westward towards the frontiers of Media and southwards up to the deserts of Gedrosia.[25] On similar geographical considerations, Bartholomae also declared himself in favour of the district round the Hāmūn lake, far in the east, in *Seistan*, the borderland between Iran and Afghanistan.[26]

In this connection there is another argument which seems to have been often overlooked. The *Gathās*, the oldest monument of Iranian literature, stand, both linguistically and mythologically, in close relation to the *Ṛigvedic* hymns, the oldest monument of Indian literature. Now, both the Avestan and Vedic literatures contain references which warrant for the spatial contiguity that must have existed between the Iranians of the *Gāthās* and the Indians of the *Vedas*.[27] In other words, the *Gāthās* should have originated in that region which was in close proximity to the land of the *Vedas*. Eastern Iran has, therefore, a much stronger claim for having witnessed the prophet's earlier missionary attempts than Western Iran.

Assuming, then, that Zarathustra was born in the Western part of Iran, and that the first part of his prophetic career was spent in Eastern Iran, it is necessary to explain the cause of the spatial divergence between these two events. Not only the *Gāthās* but the later texts also supply us with helpful hints bearing on this point. After the full revelation of the religion, when Zarathustra began

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[24] For example, C. Clemen in *ZII.* (1931) Vol. 8, pp. 133 ff.

[25] 'Vaterland u. Zeitalter des Avesta u. seiner Kultur' published in ... W. 3rd May 1884. See also *Collected works of Sanjana*, Bombay (1932), pp. 333-381.

... *stras Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg (1924), p. 9.

... C...de, *Aryans*, pp. 36 ff.

to preach in his own native land, the response was so painful, the hostilities so high, that the disheartened prophet, we are told, had to flee, his soul in agony crying: "To what land to flee? Whither shall I go to flee? From the nobility and from the sodality they shut me out!"[28] This assertion which is supported by later tradition, explains the circumstance that Zarathustra's birth-place and the scene of his prophetic activity are not necessarily one and the same.

IV.

Let us now turn to the most fascinating problem in our study, *viz.*, *the date of Zarathustra* Even though the *Gathas* portray him a real human being, a struggling soul battling for light, a man of the highest ethical endeavour and supreme religiosity, they are embarrassingly silent about the date of the prophet. And yet the question has a tremendous importance for a student not only of Iranian history and culture but also of Ancient Indian history, nay, even world-history. For, vitally connected with it is the problem of the age of the Ṛigveda, too. One has therefore always carefully to study the discussions centring round the age of Zarathustra. And, as very recently the problem has been tackled anew by such great authorities as Professors A. T. Olmstead,[29] C. F. Lehmann-Haupt,[30] E. Herzfeld[31] and A. B. Keith,[32] it has, for us, an added interest at the moment.

Of the various theories claiming to solve this vexed problem, the following two have received the greatest attention :—

(i) Middle of the 7th century B.C., a date based on the native tradition (as found in the Pahlavi texts of the Bundahishn, the Arda-Viraf, and elsewhere) and on the

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[28] Ys. 46, 1.

[29] *Oriental Studies*, Pavri, Oxford. (1933) pp 366-72.

[30] *Ibid.* pp. 251-80.

[31] *Ibid.* pp. 200-08.

[32] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I (1934-35), pp. 103-06.

assumption that Kavi Vishtāspa, the prophet's patron, is identical with Hystaspes, the father of Darius I. This theory is followed by Gray,[33] Hall, Hertel,[34] Herzfeld, Jackson,[35] Junker, Lehmann-Haupt, Meillet,[36] Olmstead and others. Meillet champions the date 660-583 B.C. as both 'precise and possible' for the life-time of Zoroaster. Hertel would commend even a later date, asserting that the Iranian prophet must have been living in 522 B.C. and probably also after that date. Herzfeld has just declared that "the traditional date, which fixes the birth of Zoroaster 258 years B.AL., *570 B.C.*, or *910 B.Y.*, is a true historical date preserved by a favourable chance, through the author of the Bundahishna, who himself could no longer interpret its real meaning, and that great historian Al-Beruni."[37] L. C. Casartelli[38] reminds us that "the traditional date of Zarathustra was a period of wide-spread religious, philosophical and ethical ferment, during which the prophets were teaching in Israel, the philosophers of Greece were beginning their activity, the Buddha was proclaiming a new doctrine in India and Confucius was moulding the Celestial Empire to his will."[39]

(ii) 1000-900 B.C. first advanced by the great historian E. Meyer[40] and supported in the main by others[41] on the evidence of the Median names, such as *Mazdaku* occurring in the Assyrian records of the eighth

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[33] *Foundations of the Iranian Religions* (Ratanbai Kartak Lectures), p. 4.

[34] *Die Zeit Zoroasters*, Leipzig (1924).

[35] *On the Date of Zoroaster JAOS*, Vol. 17, pp. 1-22; *Zoroaster* pp. 150 178, *Zoroastrian Studies*, New York (1928), pp. 16-18; 249-251.

[36] *Trois Conférences sur les Gāthā*, Paris (1925), pp. 21-32.

[37] *Oriental Studies*, Pavri, p. 136.

[38] 'A Note on the Possible Date of Zarathushtra' *Spiegel Memorial Volume*, Bombay, (1908), pp. 130-32.

[39] These are the words of Gray, *Foundations*, p. 4.

[40] *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed., art. 'Persia'.

[41] Such as Bartholomae, Charpentier, Christensen, Clemen, Geldner, [illegible] Keith, Kent, Lommel, Markwart, Pour-e-Davoud, Reichelt, and von Wesendonk.

century B.C.[42] Geldner, in his famous article on Zoroaster in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,[43] supports Meyer's theory of 1000 B.C., adding, however, that "this may be too high, but in any case Zoroaster belongs to prehistoric era." As a Rector of the Heidelberg University, Bartholomae delivered on November 22, 1918 an address entitled *Zarathushtras Leben and Lehre*[44] in which he has thus expressed his considered opinion on the prophet's age: "so werden wir *Zarathushtras* Tätigkeit auf mindestens rund 900 v. Chr. hinaufrücken müssen."[45] While rejecting Hertel's far-fetched assertions on the date of Zoroaster, Charpentier declared: "The prophet of the Parsis must have lived somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1000-900 B.C., or, perhaps, even somewhat earlier."[46] And, last but not the least, Professer A. B. Keith has very ably exposed[47] only a few months back the weak points of the contentions of Olmstead, Lehmann-Haupt and Herzfeld, and maintained the claim of 1000—900 B.C. as the date of the Iranian prophet.

Personally I believe that the theory of 1000—900 B. C. as the age in which Zarathustra must have flourished is more natural and cogent in the light of modern researches, than the traditional date of the middle of the seventh century B.C. The Greek authors, who were in all probability the first among the outsiders to deal with Zoroaster, assign to him the fabulous date of 6000 B.C. This is admittedly extravagant; however, what is significant here, is the fact that in the fourth century B.C. Zarathustra had already become a personality belonging

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[42] See M. Patel in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* (New Series), Vol. I, part II, p. 86.

[43] *Encycl. Brit.* 11th ed, Vol 28, p. 1041

[44] Heidelberg (1924). An English translation of the same by Dr. J. M. Unwala appeared in a *Journal of the K. R Cama Oriental Institute.*

[45] P. 10.

[46] *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London (1925), Vol. III, pp. 747-55.

[47] *Indian Culture.* Vol. I, no. 1 pp. 103-106.

to hoary and mythical past and had been looked upon as a mystical seer-expounder of the secret wisdom. This is a strong point in favour of 1000 900 B.C., as against the seventh century B.C., for it clearly suggests that the late dating of the prophet Zarathustra was not current in the early Persian tradition.[48] Only during the Sassanian regime, the official theology attempted to fit Zarathustra in an absolutely fanciful order of time. The worthlessness of the tradition on this point has been admirably exposed by Ed. Meyer.[49]

In this connection Professor R. G. Kent's searching study[50] of the linguistic evidence contained in the gradual development of the name *Aurmazda* of the Persian inscriptions from the *Mazda Ahura*, or, more rarely, *Ahura Mazdah* (as district terms), is highly important inasmuch as it yields " some slight corroboration of the view that Zoroaster lived and preached not at the traditional dates, but about 1000 to 900 B.C."

It would, therefore, hardly be wrong to say that Zarathustra lived at least before the eight century B.C., probably a little before the first appearance of the Medes in Western Iran. The separation between the Indians and the Iranians was complete before Zarathustra's life-time, and the former were already established in their new home Moreover, the antiquity of the language of the *Gathas* in comparison with that of the *Rigveda* distinctly speaks for a still higher age.

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To sum up, let me make it clear that I have here discussed only the most important aspects of the three problems concerning the life of Zarathustra. A repetition of all the arguments brought previously to bear on these questions was clearly out of place here, and a fuller treatment is reserved for a book I am at present writing on

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[illegible] von Wesendonk, *Das Weltbild der Iranier*, Munchen (1933), pp. 61 ff., Keith, *ibid*, p. 106.

[illegible] *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, Vol. 42, pp. 1 ff.

50 *Oriental Studies, PAVRI*, pp. 200-08.

the Religion of Zarathustra. If I have not succeeded to offer a clear-cut solution of the problems raised in this paper, it is because of the intricacy of the subject and the issues involved therein. It is, I believe, more profitable and logical to keep an open mind on such a topic of historical importance than to be too dogmatic and doctrinaire.

III. ISLAMIC SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

A SURVEY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES IN THE EAST

By Dr. M. Nizamuddin, ph.d. (Cantab.),

Chairman of the Department of Persian, Member of the Firdawsi Congress (Irán), and Fellow of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan (India).

(*Synopsis.*)

1. The progress of Islamic Civilization and Culture.
2. The position of Arabic in the Islamic World.
3. The study of Arabic and Persian in the Near-East and the East.
4. Egypt as the Modern Home of Arabic.
5. The position of Persian in Iran, Afghanistan and India.
6. The growth and development of Persian Literature.
7. The Ideals of research in India—the old and the new schools.
8. A Review on the work of some of the Prominent Indian Institutions
9. Hyderabad as a centre of Indo-Islamic culture.
10. The Ideals of the Osmania University.
11. The position of the Urdu Language in India.
12. A few suggestions for its future development and expansion.

Friends,

I consider it a great privilege to have been asked to assist the Islamic Section in its deliberations, but when I see around me a galaxy of scholars, I feel extremely diffident to open my mind on such a vast subject as the Islamic Studies, a survey of which in our times is only possible by means of collaboration of a number of scholars who have devoted their lives to the study of various branches of learning and its manifold aspects, covered by

different languages which have been used in several countries as the vehicle of Islamic thought—Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu, German, French, English or any other Eastern or Western language.

When such is the vastness of the scope of our work touching every aspect of the activity of knowledge with which the sons of Islam, past and present, have been associated, it is incumbent upon me to dispel at the very outset any apprehension from any quarter that by the term of "Islamology" we mean to confine our activities only to the subject of the religion of Islam.

We are meeting in this beautiful seat of residence of an enlightened Prince, such as His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, whose illustrious Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, is an emblem of Hindu-Muslim unity and whose presence on the occasion in this hall is a clear evidence of his patronage of arts and letters; at a time when an All-India Federation is going to come very shortly to strengthen the political connection between the different communities of India, further and further as time goes on; and consequently the feeling that is uppermost in my mind, is that by the foundation of this confederation of the representatives of the various cultures working in India, will in the time to come give rise to a new culture which each of us may claim as his own; and thus solve the greatest difficulty created by racial, religious and cultural differences with which we are faced at this moment.

It is my pleasant duty to thank the General President, *Rao Bahadur* Dr. Krishnaswamy Iyengar, the General and Local Secretaries, the Members of the Executive Committee and the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, whose presence on this occasion is a great encouragement to me, for having given me an opportunity of meeting scholars from East and West in the calm atmosphere of the historic city of Mysore.

The Progress of Islamic Civilization and Culture.—You will permit me to make a distinction between Civili-

sation and Culture. Civilization, so far as I have understood the connotation of the term, is spiritual in character; and that of Culture material. Islám, as propounded by the Prophet of Arabia, tried in the course of its history to let the two aspects of life help each other. You will find in the best Islámic literature an expression of this attitude towards life. The present Islámic world constituted of Musalmans scattered over various parts of the globe, comprising the countries now known as Hijáz, Najd, Ommán, Iráq, Syria, Turkey, Irán, Afghánistán India, Turkestán Republic, Kirghiz (Siberia), Sin Kiang (China), Malay, Egypt, Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Sudán, West Africa, Southern Russia, Balkan States and several great metropolii of Europe, is the outcome of that great ideal which has so powerfully affected the mind of millions of people for the last thirteen centuries and over.

No religion has been without its stigmatizers and enemies; and Islam which claims as its preachers, prophets or messengers of God, as Moses, Abraham, Christ and Muhammad, have according to the nature of influence given to them in their respective times, afforded to mankind consolation in man's struggle for existence. The evolution of this ideal began with a spirit of isolation and the sense of nationality among the Jews. It advanced a further step in the time of Christ and took its final form in the time of Muhammad. The final message that was delivered by the Arabian Prophet was that he was a blessing to all mankind.

The Musalmans are composed of heterogeneous conglomeration of races, who according to their circumstances and necessities, follow their own way of material life. But they observe their great ideal of enforcing the harmony between their material and their spiritual existence. And that was why whenever Islam was at its height of influence, the simplicity of the Faith worked to express itself in the Musalmans' arts and sciences.

The Position of Arabic in the Islamic World.—In the days of the Prophet and his successors great stress was

had on the quest of knowledge, till at last the acquisition of which became a sacred duty with Muslims. When the Abbásid Empire was extending its activities to other walks of life, this onward movement was accompanied by an outburst of intellectual activity such as the East had never witnessed before. It seemed as if all the world from the Caliph down to the humblest citizen suddenly became students or at least patrons of literature. In the quest of knowledge, as Dr. Nicholson has pointed out in his survey of Arabic Literature, men travelled over three continents and returned home, like bees laden with honey, to distribute the precious stores which they had accumulated from accomplished scholars, and to compile with incredible industry those works of encyclopaedic range and erudition from which modern science, in the widest sense of the word, has derived far more than is generally supposed.

Along with the conquests of Islám, its culture also spread with amazing rapidity. One of the potent factors in this process of Islámization of different countries is the Arabic language. The Qurán, being the root of all religious knowledge, exercised a unique influence on the learning of the Muslim world; till at last Islám and Arabic became synonymous. Reasons for this were several. A thorough understanding of the tenets of Islám required a good deal of the knowledge of Arabic. Arabic in itself was a language which was potentially at its zenith in the group of Semitic languages. The Hebrew getting out of date and incapable of expressing the new ideals infused by Islám in its latest phase, Arabic became the Greek of the Semitic world. The study of the Qurán led to the development of various sciences in Islám The Traditions of the Prophet, and the Muslim law further involved a thorough knowledge of Arabic. Thus Arabic became a universal medium for all the Muslim peoples.

The Muslims had inherited the classical idiom through Pre-Islamic poetry, the Qurán, and the Traditions of the Prophet, but when the territorial expansion of Islám

modified the idiom and under the Abbásids the Hellenistic and Persian influences extended the boundaries of Islamic knowledge to exotic sciences, Arabic became a very comprehensive language, embracing in it a vast literature covering Philology, Lexicology, Phonetics, Exegesis of the Qurán, Prosody, Grammar, Sciences of Tradition, Theology, Law, Jurisprudence, Islamic Mysticism (Sufism), Belles lettres, Philosophy, Logic, Medicine, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Astronomy, Astrology, Music, Mechanics, Alchemy and even Magic. All these were thoroughly assimilated into the complex Arabo-Persian culture of the Abbasids, which may be rightly termed as Islámic learning.

A glance at the chapters of the *Fihrist* of Ibn-i-Nadím, the Bibliography of Hajji Khalfa, Brockelmann's *Geschichteder Arabischen litteratur*, Ethe and Ellis's Catalogues of the Arabic Mss. and Printed Books in the British Museum, India Office and the Bodleian Library and the catalogues of various treasure houses of the East and the West will show the amount of literature that was produced in the past. Unhappily through the ravages of time only a small portion of it has come down to us. It is the study of these works that have fortunately survived the vandalism of man, the cruelty of nature, the neglect of its inheritors; and the understanding of these spiritual, intellectual, social, historical, philosophical, and scientific movements of the past that we now aim as Orientalist to resuscitate.

The Study of Arabic and Persian in the Near-East and the East.—There are various reasons for the study of Arabic and Persian in the Near-East and the Asiatic countries, the first being religious and the other temporal. All those countries which have come directly under the influence of Islám regard it as a sacred duty to know the teachings of their religion, three-quarters of which is treasured in Arabic and Persian. Secondly the temporal necessity makes it incumbent on the people of Egypt, Arabia, Afghánistán, Persia, and India to study these

languages as languages of culture and medium of polite expression. In this category I may include the academic interest in the classics of the past which is shown in various centres of learning and Oriental Institutions. An accomplished gentleman is expected to know both these languages. Those who know Persian are bound to know Arabic as Persian has drawn on the Arabic vocubulary largely. Thus these two languages have exercised great humanising influence on the Orient.

Egypt as the Modern Home of Arabic.—If I may be allowed to divide the centres of the influence of these languages according to the geographical units, I would first take Egypt, the modern home of Arabic, which exerts a great influence on the Arabic speaking or Arabic knowing world of today. With the Egyptian Arabic is a national language just as much with an Arab as with a Syrian or an Iráqi or a Hijázi or a Moraccan. The fate of the Near-Eastern countries, I believe, is linked together with Arabic. Though Damascus, Beyrout. Baghdad, Jerusalem and Madina are showing signs of improvement, Cairo leads them all. The old College of al-Azhar, the modern Egyptian University, State patronage, strong public opinion and a virile Press, political and social institutions and scholars of great fame are all adding to the glory of Arabic in Egypt, where the basis of national unity is not religion but a common language and a common culture.

In spite of the fact that Egypt has been thoroughly modernised and has imbibed Western influences in some respects even more than Turkey and being a cosmopolitan country, and standing mid-way between the high waters of the East and West, and been long a pawn in European diplomacy, she has retained her language with greater tenacity than any other country of the East. The Egyptian Arabic is the most advanced of the Eastern languages. It has been tried in various walks of life and has been adapted to *almost all the activities—political, social, historical*, scientific, journalistic and literary. It has

been proved as a great force in the emancipation of thought and in the enlightenment of human soul.

By contact of Western ideals and the receptivity of the Egyptians, a literary renaissance has been brought about lately. A new school of prose has been founded by writers like the late Muftí Shaykh Muḥammad Abduh, the great social reformer, Sa'd Zaghlul, the great liberator of the Egyptian nation, Aḥmad Zakí Páshá, patron of letters, Jurjí Zaydàn, famous writer, novelist and the champion of the Egyptian Press, Aḥmad Amín, Alí Abdu'r-Ráziq, Ṭaḥá Husain, apostles of free thought, Rashíd Rizá, Manfaluṭi, Khalíl Maṭrán, Faríd Wajdí, Amín Rayḥání and other scholars. Even poetry is not on the wane. The schools of Shawqí and Háfiz Ibráhím are holding their odds against Western influences.

The output of classical publications, modern literature, and the journalistic world of Egypt practically controls the whole of the Arabic world. One has to admit that quality in certain respects is being sacrificed for the sake of quantity. Research of a highly scientific type as is found in European centres is seldom met with in modern Arabic. In other respects the busy literary life of Cairo can vie with any Eastern or European centre of culture The newspaper, the magazine, the novel, the talkies, the posters in the streets, the drama on the stage, speeches from public and private platforms, conventional ceremonies, official correspondence, social intercourse are all in Arabic. Similarly Damascus and Beyrout, the other two great literary centres, are exerting a very healthy influence on the growth and development of the Arabic language. Notwithstanding the influence of French, Arabic has gained an International status in the League of Eastern Languages.

The Position of Persian in the Eastern Countries.— Another great classical language of a different family, *i.e.*, the Indo-Aryan Group which comes under our purview and has exercised an enormous influence in the spreading of Islámic learning, is Persian which took its birth in

Iran. In fact it was the Persian genius in its early stages that embellished Islámic literature which we have shortly dealt with.

We need not at this stage enter into the causes which brought about the revival of Persian culture during the Abbásid rule, but have only to see its effect on the literature of the country. When the Abbásid Empire was weakened after Mutwakkil and their control over Persia became nominal, the Ṣaffárids, the Sámánids, the Ghaznawids, the Ghúrids, the Khwárazmsháhs and the Saljúqs laid hands on various parts of Persia in different periods. Out of national zeal for self-expression was evolved a language from the elements of Pahlawi and Arabic—the modern Persian.

The growth and development of Persian may be divided into five stages. The first epoch, The Age of Rúdakí, showed that the language was in its making and was distinctly archaic in its features, when all forms of poetry and prose were being evolved on the lines of the Arabic language. The second period was the Golden Age of Persian, (1000-1258 A.D.) in which almost all the classical works were written, and the language covered nearly the whole range of Muslim sciences either through translation or imitation of the Arabic models. In certain branches, especially, poetry, it excelled the root language. New forms of expression, figures of speech and ideas were introduced by the admixture of the Arabic and Persian culture. It sometimes appeared as a revolt against the literary dominance of Arabian or Semitic culture.

The literature of this period was essentially the outcome of royal patronage in which the person of the king and his courtiers played a great part. Thus before the downfall of the Abbásid Caliphate and the onslaught of Mongols, Persia had produced inimitable models of classical poetry and prose in every branch of human knowledge. Let Browne, Rieu, Pertsch, Ethé and other scholars speak for the importance of the literary production of this period.

The third epoch of Persian literature which begins with the Tartar dominion and ends with Timūr is of a complex nature. It was no doubt a period of social and political degradation; but it is surprising to note that the greatest of the Ṣūfistic works were written at that time, side by side with accounts of the martial exploits of its marauderіng conquerors in the pages of histories which have been a source of great knowledge to mankind. Although the output of this period is large, much of it is of a secondary nature and does not bear that stamp of originality or freedom of thought either in poetry or prose as is shown in the writings of the earlier period. As a matter of fact pompous phraseology, verbal nicety and hiding of truth was the principal aim of the artist of that period. Exceptions need not detain us here.

We come now to the fourth or the Safawi and Mughal period of Persian literature in which Persian played a great part in moulding the culture of Persia, Turkey and India. In these centres the interest varied. In Persia under the Safawids it was used as a weapon of national reconstruction and spiritual amelioration; in Turkey under the patronage of the Caliphs as a cultural background and treasure house of advanced thought; in India during the the Mughal rule as a social and political necessity and a means of common official and literary expression.

Peculiarities and striking differences in modes of expression marked these spheres of influences of Persian, but its integral features remained the same. No doubt from the linguistic point of view, the superiority of pure Persian of Persia should be acknowledged, but when we find that Persia was not able to produce such gems of literature under the Ṣafawid rule as the Mughal patronage gave rise to in India, we have to admit the cultural value of Indian Persian.

During the fifth or the last phase of Persian literature which coincides with Constitutionalism and national awakening of Islámic countries, we notice that India and Turkey had no political interest in it, and it is only ruling

the destinies of Persia and Afghánistán. It is gradually coming under European influences. It has become more utilitarian than artistic in its aim and purpose. It has been made simpler and natural so that it may appeal to the political and social sense of the nation and subserve to modern necessities of life. The Millenary Celebrations in honour of Firdawsí and the "*Farhangistàn*" Academy as I have elsewhere pointed out, are direct proofs of this new movement. Very recently under the Pahlawí regime, it is again going to assume a means of national regeneration.

Next comes Afghánistán, another Persian speaking country. The position of Persian in Afghánistán is assured. It will, for want of a better medium, remain the language of the country. The Persian in Afghánistán lies between the modern idiom of Persia and the stilted style of India owing to its geographical situation. From what we can judge, the translations of popular European scientific works by Mahmúd Ṭarzi and the New School of the Literary Society of Kábul, we see signs of change and tendencies to revive the past glories of Ghazna and Ghúr. Original writers and poets are very few and the development is rather very slow.

The interest of India in Persian nowadays is purely cultural and academic. It is no more the spoken language of any part of India. But being the basis of Islamic culture and the custodian of classical lore, Indian History and Mughal traditions, it is being studied in both Oriental and modern fashion in various centres of learning.

Ideals of Research in India.—Friends, I cannot pass on without making a few observations on a very vital point which touches research studies in general. In India critical studies are being carried on in two ways: one is the traditional method which is preferred by the old school and the other is the scientific method which is invariably adopted by the modern scholar.

The old school is pursuing its object on more or less conventional lines, paying more attention to traditional

information than critical investigation. Depth of knowledge and profound attachment to ideals is the characteristic feature of this school; but lack of proportion and methodical investigation, want of historical insight and dispassionate criticism mar the value of their works. Some of their theories cannot stand the test of modern criticism.

The new school is influenced by western methods of criticism and ideals of research, and pays more attention to historical knowledge, minute investigation and thorough results. There is a method in this madness. The scholar of this type is never satisfied with the existing material and becomes a sceptic. Much of his energy is wasted in search of material and other preliminaries which the old school scoffs. A distrust of European research degrees is being created in the minds of the Indian public as specialisation in the eyes of the old school means ignorance of other subjects. The modern scholar is expected by them to deal with any problem off-hand and to have a "comprehensive knowledge" of each and every subject.

Apart from the controversial merits of the old and the new school, research is a highly dispassionate process of investigation. Its essence is revelation of truth. The worker should get rid himself of preconceived notions and be guided only by the material in hand without supplementing anything on conjectural basis. The scholar has actually to begin from a point where the knowledge of his predecessor in the line ends. He has first to carefully survey the existing literature on the subject, analyse facts and construct his theory on a definite basis. He has to make a permanent contribution to knowledge which should serve as a guide to the future worker. His theories should stand the test of time. This is the scientific method of research which a true scholar should invariably follow. Considerations of contemporary events, creed and colour, superiority of culture and material advancement are the last items in the programme of his work.

Happily a few critical studies of the modern school which have won international reputation have been brought out by Indian scholars during the last decade. On the Arabic side the critical edition of the *Diwán* of Hasan Ibn Hání by Dr. Záhid 'Alí, Professor of Arabic, Nizam College, of the *Lisán ul-'Arab* (in collaboration with other Egyptian scholars) by Mawlawí 'Abdúl-'Azíz Maiman of Aligarh are worthy of note. Two other works on Persian have already been published in the Gibb Memorial Series, the first is the critical edition of *Ráḥatúṣ-Sudúr* by Prof. M. Iqbál and the other is the Introduction to the *Jawámi'úl-Hikayat* of 'Awfí by myself.[1] There are other scholarly works on these subjects done in Europe which I would very much like to mention, but for want of time I shall confine myself to a few observations on the work of Indian scholars and Indian institutions only.

Prominent Indian Institutions.—India possesses several prominent institutions which are carrying on research and education on oriental or occidental line, have kept the torch of learning alive and produced a number of scholars and works worthy of mention. The Idára-i-Ma'árif-i-Islámiyya, the Anjuman-i-Himáyat-i-Islám, the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, the Oriental College at Lahore, the Dárúl-Musannifín or the Shiblí Academy at Azamgarh, the Nadwatúl-'Ulma at Lucknow, the Muslim University at Aligarh, the Urdú Academy of the Jamiá Milliyya at Delhi, the Departments of Islámic studies and of Arabic and Persian in the Universities of Calcutta, Dacca, Allahabad, and other provinces, the Hindustání Academy, Allahabad, Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Bombay, Oriental Library at Bankipore, the Dáíratúl-Ma'árif, the Islámic Culture Board, the Persian Manuscripts Society, the Madrasa-i-Nizámiyya, the Iḥyá úl-Ma'árif-un-Númániyya, the Quránic World society, the Archaeological Department of H. E. H. the Nizam's

[1] *Sultán Maḥmud of Ghazná* by Dr. M. Nazim, and the *Influence of Arabic Poetry in Persian Poetry* by Dr. M. Daudpota are also worthy of note.

Dominions, the Osmania University, the Translation Bureau, the Asáfiyya Library, the Sálár Jang Library, the State Archives in Hyderabad, Deccan, the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i Urdū at Aurangabad, the Islámic Research Society of Bombay and the Muslim Educational Association of Southern India in Madras are all pointing to a revival of research studies, educational reform, and linguistic and cultural progress of India. The activities of some of these institutions are a great credit to Indian scholarship. Considerations of space and time do not allow me to throw light on all these institutions in detail.

Literary Activities of the Province of the Panjáb.

The province of the Panjáb claims our attention first. In addition to its meritorious services in the past, it is continually serving the cause of Islámic studies and the teaching of the Arabic, Persian, Sanskrit and other Indian languages with great skill and energy. India owes a great debt to the literary societies of the Panjáb. Sir Muḥammad Iqbál's name is an honour to Islámic studies. There is no Islámic institution in the East or West where Sir Muḥammad's works are not studied with benefit. He is the only modern philosopher poet of Islám which the world has produced in our times. His Herculian attempt to reconcile the claims of Religion against Science and to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy on modern rationalistic and scientific lines is an achievement in the annals of human thought. He is an apostle of progressive Islám. He has rightly understood the spirit of Islámic civilization and is interpreting its inner sense according to his own reading. His position as a poet with a message is undoubtedly established through his poetical works. India is not yet fully awakened to the recognition of his genius.

I shall only refer to a few institutions in which he has infused his spirit, although every institution and scholar in the Panjáb is indebted to him in one way or

the other. Very recently under his auspices and through the co-operation of a group of Islámic scholars and ardent devotees of knowledge like Sir Shaykh Abdul-Qádir, Mr. Abdullah Yúsuf Alí, Nawab Sadr Yár Jang Bahádur (Habibur-Raḥmán Khán Sherwání) Mawlawí Sayyid Sulaymán Nadwí, Prof. M. Shafi, Dr. M. Iqbál, Dr. Ṣadruddin, Prof. Qází Fazl-i-Haqq, Dr. Barkat Alí Quaraishí and Prof. Maḥmud Sheráni and others has been inaugurated the Idàra-i-Ma'árif-i-Islamiyya, an institution which was most needed in India for the revival of Islámic studies and for a correct interpretation of Indo-Islamic culture.

The first session of the Idara was held in April 1933, the next is going to be held in April 1936. The volume of its Proceedings is the result of mature scholarship and thorough investigation I appeal through this sister institution to the keen sense of Indian scholarship to avail this opportunity and make it a central organization for the Islámic world.

The University of the Punjáb is another great centre of Oriental studies in the North with its Oriental College, Islamiyya College and the University Library and several rasearch societies. The University has been systematically training generations of students in Islámic, Sanskritic studies and maintaining the prestige of classical and Indian languages with modern necessities of education and conferring highest diplomas and degrees in those subjects. On the journalistic side, the Oriental College Magazine, Part I (Arabic, Persian and Urdu section) should be given credit for its brilliant results during the last ten years. Similarly the Oriental Publications of the University in Arabic and Persian are worthy of mention as they include historical texts, indexes of classical and standard works and biographical sketches of famous writers, *viz.*

[illegible]nalytical Indexes to the 'Iqdu'l-Faríd of Ibn Abd-[illegible]

[illegible]íd ul-Khizána or an index of the works quoted in the Kh[illegible]nat ul-Adab of Abdu'l-Qadir-al-Baghdádí.

(3) A critical edition of the Tatimma-i-Suwânul-Hikmat of Alî b. Zayd al-Baihaqî.

(4) A critical edition of the Akhbâr-ud-Dawlati's-Saljuqiyya by Ṣadruddîn Abu'l-Hasan 'Alî.

(5) The Majmu'a-i-Naghz or Biographical notices of Urdu poets by Mir Qudrutullah Qâsim.

(6) Life and works of Amîr Khusraw by Dr. Wahîd Mirza.

All these works have been undertaken by scholars of great fame.

Other Universities.

Bengal.—Another University which has a specific chair for Islâmic studies and a strong group of zealous workers is the Calcutta University. Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi occupies the chair instituted by the Government of Bengal in memory of the great patron of research studies, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee. His studies on the scientific works and the Tradition Literature (Hadîth) are of momentous consequence.

Similarly a chair for Islâmic studies through the munificence of H. E. H. the Nizam has been instituted at the Santiniketan by the efforts of the grand old philosopher poet of India Dr. Rabindranath Tagore.

United Provinces.--Other Universities in the North which have a great claim on the scientific study of Arabic and Persian are the Universities of Allahabad, Patna, Dacca, Aligarh and Lucknow, Dr. Abdu's Sattâr Siddiqî, Dr. Azîmuddîn Aḥmad, Prof. S. Mu'âzzam Husain, Dr. Hâdî Husan, Mawlawi Abdu'l-Aziz Maiman, Dr. Waḥîdi Mirzâ, Dr. S. Ja'far Husain and others deserve all praise from us for their meritorious services.

Deccan.—In no other Indian University, so far as I can survey, "Islâmic Learning" in its original sense *i.e.*, theology, is being imparted on modern lines as in the Theology Faculty of the Osmania University, Hyderabad-Deccan. The history of this Faculty is as follows. At the inception of the Osmania University, the old Dâr-ul-Ulum College was converted into a new Faculty and the

old diploma courses changed into degree course with English and other modern educational subjects being made compulsory. The staff consists of scholars selected from various parts of India for their eminence in the subject. Along with scholars of the old school, those trained in Egyptian and other European Universities are carrying on the teaching of special branches of Muslim learning. Tafsír, Hadíth, Fiqh and Kalám. Post-M.A., and higher work is also being conducted under the supervision of the Research Board of the Osmania University. The thesis of one of the scholars, Dr. Hamídullah, on Muslim International Law was accepted by the University of Bonn for a doctorate and another thesis of Mr. Md. Ghawth on Muslim Law of Torts or *Jinâyât* is acknowledged by experts as a real contribution to the Fiqh literature. Two other students from the Arabic Department are prosecuting research in Egypt, others from the Persian and the Urdu Departments have also obtained doctorate from the University of London.

The Dáru'l-Musannifín, Azamgarh.

Next in order comes the Academy founded in memory of the late Mawlána Shiblí, now known as the Dáru'l-Musannifín. The institution has championed the cause of Islâmic studies more than any in India. It has issued a series of works monumental in character which will go down to the Urdu knowing generations as masterpieces of the period. The historical studies of the life of the Prophet and the heroes of Islâm which were intended for the Muslim public are a credit to this institution. Other literary, social and religious problems that have been dealt with by the learned academicians of this society have been written from a popular point of view except in the case of a few books which were originally intended for scholars. The output of this institution is larger than that of any in India. We have nothing but admiration for this band of scholars who have selflessly devoted themselves to the cause of Islámic learning. The *Ma'árif*

being their organ serves the purpose of a harbinger of Islámic spirit to the Urdu speaking world. Mawlawi Sulaymán Nadwí is the moving force of this institution. All Indian Muslims are indebted to him for his zeal and learning which has been manifested in various ways.

Another beacon of Islámic learning who had devoted himself to the study of the Qur'ánic Sciences was the late Mawlawi Ḥamíduddín. The Synthetical process of the Exegisis of the Qur'án which he promulgated will always remain as a model of constructive scholarship.

Yet another scholar of great fame and influence in the Islámic circles and whose services to Islámic studies have been of immense importance is Nawwab Ṣadr Yar Jang Bahadur. He is the moving spirit of All-India Muslim Educational Conference and needs no further introduction.

Hyderabad as a Centre of Indo-Islamic Culture.

The next great centre of learning, culture and enlightenment to which the North has always been looking for help is Hyderábád-Deccan. There has been no social, political, religious, literary, and educational movement in India which has not been morally and materially supported by the State. Under the enlightened patronage of that Prince of Scholars, Sulṭan ul-Ulum, His Exalted Highness the Nizám, Hyderábád has progressed to the astonishment of British India. The State is fortunate enough to enlist the services of the best minds of India. Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari's name will always be remembered as one of the makers of modern Hyderábád. Problems which are facing British India, are being successfully solved here. Hyderábád represents the best traditions of Indo-Islámic Culture. An Intellectual Federation which India needs most can be realised through the example of Hyderábád. In no part of India one finds a greater harmony of clashing interests, divergent institutions and traditions than in Hyderábád.

At this stage I will only confine myself to the literary revival and cultural unity that have been brought about recently in Hyderábád, and shall recount the activities of an institution which has revolutionised educational ideals the Osmánia University, and also express my views on the present linguistic problem which is confronting India today.

As regards purely Islámic studies in Arabic there is no greater institution in India than the Dáirat u'l-Ma'árif, which has happily acquired the services of Prof. F. Krenkow and other famous Orientalists. This institution has recently surveyed valuable Arabic Mss. in the Islámic world and is launching on a five-yearly programme of work. It has already published more than eighty works of monumental character written by classical authors. The importance of the activities of this famous academy of Islámic learning will be better represented by its delegate, Mr. S. Háshim Nadwí. Connected with the literary side of this institution is the compiler of a bio-bibliographical survey of Islámic authors, Mawlawí Mahmud Hasan Khán, of Tawnk whose *Mu'jam ul-Musannifín* in Arabic has been published in parts.

An important organ of Islámic studies is the "*Islámic Culture*" which is being capably edited by Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall and contributed by various scholars of international reputation. The object of this review is to provide a rallying point for Orientalists and students of Islám in every part of the globe. A glance at the nine annual volumes will convince the reader of the variety of the subjects, the standard of the articles and the acumen of its contributors. It is now recognised as one of the best quarterlies on Islámic subjects, and has established its reputation amongst Oriental scholars of the world.

Another achievement in this line is "*The Glorious Koran*" an explanatory translation of the Holy Book by the learned editor of *Islámic Culture*, Mr. Pickthall, whose lectures on "*The Cultural Side of Islám*" delivered under the auspices of the Madras Muslim Association, reveal the essence of Islámic civilization.

An institution of an older type, the al-Azhar of Hyderábád is the Madrasa-i-Nizámiyyah which has produced a number of scholars who are now engaged in Islámic studies. This institution can also be revived if modern methods of education are introduced in it and can serve as a good theological seminar in India.

Other institutions exclusively devoted to the study of religious subjects in Hyderábád, are the Iḥyá u'l-Ma'árif un-Nu'mániyya, for the study of Sunní works, and the Universal Quranic movement.

There are other undertakings of purely literary and historical character not connected with religious studies which Hyderabad is patronising. I will mention only a few of them.

The Persian Manuscripts Society.

The chief object of this scholarly institution is to preserve and publish unique Persian historical manuscripts. It has recently been organised by a small group of efficient workers As yet under the auspices of this Society the *Tughlaq-Námah* of Amír Khusraw has been edited by Mr. Sayyid Háshimí and the *Burhán-i-Maâthir* of 'Azízullah Tabátabá is under publication. Other works of similar nature are under contemplation.

The Farhang-i-Nizàm.

A modern dictionary of the Persian language is another huge literary project which is engaging the attention of Prof. Âqa S. Muḥammad Alí Dâí-úl-Islám, formerly of the Nizam College, three volumes of which have already been published at the expense of the Nizam's Government. The remaining are in preparation.

The Urdu Dictionary.

Another undertaking of the same nature financed by the Government, is the dictionary of the Urdú language which is being compiled by Prof. Abdúl Haqq, of the Osmania University and the Secretary of the Anjuman-i-

Taraqqi-i-Urdú. We only hope that these works will be completed soon and prove useful as individual contributions to knowledge.

The Archæological Department of Hyderabad.

An institution of prime importance and international reputation is the Archæological Department of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, which is rendering meritorious service to the cause of Indo-Muslim Culture and preserving common national monuments in the Dominions on most scientific lines. The name of Mr. Ghulám Yazdání, the Director of the department, the famous editor of the Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica and the reviver of Ajanta and Ellora is sufficient to show the importance of the Department.

The Ideals of the Osmania University.

Friends! before I close the account of the literary revival in Hyderabad and speak of the Osmania University it is my duty to point out that neither this University is an Islamic institution, nor Urdú is a language of purely Islamic origin which has now been brought within the purview of the Islamic Section of this Conference, in the absence of any separate arrangement for it. As this language is fulfilling a high function in the Osmania University with which I have the honour to be associated, I shall with your permission make a few observations on the subject.

The Osmania University is a University of non-denominational character and of a unitary type. It is named after the illustrions ruler and its founder, the patron of Arts and Sciences. His Exalted Highness Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan Bahadur, Asaf-Jah VII, the Nizam of Hyderabad-Deccan, and is not as is erroneously held in uninformed quarters an "Urdú University" where the study of the Urdú language and literature is exclusively pursued. Its chief distinction lies in this that it imparts knowledge in all the branches of learning, arts and sciences

through the medium of the Urdú language. It embodies an educational ideal which for long had engaged the minds of the great educationalists of India, *viz.*, provision of knowledge to the youth of our country through a language of the country which can be more easily assimilated than through a foreign tongue. The success that has attended the working of this ideal so far, has had, as you all know, its beneficent reaction on some of the sister Universities in this country.

I may refer here to the great message Dr. Tagore out of his concern for national unity conveyed at the time of the inception of this University to the Rt. Hon. Sir Akbar Hydari, the moving spirit of this University and the inspirer of several educational and cultural reforms in the Dominions of H.E.H. the Nizam.

"I have long been waiting for the day when freed from the shackles of a foreign language, our education becomes naturally accessible to all our people. As it is, our countrymen are being punished for the original sin of being born to their mother-tongue. They are deprived of their opportunity of higher education because of an accident of which they must not have cause to be ashamed or sorry. So long as the present condition prevails in India, there can be no hope of our country ever finding its true place in the common-wealth of culture.

"It is a problem for the solution of which we look to our Native States, and it gives me great joy to know that your State proposes to found a University in which instruction is to be given through the medium of Urdú. It is needless to say that your scheme has my fullest approbation, especially as I know that your example will be of great help to those outside your State, who cry in the wilderness despised by the prudent."

The truth of this message has been freely admitted by the educationalists who have had occasion to visit Hyderabad and acquaint themselves with the working of this grand ideal, prominent among whom may be mentioned: Sir Philip Hartog, Mr. G H. Langley,

Dr. Narendra Nath Law, The Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir C. V. Raman, Sir P. C. Ray, Sir J. C. Bose, Dr. S. S Bhatnagar, Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore and Dr. A. H. Mackenzie.

As I have pointed out at the outset people of different races, creeds and cultures have come close together by adopting a common medium of expression and evolved a common culture. Such a change has more or less been effected in the history of an age-long relationship between the different peoples who have made India their home. The Osmania University is but a visible aspect of this gradual transformation. Here one can feel that spirit of united freedom, liberty of thought and high ideals which make the Hindu, the Muslim, the Parsee, the Christian and the Sikh student drink alike at the same fountain of knowledge and learn Arts and Sciences, and Philosophy and religion in a language understood by a vast section of the Indian people. A University, as the Greeks have held, is a seat of universal learning. So no language, whether English or French or German or any other can claim the monopoly of knowledge. For this very reason a Professor in a modern University is expected to know the literature of his subject irrespective of language and to impart his thoughts on a particular problem in a method most natural to the student and in a language most acceptable to him. It is earnestly hoped by the promoters of the Osmania University that the pioneer work that it has been doing to restore a sense of dignity to the acquisition of knowledge through an Indian language may influence the other languages of the country and bring about a renaissance, unaffected by narrow visions and local considerations.

This leads me to another interesting point in the language problem of India which we have to consider in a purely educational spirit. Should we identify any language with the interest of any community or creed or race and pollute the sacred name of knowledge? Should we go by the character of the subject-matter or by the

language and script in which the matter is written; by the intrinsic appeal of the subject-matter or by the susceptibilities of particular sections of the people and their sentimental attachment to any particular language?

I am sure you will agree with me that a major part of the people of India speak and understand one common language, called Urdú or Hindustani. Is there any other Indian language of the range of Urdú prevalent in India of which this can be said? I dare say that a fresh linguistic survey of India on proper lines will establish this beyond dispute. Then why not join hands in strengthening this common language by keeping dialectal variations and provincial admixtures in proper check?

Friends! before we close our session, I shall feel highly grateful, if you will express your frank opinion in regard to the future development of our language. You will certainly admit the necessity of organised work in widening its scope and furthering its usefulness by the establishment of a Central Academy of a truly representative character that can inspire the necessary confidence among those interested in its progress, and discharge its duties unhampered by petty provincialism of any kind. One certainly appreciates the work done by the several institutions already in the field, like the Translation Bureau of the Osmania University, the Hindustani Academy at Allahabad, the Urdú Academy of the Jamia Milliah in Delhi, Dárul-Muśannifin at Āzamgarh and the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi-i-Urdu at Aurangabad; but one would like to see, all the same, an All-India organisation established in this country, under the auspices of which the language may make the desired advance and become a magnificent scientific vehicle of thought and expression in all the branches of learning.

In order to improve the language, it is necessary that its inherent defects of Grammar, Phonetics and Script should be removed and its terminology simplified and made elastic. Also a common script and a common name are evidently in need of adoption by mutual consent.

There now remains the question of literature in Urdú which also needs improvement on modern lines. For this, it is essential that standard works on different subjects existing in European languages should be translated into Urdù. A standard Dictionary and a modern Encyclopædia should be compiled in collaboration by competent scholars and authorities. A comprehensive scientific nomenclature should also be devised by specialists and codified. Side by side, a right taste for literature should be cultivated among our people and the literati and for this a class of writers gifted by nature and having before them high ideals of certain progressive sections of European literature should be raised by adequate encouragement afforded to them by the general intel-igentsia of the country.

Above all, the spirit of research should be fostered in our centres of learning, for it is through research only that a language can be a source of dynamic intellectual utility to a rising nation.

Friends! I thank you again for the kind hearing you have given me today.

THE GLORY OF ARABIC LITERATURE

By Dr. M. Z. Siddiqi,
H.A., M.A., B.L., PH.D. (Cantab),
Sir Asutosh Prof. of Islamic Culture, Calcutta University.

"The glory of Mohammadan literature," says Dr. Sprenger, "is its literary biography. There is no nation, nor there has been any," he adds, "which, like them, has, during 12 centuries, narrated the life of every man of letters."[1] Prof. Margoliouth remarks, "In Baghdad when an eminent man died there was a market for biographies of him somewhat similar as is the case in the capitals of Europe in our time." "The literature which consists in collected biographies," he adds, "is abnormally large."[2]

The origin of this rich literature in Arabic, is to be traced not to any foreign influence, Greek, Syrian or otherwise, but to the religious enthusiasm of the Muslims, particularly the Arabs. During the very life-time of their Prophet they had shown anxiety to know as much about his life as was possible. After his death their serious desire to learn the details of his life and activities increased. "The life of the Prophet," as Von Kramer says, "his discourses, his utterances, his actions, his silent approvals, and even his passive conduct constituted next to the Quran, the second most important source of law for the young Muslim Arabian empire."[3] This keen desire of the

[1] Isaba, Vol I, Int.

[2] Arabic Historians, pp. 7-8.

[3] Orients Under the Caliph, p. 269.

Muslims led to the compilation of the biography of the Prophet, and soon after that, to that of those who reported matters relating to his life and activities.

The earliest attempt to collect materials relating to the biography of the Prophet was made before the end of the first century of the Hijra, as Prof. Horovitz has shown in his illuminating article on the subject.[1] Abàn the son of the Caliph Uthmán and Urwa the son of al-Zubayr were the first to collect such materials. Soon after them Wahb wrote a book on the subject, a fragment of which is preserved at Heidelburg in Germany. Wahb was followed by numerous biographies of. the Prophet in the 2nd, the 3rd and the following centuries.

The biographies of the Prophet prepared the way for the biographies of the other important men of Islam—Caliphs, Kings, Theologians, Traditionists and others. Many of these biographical works are mentioned by Ibn-al-Nadim, Haji Khalifa and others.

The same religious enthusiasm, however, which had led to the compilation of the biographies of the Prophet. also had been the cause of the composition of the Biographical Dictionaries in Arabic. In order to test the reliability of those who reported matters relating to the life and conduct of the Prophet, it was thought necessary to know their life, career and character. Those who specialised in the reports of the sayings and doings of the Prophet therefore, collected also materials relating to the biographies of the transmitters of these reports and compiled their Biographical Dictionaries.

The earliest of these Biographical Dictionaries and the date of its compilation are not known. But Prof. Horovitz has shown that the earliest work of the kind was composed about the middle of the 2nd century of the Hijra,[2] and Otto Loth who was the first European Orientalist to take a serious notice and point out to the

[1] Islamic Culture, Vol. I, pp. 530, 548; cf Tabaqat-u-b. Sad Vol. 3, Teil 1, pp. v-xxix.

[2] Der Islam, Vol. VIII, p. 47.

world the great importance of the Tabaqat of b. Sad, says: "Such registers of the Transmitters of Traditions as had been chronologically arranged and in which every Muslim Traditionist received a definite place, had been already in the 2nd century, in common use among the Traditionists, as indispensable handbooks."[1] Such, however, must have been the Hitab-al-Tarikh of Abd-allah b. al-Mubarak (d. 181—796) and of Layth b. Sad (165-175· 781-791) and many of the works of al-Wàqidi and of Haytham b. Adi (d. 207—822).[2]

But unfortunately, all these works have been lost.

The earliest of these works received by us is the Kitáb-al-Tabaqát-al Kabír or The Great Book of Classes (of the Narrators) which has been admirably described by two distinguished German scholars Mr. Otto Loth[3] and Professor Ed. Sachau[4] and has been published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences with the united efforts of nine enthusiastic Orientalists of Germany.

The compiler of this great Biographical Dictionary of the Narrators, Muhammed b. Sád b. Muni'al-Zubrí belonged to a family of Babylonian slaves who had been made free by their master Husayn the grand son of Ubaydalláh b. Abbás. Ibn Sa'd himself was born at Basra and was attracted by the charms of Traditions at an early age. He travelled in its pursuit through Cufa, Mecca and Medina where he stayed for a pretty long time. At the end he came to Baghdád where he came in close touch with al-Wáqidi one of the indefatigable early Arab historians, and worked as his literary assistant for a pretty long time which gave him his title Kátib-al-Wáqidí (the Secretary of al-Wàqidi). He soon gained reputation as a historian and traditionist and attracted a band of scholars who studied traditions with him. Among them are included al-Baládhuní (d. 279—892), Hárith b. Muḥammad

[1] Z.D.M G. Vol 23, p, 600.

[2] al-Fihrist, pp. 99, 100, 232.

[3] Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd, Leipzig, 1869.

[4] Tabaqatu-b. Sa'd, Vol. III, Part I, Int pp. XXX et. seq.

b. Abí Usáma (186-282—802-895), Husayn b. Fahm (211-289—826-901), and Abu Bakr b. Abi'l-Dunyá. He died at Baghdad at the age of sixty-two in the year 230—844.[1]

Ibn Sa'd was a keen student of Tradition; knew and narrated a large number of them and collected a rich library. "Of the four collectors of the works of Ibn Sad" says al-Khaṭíb-al-Baghdàdí, "Ibn Sa'd had been the first and foremost."[2]

He made the best use of his vast learning and rich library in compiling his own works. Two of them the Kitábu-Akhbár-al-Nabiyy, and the Kitab-al-Tabaqát are mentioned by Ibn-al-Nadím,[3] and a third—a smaller edition on the latter is mentioned by al-Nawawí and others[4]; but it is not known to exist.

The first of these books which constitutes only a part of the second, was compiled and completed by the author and handed down to posterity by his student, Harith b. Muhammad b. Abi Usàma (186-282—802-896).[5] The second was completely planned and largely compiled by Ibn Sa'd; but could not be completed by him. He appears, however, to have read out whatever he had written of this book, to his student, Husain b. Fahm (211-289—826-901) who is reported to have been a keen student of Traditions and of the biographies of Narrators.[6] Ibn Fahm completed the book according to the plan of its author, added to it his short biographical notice as well as that of certain other narrators whose names had been already included by him in the general plan of his work and read it with his own students.[7]

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[1] Tarikhu Baghdad, Vol V. p. 321, Ibn Khallikán Ed. Wustenfeld No. 656; T. b. S. Vol, III, Part I, Int.

[2] T. B. Vol. V, p. 321.

[3] al-Fihrist, pp. 91, 171.

[4] Tadhkiratu'l-Asma' p. 7; I. Kh. No. 656.

[5] "I received this book from the beginning till the end of the part dealing with the life of the Prophet" says al-Harith (Cl. des I. S. p. 65).

[6] T.B. Vol. VIII., p. [illegible] et. seq.

[7] Cl. des b. S., p. 30.

Both of these two books of Ibn Sa'd were received from his two students, by some of their common disciples. One of them Ahmad b. Ma'ruf-al-Khashshàb (d. 322—938),[1] combined them together into one book of enormous size and read it out to his students, one of whom, Abu Umar Ahmed b. Abbás, generally known as Ibn Hayyuya (295-382—907-992) who is celebrated for his keen interest in the works on the early history of Islam and for the preservation of the early historical and biographical works of the Arabs,[2] edited the whole work without making any change in the text, and through his student al-Jauharí (363-454—973-1062), handed it down to posterity. Through him are traced back to the author all the extant manuscripts of the great work and all of them preserve the division which he gave to it.[3]

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[1] T.B Vol. V, p. 160

[2] Ibid Vol. III, p. 121.

[3] Cl. des I.S p 25 et seq. This new edition of the Tabaqat had been an object of keen study, by a crowd of students of the Asmaal-Rijal for more than three centuries as it is shown by its Ijaza and Isnad found in its various manuscripts which have come down to us. But since about the end of the 8th century of the Hijra on account of its enormous size and the appearance of many short and more handy books on the various branches of the Asma-al-Rijal, the interest in it began to wane and at last its copies became scarce. No complete manuscript of the book is now known to exist. (Z.D.M.G. Vol. 23, p. 611)

But this want of literary interest in the history and sciences of Islam in the Islamic world itself has been made up by the interest of the modern European Orientalists in the ancient and mediaeval history and literature of the East, who during the last two centuries have rendered greater literary service to her literature than her own sons The Tabaqad of Ibn Sa'd also did not escape their searching attention.

Among them Dr. Sprenger and Prof. Wustenfeld had been the first to realise the great importance of the 'Book of Classes.' They published articles describing its manuscripts and inviting the attention of the Orientalists to its value as a source for the early history of Islam (Z.D.M.G. Vols. IV and V) and used it as an important source for their works.

On the basis of all the various known manuscripts of Ibn Hayyuyas edition of the Great Book of Classes it was edited by an enthusiastic band of German scholars and published by the Prussian Academy of Sciences in about twenty years.

Other Orientalists also like Sir William Muir and Prof. Th. Noldeke demonstrated its great value by drawing upon it in their own works. But a thorough and minute study of Ibn Sa'd was reserved for a young German scholar, Otto Loth who published in 1869, his masterly treatise, Das Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd, and a scholarly article on the "Ursprung and Bedeutung des Ṭabaqat (Z.D.M.G Vol 23, pp. 593-614), describing the Gotha and the Berlin manuscripts of the book, the nature of their contents, the origin and history of the Ṭabaqat class of Biographical Dictionaries, and the place of the work of Ibn Sa'd among them, and discussing its value as a rich mine of valuable materials concerning the history of Islam. It was Loth who paved the way for the edition of this huge book.

But its enormous size prevented its edition and publication for a long time For eighteen years after the publication of the illuminating treatise of Loth, no one thought of editing or publishing the book. It was in June 1887 that the Prussian Academy of Sciences resolved to publish the work and put Prof. Sachau in charge of it. Professor Sachau took it up with his usual zeal and energy. Within a year were discovered five other manuscripts of the book which had not been known to Loth. They were all collected together with the help of scholars, librarians and Government officials and in 1898 their collection and edition was begun by a distinguished enthusiastic band of German scholars. In 1904, was published the 8th and the 3rd volumes of the great book. The other volumes followed and by the publication of the 7th volume in 1918 was completed the edition of the text.

Thus by the supreme aid of the great literary interest of the Prussian Academy of Sciences under the guiding influence and active sympathy of Professor Sachau, with the help of various libraries in the East and in the West, and the continuous efforts of about a dozen German Orientalists, was published the Great Book of Ibn Sa'd in more than twenty years.

According to this printed edition, in spite of various lacunae, it contains over and above a detailed biography of Muhammad, the biographical notices of 4,319 narrators of various generations down to 238 of the Hijra, in the following order :—

Vol. I, Part —Genealogy of Muhammad and his biography down to his migration to Medina—edited by E. Mitwoch ,

Vol. I, Part II—Biography of Muhammad after his migration to Medina and various matters relating to it—edited by E. Mitwoch and Ed Sachau ,

Vol. II, Part I—The various campaigns of Muhammad—edited by J. Horovitz

Vol. II, Part II—Sickness and death of Muhammad and his elegies by various poets and the biographies of the Muslim jurists and readers of the Quran who lived in Medina during Muhammad's life-time and just after his death—edited by J. Schwally (1912) ;

Vol. III, Part I—Biographies of the refugees who took part in the Battle of Badr--edited by E Sachau (1904) ,

Vol. IV, Part I—Biographies of such early converts to Islam as did not take part in the Battle of Badr, but had migrated to Abyssinia, and later on took part in the Battle of Uhud—edited by J. Lippert (1906),

Vol IV, Part II—Biographies of other companions who were converted to Islam before the conquest of Mecca—edited by J. Lippert (1908) ;

Vol. V —Biographies of the Tabiun (Followers) who lived in Medina—edited by K V. Zetter-steen (1905) ,

Vol. VI —Biographies of the companions and the other jurists and traditionists who settled down and lived in Kufa—edited by K. V. Zettersteen, (1909) ,

Vol VII, Part I—Biographies of companions and other jurists and traditionists who lived in Basra—edited by B Meissner, (1915);

Vol. VIII, Part II—Biographies of the companions and other jurists and traditionists of Baghdad, Syria, Egypt, Africa, etc.—edited by E. Sachau, (1908),

Vol. VIII —Biographies of the women narrators including the companions and the followers—edited by C. Brockelmann, (1904).

According to this printed edition, the first two volumes contain a detailed biography of the life of Muhammad and the rest consist of short biographies of 4,319 Narrators of Traditions of various generations down to the year 238—852, which are arranged mainly in chronological and partly in topographical order. No definite common plan has been followed in all the articles. But the articles on the 'Companions' are long and generally contain their genealogy both on their father's and mother's sides, the names of their wives and children, the period of their conversion to Islam, the parts taken by them in the important events during the life-time of Muhammad, the dates of their death, and other matters connected with their habits, appearances and biographies which were considered by the traditionists to be of importance. Of course, the reader is very often disappointed with regard to important biographical matters which he naturally may expect. But at the same time he very often comes across important historical matters which he may not expect. All these details, however, are entirely wanting in the articles on the later narrators, some of which do not exceed one or two sentences. Many of them are altogether blank, from which it has been rightly inferred that these parts were meant by Ibn Sa'd to serve as notes to be developed some later date, which he could not do.

Ibn Sa'd as Prof. Sachau says, has shown in his work impartiality and honesty, thoroughness and minuteness, and objectivity and originality.[1] His impartiality and honesty have been generally acknowledged. Just as, in

[1] Tabaqāt-u-b. Sa'd Vol. III, Part I, Intr.

spite of being a Maula of the Banū Hāshim he took no part in their party politics, so in his articles on the various persons he gave no expression to his personal relation to or prejudice for or against any one, and recorded in simple unvarnished style all that he knew and considered as of importance about them. His thoroughness and minuteness are abundantly shown by his constant reference to the various versions of an event as well as to the differences between his authorities. His objectivity is illustrated by the want of the least autobiographical material in his huge work except in the article on himself which was added after his death. His originality is shown by his sub-classification of the narrators according to the various provinces in which they lived and the general statement of the Isnāds of the various versions of an event before describing them and the entire absence of them in certain parts, all of which are ascribed to his own ingenuity.[1] He has been compared by Sachau with Plutarch the difference in their works being due to the fact that Plutarch formed the last link in a long chain of biographers whose contributions to the art he had inherited, whereas Ibn Sa'd had been one of the earliest original workers in the field.

Be it as it may, the Great Book of Ibn Sa'd, as one of the earliest Biographical Dictionaries, containing the biographical notices of most of the important Transmitters of Tradition of the most important period in the history of traditions and a rich mine of many-sided valuable information about the early history of Islam, may be described not only as the most important extant book on the subject but also as one of the most important works in Arabic literature in general. Since the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijra it had been used as an important source by important authors on Arabian history and biography. Al-Balādhurī (d. 279—892)[2], al-Ṭabarī

[1] Z. D. M. G. Vol. 23, pp 204-205; T. B. S. Vol. III, Part I, pp. xxxvii–viii.

[2] The Origin of the Islamic State, Vol. I, Int. p. 9.

(224-310—838-923)[1], al-Khaṭīb-al-Baghdādī (392-463—1002-1071)[2], Ibnul Athīr (555-630—1160-1230)[3], al-Nawavī (631-676-1233-1278)[4], and Ibn Hajar (773-852-1371-1448)[5] used it as an important source for their works and al-Suyūṭī prepared an epitome of it. As a general biographical dictionary of narrators it appears to have always occupied a unique position in the Asma-al-Rijal. The other works of the Tabaqat class dealt only with particular classes of the Transmitters.

The Kitàbul-Tàrìkh of al-Bukhàrì.

The "Great Book of Classes" of Ibn Sa'd was soon followed by the works of the great traditionist, al-Bukhari who claimed to have possessed some biographical knowledge about every Transmitter of Traditions. He compiled three books on the history of narrators in general. The largest of these is said to have contained the biographical notices of more than 42,000 narrators. But no complete manuscript of the book is known to exist. Only various parts of it are preserved in certain libraries on the basis of which the Daiatul-Maarif Hyderabad intends to prepare a text of the book and publish it.

2. Biographical Dictionaries of particular class *of Narrators.*

Almost simultaneously with the Biographical Dictionaries of the Narrators in general was begun the compilation of those of particular classes of them. Of them the most important are (i) those containing the biographies of the companions; (ii) those containing the

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 1113-16, (T. B. S. Vol. I, Part I, pp. 28, 29) P. 2128, (T. B. S. Vol. III, pp. 143, et. seq.) pp 2749-54 (T. B. S. Vol. III, pp. 202, 206, 208, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 220, 221, 226, 227). All these quotations in the History of al-Tabarí except the first one is in complete agreement with the passages in the Tabaqāt. Certain very minor differences may be due to the mistake of the scribe.

[2] Tarikh-u-Baghdad.

[3] Usdu'l-Ghaba.

[4] Tadhhirat-al-Asmā', p. 7.

[5] Isāba Vol. I, p. 2.

biographies of the Narrators who lived in or visited any particular town or province; (iii) those containing the biographies of the narrators belonging to the various schools of jurists.

(i) *The Biographical Dictionaries of the Companions.*

The biographical dictionaries of the Companions constitute the most vital parts of the Asmā'-al-Rijāl. But no independent book on it appears to have been written before the 3rd century of the Hijra when the great traditionist al-Bukhāri compiled the first independent Biographical Dictionary of the Companions[1] which must have been mainly based on the Sira literature (*a*) on the numerous monographs on the various important events during the early period of the history of Islam, (*b*) on a large number of traditions containing biographical matters relating to the Companions, and (*c*) on the earlier general works on Asmā'-al-Rijāl.

Al-Bukhārī was followed by a large number of authors during the different periods in the history of Islam, who produced vast literature on the subject: Abu Ya'la Aḥmad *b.* 'Alī (201-307—816-919), Abu'l Qāsim Abdallāh al-Baghawī (213-317—828-929), the great traditionist and copyist,[2] Abu Hafs Umar *b.* Aḥmad commonly known as Ibn Shāhīn (297-385—909-995) one of the most prolific writers of his time who spent more than seven hundred Derhams on ink only,[3] Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad *b.* Yaḥyā *b.* Manda (d. 301 913) Abū Nu'ayam Aḥmad *b.* Abdallāh (336-403—947-1012) who has been described as one of the best traditionists.[4] Ibn Abd-al-Barr (368-463—978-1070) of Cordova, a contemporary of al-Khaṭīb al-Bagdādī, and the greatest traditionist of his time in the west,[5] Abū Mūsa Muḥammad *b.* Abī Bakr (501-581—1107-1185)

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[1] Isāba Vol. I. p. 1

[2] Tārīkhu-Baghdād Vol X, pp. 111-117.

[3] Ibid Vol. XI, p. 267.

[4] Ṭabaqāt-al-Huffaz 13. 62.

[5] I. Kh. No. 847.

and many others produced extensive literature on the biographies of the companions.

The results of the researches of all these scholars were collected together in the seventh century of the Hijra by the well-known historian and traditionist, Izzub-Din b. al-Athir (555-630—1160-1230) in his book the Usdul-Ghaba, which was based mainly on the works of Ibn Manda, of Abù Nu'ayam of Abú Músa and of Ibn Abdi'l-Barr whose al Isti'ab contained the biographies of 3,500 companions and to which a supplement was written by Ibn Fatḥùn, which contained the biographical notices of about the same number of them. Ibn-al-Athir, however, does not follow his sources blindly.

Having discussed in the introduction, the chief sources of his book and its general plan, he has defined the Ṣaḥabī (Companion), has given a short sketch of the biography of Muḥammed and put together in alphabetical order the biographies of 7,554 Companions some of whom were discovered by him by his own independent researches. In the various articles, he generally gives the names of the Companions, their kunyas, their genealogy and certain biographical matters relating to them. Where he differs from his predecessors he discusses the matter at length, gives reasons in his own support and explains the causes of their mistakes. The Usdu'l-Ghába, in spite of many repetitions in it, has been generally appreciated and accepted by the traditionists as a reliable authority. Three biographers—al-Nawawī, al-Dhahbī and al-Kashyari prepared its epitomes.[1]

The Usd-al-Ghàba, however, was followed in the 9th century of the Hijra by a more comprehensive work on the subject, i.e. the Iṣàba fī Tamyīz-al-Ṣaḥába. Its author Shihàb-al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl b. Ali b. Hajar al-Asqalànī (773-852—1371-1448) who is commonly known by his Kunya Ibn Hajar, was the greatest literary luminary of his time. He was born at old Cairo in 773. He lost both his mother and father (who was a jurist), during

[1] Tadrib-al-Rawi, p. 32; H. Kh. Vol. I, pp. 278-279.

his infancy and was brought up by one of his relatives who was a business man. But the little orphan was endowed by nature with strong intellect and great tenacity of purpose. In spite of great difficulties in his way he stuck to his literary pursuit and soon excelled in Arabic language and literature as well as in all the various Islamic religious sciences and Arabic caligraphy. To Hadīth particularly, he devoted a good deal of his life. For ten years he sat, for the sake of it, at the feet of the well-known traditionist Zaynal-Dín-al-Iràqi (725-806—1351-1404) who had reintroduced into the teaching of Traditions the old method of 'Imla (dictation) and brought its study back to its past glory. Having finished his studies he settled down at Cairo in 1403 and devoted himself to the service of Traditions and the connected sciences. His authority as a traditionist was soon recognised and he was appointed as Professor in several educational institutions and also as a Judge—a post which he accepted after refusing it several times. He died in 852—1404.

He left about one hundred and fifty of his complete and incomplete compositions and compilations which show his versatile genius. The Fatḥ-al-Bàrí—a commentary on the Genuine of al-Bukhàrí, in 13 volumes printed in Egypt—is described as a work by which was paid the great debt which the literary world of Islam owed to the great work of al-Bukhàrí for six centuries.

In the Iṣàba he put together the results of the labours of all his predcessors in the field of Biographies of the Companions, criticising them in certain cases and adding to them the results of his own researches. He has divided his book into four parts.

Part (1).—Such persons as are mentioned in any tradition Genuine, or Fair, or Weak, directly or indirectly to be Companions.

Part (2).—Such persons as were too young when the Prophet died, but were born during his life-time in the family of Companions, which leads to the presumption

that they fulfilled the necessary conditions of being one of them.

Part (3).—Such persons as are known to have lived both before and after the advent of Islam but are not known to have ever associated with the Prophet. These persons have never been known to be Companions, but they are mentioned in some of the works on the life of the Companions simply because they lived in the same period with them.

Part (4).—Contains the biographies of such persons as are wrongly mentioned in some of the Biographical Dictionaries to be Companions.

(ii) *The Biographical Dictionaries of Transmitters who lived or visited any particular Town or Province.*

Another huge and important set of Biographical Dictionaries had been completed according to places or provinces where they lived or which they visited. The number of these dictionaries is large. Not only almost all the provinces but almost every important town had several biographers who collected together the biographies of every important traditionist or man of letters who either lived in it or visited it. Mecca, Medina, Basra, Kufa, Wâsiṭi, Damascus, Antioc, Alexandria, Qayrawan, Cordova, Mausil, Aleppo Baghdâd, Ispahân, Bukhârâ, Merv, etc., all had their historians and biographers of their men of letters. Many of these provincial histories dealt with the political history of these provinces. Many of them dealt mainly with the biographies of their men of letters in general and those of the Narrators of Traditionists in particular. Many of the early Biographical Dictionaries which contained the biographies of the important Muslim divines of particular places since their conquests by the Muslims till the time of the compilation, are supplemented by their successors with those of the eminent men of the later periods down to almost the modern times.

One of the most important works of the type is the

Tarikh-al-Baghdad of al-Khatib-al-Baghdadi, which is the earliest biographical dictionary of the men of letters principally traditionists who either belonged to or delivered lectures in the great metropolis.[1]

Al-Khaṭib al-Baghdàdi (392-463—1002-1071) whose full name was Abu Bakr Aḥmad b. Ali, al-Khaṭib-al-Baghadàdi was the son of a Khatib of a village near Baghdàd. He was born in the year 392--1002 and began the study of traditions at the age of eleven. He acquired it at the various centres of learning in Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, and Persia and soon gained excellence in the various Islamic sciences particularly the Asmà'-al-Rijàl and traditions. He delivered lectures on traditions in Damascus, Baghdad and other places and some of his teachers like al-Azhari and al-Burqàni, accepted him as an authority on traditions and received them from him. Finally, however, he settled down in Baghdàd where his authority on tradition was recognised by the Caliph al-Qā'im and his minister Ibn Muslima (d. 450—1058) who had ordered that no preacher should narrate in his sermon any tradition which was not approved by al-Khaṭīb. Here he read out almost all his books to his students and here he died in 463--1071.

His life in Baghdád had not been altogether uneventful. During the revolt of al-Basasivi (450—1058) by whom Ibn Muslima was killed, al-Khaṭib also suffered a good deal. He had to leave the town and wander about in Syria for some time and when after the execution of the rebel he returned to Baghdád in 451 A.H. he suffered at the hands of the Hambalites, on account of his change from the Hambalite to the Shafite School, and his liberal views towards the Ashá'ira and the scholastic philosophers. Many treatises against him by the Hambalites are mentioned by Haji Khalifa. Al-Khaṭib, however, had

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[1] The only earlier history of the city by Tayfur Ahmed b. Abi Tahir (204-280--819-983) of which only the sixth volume has been known, lithographed and translated into German by Dr. H. Keler. It deals with the history of the Caliphs.

been fortunate in having attained all his great desires to deliver lectures in the mosque of al-Manṣúr in Baghdád, to read out his great history of Baghdàd to the students in that town and to be buried, by the side of the grave of al-Bishr-al-Háfí (150-227—767-841).

He compiled fifty-five large and small books and treatises, a complete list of which is given by Yáqút in his Írshàd-al-'Aríb.[1] The most important of these works is his Tàríkhu-Baghdád. In this monumental work which he read out to his students in the year 461, having given the topography of Baghdád of Ruṣáfa, and of al-Madá'in (Ptesiphone) which has been fully utilised by Le Strange in his charming book on Baghdád, he compiled together the biographies of 7,831 eminent men and women chiefly traditionists, who were either born in Baghdád or in its vicinity or came to it from other places and delivered lectures on traditions and of certain other important visitors giving their names Kunya, dates of their deaths and certain other biographical matters and the opinions of important traditionists about their reliability.

In the arrangement of the various articles he gave pride of place to the Companions. They are followed by those having the name 'Muḥammad.' In the other articles alphabetical order has been observed. The articles on those who are known by their Kunya, and on ladies are put at the end.

In this Biographical Dictionary, al-Khaṭíb has shown his vast knowledge of traditions and biography, his impartiality and critical acumen. He always gives the source of his information, and very often discusses in his own notes, the reliability of the traditions quoted and of reports received by him and tries to determine the facts without prejudice or partiality.[2]

His description of Imám Aḥmad and al-Sháfi'í also as "'master' of the Traditionsts" and "the Crown of the

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[1] Tārikhu-Baghdad, Vol. I, p. 213.

[2] Ibid Vol. I, p. 224, Vol. II, p. 52; Vol. IV, pp. 176, 264; Vol. VI, p. 101, etc.

jurists" respectively, for which he has been criticised does not appear to be unfair. He is generally accepted as trustworthy and regarded as the greatest traditionist of his time in the East as his contemporary Ibn Abd-al Barr of Cordova is taken as the greatest of them in the West.

Al-Khatib, however, had brought his dictionary down to 450 A.H. His successors continued the work after him. Al-Sam'ání (506-562—1113-1167), al-Dubaythí (558-637—1163-1239), Ibn-al-Najjár (578-643—1183-1245), al-Dhahabi (674-748—1274-1348) and others wrote huge supplements to his book compiling biographies of the eminent men of Baghdád till their own times.[1]

History of Damascus by Ibn-ul-Asakir (499-571—1105-1176).

The entire plan of the History of Baghdád was followed by Ibn Asákir in his huge Biographical Dictionary of the eminent men of Damascus in eighty volumes which excited wonder and admiration of the later writers.

Ibn Asákir whose full name was Abu'l-Qásim Alí b. al-Hasan b. Hibat-alláh b. Abdálláh b. al-Husayn was born in a respectable and literary family in Damascus in 499 A.H. His father, his brother, his son and his nephews are all described by al-Subki[2] as traditionists of some eminence. Some of his predecessors also appear to have taken part in the campaigns against the Crusades, which gave him the title Ibn Asákir by which he is generally known. Ibn-Asákir however, having prosecuted his early studies with his father and other teachers in Damascus travelled widely and visited all the important centres of Hadith-learning, a long list of which is given by al-Subki in his Ṭabaqát. He sat at the feet of more than 1,380 teachers of traditions of whom more than eighty belonged to the fair sex. Finally, however, he settled down at Damascus, his native town, where he devoted himself wholly to the service of tradition and the connected

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[1] H. Kh. Vol. II, pp 119-20.

[2] Vol. IV, pp. 213, 320, Vol. V, pp. 66, 148.

sciences composing books and treatises and delivering lectures on them in the college which had been founded for him by the great general and jurist Nùrál-Dín Mahamad Zanjí who had offered him several posts which he refused. He died in the year 571—1175.

His keen intellect, sharp retentive memory, vast knowledge of traditions, sincerity and piety, and his devotion to traditions and traditional sciences were acknowledged by all his contemporaries. His successors also regarded him as one of the greatest and most reliable traditionists of his time.

He compiled a large number of important works. A long list of his works is given by Yaqut in his Irshàd,[1] many of which are still preserved in various libraries in the East and in the West.

The most important and most voluminous of them is the History of Damascus. Its compilation was taken up at the request of a friend of the author. But the work could not be continued on account of certain anxieties and sad events. The excessive desire of Nùru'l-Dín Zanjí, however, to see the work completed, induced the author to complete it in his old age.[2]

In this book, after giving a short history of Syria in general and of Damascus in particular, and stating briefly the superiority of Syria to other places on the basis of certain traditions, and describing of its Prophets and monasteries, Ibn Asàkir collected together the biographies of the eminent men and women of various classes, chiefly traditionists who either lived in or visited Damascus. The biographical part begins with the articles on those whose names are Aḥmad, which are headed by a short biography of the Prophet of Islam. In the arrangement of all the articles alphabetical order in the names has been observed without any preference being given to any class of men. At the end are added the articles on men whose names are not known, according to the alphabetical

[1] Vol. V, pp. 140-44.

[2] Tarikhu-Demashq Vol. I, p. 10-11.

order of their Kunya, which are followed by those on the eminent ladies in the same order as in the case of men.

Like al-Khatíb of Baghdàd and Ibn 'Asakír of Damascus, various other traditionists and historians collected together the biographies of the men of letters in general and of the narrators in particular, of various other towns. Ibn Manda (301—911) and Abú Núaym (336—403) of Ispahàn collected together the biographies of the Narrators who belonged to their town [1] and the work of the latter is preserved in the libraries of Rampur, Constantinople and Leiden. [2] Al-Hàkim (321-405—933-1014) compiled those of the narrators who belonged to Níshàpúr which has been admired by al-Subkí. [3] Abúl-Qàsim Umar b. Ahmad al-Uqaylí, generally known as Ibn al-Adím (588-660—1191-1262) collected together the biographies of eminent men including a large number of Traditionists of Aleppo in about 30 volumes and the work was supplemented by his different successors. [4] Abú Sàd al-Samàní (506-562—1113-1167) compiled a biographical dictionary mainly of the traditionists of Merv in twenty volumes. [5] The traditionists of Wàsiṭ, of Kufa, of Basra, of Hiràt, of Qazwín and of many other towns, found their biographies in Ibn-al-Dubayṭhí (558-637—1162-1239), [6] in Ibn al-Najjár, [7] in Ibn al-Zazzaz [8] in al-Ráfií [9] respectively and in various other biographers and historians.

Over and above the biographical dictionaries of the traditionists and narrators living in particular towns, there were also collected together the biographies of narrators living in certain provinces, *e.g.*, Andalusia,

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[1] I. Kh. No. 32, and 631.

[2] K. Tp 83, Cat. of Ar. Ms. Leiden p. 109.

[3] I. Kh. No. 626.

[4] H. Kh. Vol. II, pp. 125-6, I. A. Vol. VI, pp. 18-46

[5] Ibn. Kh. No. 406.

[6] Ibid No. 672.

[7] Irshad-al-'Arib Vol. I, p. 410, H Kh. Vol II, p. 143.

[8] H. Kh. Vol. II, p 157.

[9] Ibid p. 140-41.

Africa, Sana, Egypt, Khurasan, etc., by Ibnul Fardi, Ibn Baskkwal, al-Humaydi and others.

The Biographical Dictionaries of the Transmitters of Traditions paved the way for the compilation of those of other classes of men so that we find in Arabic language those of every imaginable class of people. There are still extant in Arabic, Biographical Dictionaries of Poets, of Grammarians, of Physicians, of Saints, of Jurists and Judges, of Caligraphers, of Lovers, of Misers, of Fools, and of other classes of people.

ISLAMIC SECTIONS IN THE WESTERN AND ORIENTAL LIBRARIES

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Everybody will admit that the Libraries are the monuments of all that was glorious and great in the past of any country. They are not mere "gloomy graveyard" but splendid monuments on which are carved in letters of gold all that was best in the thoughts of the great men, dead and gone long ago. As long as the future of any country or nation has its roots in the past, we cannot afford to neglect the past. Such a past is, though roughly, represented in the best thoughts of the best minds which can now be found only in libraries as they are their store-houses. Unlike mathematics and similar sciences, the Orientalia depends more upon libraries than upon the ingenuity of the scholar. A good library is therefore indispensable for the student of Islamic literature. Scholars in every age and country have left no stone unturned and spared no pains in taking full advantage of all the sources for the subject they treated. In modern times quick means of communication and transport have facilitated the task of the student in a way unimaginable by our immediate ancestors.

During the last three or four years, when preparing my theses for the universities of Bonn and Paris, it has been my good fortune to visit a large number of libraries in the east as well as in the west and I have utilized especially the Mss on Islamica. I am not going to give

here a list of the important libraries, nor do I intend repeating the names of some of the rarities they contained. What I propose here is a sort of a broad survey —and if I may be permitted to use a forged and perhaps uncouth word,—a librariological survey of the east and west, and to introduce to you some of the less known collections. No human institution can claim ideal perfection; so I may, by the way, mention some of the facilities or hardships experienced in the administration of different libraries. Adopting the former and discarding the latter we may run our libraries in the most useful manner possible.

To begin with, I shall take the opportunity of acquainting you with some of the important libraries in Hyderabad. The State library, which of course you all know, contains a collection of over 7,000 Arabic, Persian and Hindustani Mss. on Islamica. You may also have heard of the magnificent collection of Salar Jung who has added much to the important collection he had inherited from his art and science loving ancestors. This big collection contains, among others, a valuable library the number of whose Mss. exceeds many thousands. The Nawab Sahib was kind enough to permit me to work in his library some time ago, and I was impressed with the scores of book-shelves and still more with the care with which they are preserved—a thing unfortunately so much lacking among other nawabs and the nobility of the day. This is still a private library and it will be a fitting monument to the memory of the late Sir Salar Jung I, if this library were dedicated to the public and made available to the students.

The Daftar-e-Mulki or the Record Office, too, is coming rapidly in the fore-front of Hyderabad libraries with its specialized collection on the history of Deccan.

I will not omit to mention two more private collections.

Much has been written in journals, though of no realistic character, on the library of Dr. Syed Qasim.

The autographed letters of Adam, Noah, Abraham, books on the philosopher's stone and alchemy and the like, fire the popular imagination no doubt. The fact is, the ancestors of Dr. Qasim were the librarians to the court of the Adilshai rulers of Bijapur and it is to the credit of the librarian that he saved the greater portion of the collection from destruction at the downfall of the dynasty and his family has transferred it now to Hyderabad. It is now the private property of the present head of the family, Dr. Syed Qasim, a Medical Officer in the service of H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. The cultured and kind-hearted doctor who has himself added considerably to what he had inherited, has allowed me to prepare a catalogue of the books, a work which is going on at a slow rate. In his house there exist, among others, many thousand books on palm leaves in Sanskrit and other scripts. The Islamica is here better represented and Dr. Qasim told me that he has refused an American offer of sixteen lakhs of rupees for his library.

The other valuable collection belongs to the members of an ancient family of Arab descent. Although the cataloguing of this collection has not yet been completed, it may safely be said that the Mss. alone can be estimated at over 15,000 volumes in Arabic and Persian, including some in Hindustani and Turkish. A part of this, about one seventh of the whole family collection, has recently been thrown open to the public by its widowed owner and her minor daughter, under the name of Kutub Khana Sa'idiyah. Mr. Abdul Azim, the brother of the widowed owner of this portion, though himself a poor man, has selflessly contributed large sums towards the maintenance of this Kutub Khana, and but for lack of sufficient funds, the family is prepared to make the whole library public. This family has produced at least 17 generations of men of letters in uninterrupted succession, several of whom had risen to the post of Diwan and Regent in the Nawabs of Caranatic. No wonder the harvest of the family cannot be easily equalled by others in the ordinary course of

events. But it will be enough to remark here that many of the publications of the Da'irat-ul-Ma'arif are based on the copies of this library. There are in this collection many treasures of unique character especially in the domain of Hadith, Fiqh, Tafsir and History. Moreover, the family possesses a very large collection of political correspondence and other official documents bearing on the later Muslim history of the Deccan. Original letters signed by Tippu Sultan, Clive, Warren Hastings, Cornwallis and others, addressed to the Nawabs of the Wallajahi dynasty are to be seen there. Again, here are several original firmans of Shah Jahan one of which is six feet in length. This material is being worked out by some competent members of the family whose several contributions have already appeared in the journals and periodicals of Hyderabad and other parts of India. A considerable portion of this correspondence is at Madras where some members of the family reside. Paintings also are well represented in this collection and an authority like Mr. Ghulam Yazdani has paid very high tribute to them

Among other Indian libraries those of Bankipur, Rampur, Sindh, Qadian, Habibganj, Nadwah, Dewban and others are well-known, and I prefer therefore, to deal with some other countries.

As for Hijaz, I am publishing in collaboration with Profs. Snouck Hurgronje and Spis, a monograph on the Mss. in different public and private libraries of Jiddah, Makkah and Madinah, and the list will be more exhaustive than that published by Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi. Briefly I may mention here that Shaikh Nasif possesses the greatest attraction at Jiddah with his good library and his unforgettable hospitality. At Makkah the two libraries of the Haram Sharif and that of Mr. Dehlawi, a Delhi immigrant, are among the more important; yet Madinah still remains the centre of learning. Many learned and pious people all over the Islamic world have in all ages migrated to this holy city of the Prophet. They have oftentimes brought with them their libraries too.

Maulana Abdul Baqi Farangimahalli is a recent instance. The library of Shaikhul Islam Arif Hikmat Bey has similar origin During the Great War, the Turkish Government had transferred many of the public Waqf libraries including that of Hikmat Bey and Madrasah Mahmudiyah to Syria and Istanbul. These libraries, each of which contains several thousands of Mss. have suffered much during the Great War. After many vicissitudes these libraries of Madinah have returned back to their proper place. The Madrasah Mahmudiyah being occupied by the police as their quarter, this library is always closed except when some one expressly requests the Curator (mutawally) when he opens the room for some limited time only, whereas, the Arif Hikmat Library is daily opened and still frequented by a large number of foreign scholars who come to visit the holy shrine of the prophet at Madinah.

I had suggested to some officials of the Sa'udi Government that they might, in the interest of art and history, create a museum at Makkah and another at Madinah where they could preserve the epigraphical monuments which lie exposed to sun and shower after the tombs and domes have been razed to the ground. Some of the tablets which I noticed at Madinah were dated the 4th century of Hijra There may be others of earlier date. There were fine specimens among them of Arabic calligraphy which might help to restore the history of its development. Perhaps continuous and presistent efforts in this direction may lead to the realisation of the cherished aim.

I have heard much about the libraries of Riyad, San'aand Tarim but I have no authoritative information about them. One word about Ta'if. Pre-Islamic and probably Himyarite epigraphic monuments have been found on the rocks around this Ooty of Hijaz. These monuments of Ta'if deserve our attention, and as it is the privilege of only the Muslim to penetrate these regions, there lies a unique opportunity for the Indian Muslim

scholars to work them out without the participation of the European savants.

The part of the Jesuit Fathers of Beyrouth in the modern revival of the Arabic has been great. Their fine library, the Maktabatul-aba'-al-yasu'iyin, contains a very good collection of Arabic Mss. whose catalogue has been printed. Although the property of a religious institution, a stranger has little difficulty to utilise this rich collection. There are not many Mss. at the American University of Beyrouth. The collected list of the libraries of Halab has recently been published but certainly Damascus merits greater prominence. The Kutub Khanah Zahiriyah is its glory in which the late Sultan Abdulhamid Khan has brought together, under one roof, the various Waqf libraries of the city. In recent time the Arabic academy (al-majma' al-'ilmiy) has taken its charge and has added much to its usefulness. Some of its rarities are unique and although not easily available in India, its catalogue has been printed by order of Abdulhamid Khan.

Much credit must be given to the family of Hazrat Khalid bin al-Walid the Sword of God, who have recently made their private collection public at the Maktabah Khalidiyah of Jerusalem. This city possesses a fine museum and library at the Haram Sharf and certainly the National Jewish Library and University have also claim to our mention. The Ansab alsashraf of al-Baladhuriy is shortly to be out after a careful edition under the auspices of the Jewish University. The Jewish library has acquired the library of the late Prof. Noldeke. It is certainly the biggest in the Near East with its 300,000 printed and manuscript volumes.

Al-maktabatul-malikiyah, the state library of Cairo, is probably the biggest single library for Is'amic Mss. It has acquired the private, yet famous, collection of Ahmad Timur Pasha through a gift of his inheritors and it is semi-officially said that the Cairo library possesses now over 25,000 Mss. May not the fate of the mythical library of Alexandria befall it!

The late Ahmad Zaki Basha's library also has been opened to the public and in 1932 I was fortunate to utilise this fine library which is kept at the mausoleum of king Qansuwah Ghauriy near the Azhar. I must not forget at Cairo the library of the millenarian Azhar University, many of whose hostels like the Rawaq al-Atrak and Rawaq al-Magharibah also possess a very large collection of Mss. accumulated during the centuries of their existence.

The museums of Islamic and Arabic art at Damascus, Cairo and Istanbul, possess a large store of unexplored material and offer vast fields for research and investigation. But I must speak of libraries.

Now I come to the marvellous and romantic capital of the Ottoman Caliphs. Themselves perhaps not much gifted for scholarship, the Turks have always vied with each other in patronising learning. Istanbul alone among the Turkish cities, possesses some sixty public or Waqf libraries for Islamica. During the reign of Sultan Abdul-Hamid Khan, through amalgamation, their number has been brought down to still the formidable figure of over a dozen of which Sulaimaniyah library alone now contains 25 collections. The enormity of these may be gauged from an authoritative statement of Dr. Ritter, who was sometimes chairman of the cataloguing commission of the Mss. of Istanbul, that they contain at least 70,000 Arabic Mss. There are besides, large private collections of which that of Ismail Bey of Beyazit quarter is an instance. Among the public libraries that of Koprulu, Ayasofia Sulaimaniyah, Fatih and Nur-i-'uthamaniyah are the bigger ones although the library of the University and those in Ayub quarter, in Iskidar, again those in the cities of Adrianople and Kotahia cannot be overlooked by a lover of the Mss.

In Western Europe, Leiden collection is perhaps the oldest, British Museum the biggest, Bodleian of Oxford, Bibliotheque National of Paris and Escurial near Madrid among the more important libraries for our subject. But certainly Berlin, with its Staatsbibliothek, leads in

respect of facilities. Owing to the late Reichsminister Prof. Becker who was himself a prominent figure among the Arabists of pre and post-war period, now almost every one of the some two dozen universities of Germany possesses an Oriental Seminar. Besides the State library of Berlin with its 10,000 odd Arabic Mss. and nearly as much Persian and Turkish, there are at Munich, Leipzig and Gotha large collections of Arabic and Islamic Mss. I was rather a privileged visitor to be led through the interior of the Mss. stores of the Staatsbiblithek at Berlin and to be conducted through the well-kept shelves in rooms making almost a labyrinth. But I was much more impressed by the reading room for Orientalia where thousands of printed and select works have been placed at the disposal of the visitors for ready reference. Yet I would like more to speak of the gigantic efforts made at the Book-City of Leipzig in creating the Deutsche Bucherei. Here successful efforts have been made to collect everything published in Germany and everything printed in German language in any part of the world,—and as you know, German language takes the largest share for Islamic studies, perhaps larger share than that of all the European languages combined. All German publishers and printers supply this library with a free copy of each and every one of their publications, and for acquiring old and foreign books, sufficient funds are placed at the disposal of the library. The Deutsche Bucherei, although a recent inauguration, is already next only to the state library of Berlin in respect of quantity and with the present rate of progress it will, in ten years, surpass even the Berlin library in quantity, though never in quality. This Deutsche Bucherei contains also a museum of the Art of Writing. Here one sees from the first printed book of Gutenberg dating the middle of the 15th century, specimens of every later development in the art of printing. In a room of the museum there have been collected the implements of writing of every nation and country. Again there is a perfect copy of the Louvre original of the famous stone of

Champollion in three languages which led to deciphering the enigmatic hieroglyph of Egypt. There are also exhibits in the art of bookbinding and Arabic calligraphy and others

But what one admires most in Germany is the famous Leih system. A sort of alliance or federation exists between all the public libraries of Germany to which some foreign libraries also have adhered. Worker in a corner of an out of the way university, say at Bonn, the student has access to any and every book printed or Ms. existing in any of the federating libraries. Within my knowledge at Bonn, Mss. were received from Leningrad, India Office, Cambridge, Berlin and other places for the use of the students. In order to prevent misuse, a nominal charge of about two annas per printed book and one rupee per Ms. is charged if books are required from outside the place where the student works. Otherwise it is post free. Ordinarily the German Oriental Seminars are well-equipped in reference works and the student has also free access to the bigger general collection of the university library and it is very rarely that printed books are sent for from outside. It is owing to this elaborate and thorough system that the dissertations in Germany leave such a profound impression of exhaustive research on the reader.

The students have great concessions in Germany. Though the pocket of an ordinary foreigner is heavily taxed, nevertheless, the researcher has little difficulty in obtaining the entrepass. As for the access to the Bibliotheque National of Paris, we Indians, although enrolled at the university, have to go to the British Embassy and procure a recommendation of the Ambassador and then pay the fee and deposit several photographs to be kept in the library and pasted on the pass. Moreover, nobody can order for more than three Mss. a day and it is the reader who must suffer if the peon brings, as he often does, the wrong book. In the British Museum, India Office and Bodleian, recommendations of some well-

known public men are required although no fee or photographs are wanted.

But the simple oriental ways are still observed in Istanbul. One has only to go to the library, quote the catalogue number and one receives any book one desires, there being no separate arrangements for Mss. and printed books. The Turks are most suspicious of foreigners, and perhaps rightly so, yet few nations equal them in hospitality and politeness.

I need hardly say a word to persuade this learned gathering to believe that in spite of all the great number of classical works that have been printed, a large number still remains to be published and even to be explored in *the unknown libraries of the East: in Asia as well as in* Africa and Turkey in Europe. Who would lag behind in rejoicing that the Travels of Ibn Fadlan, the Ambassador of al-Muqtadi Billah to the king of Bulghar, extracts of which were found in Yaqut, has been discovered in Iran and its photographic copy has reached Berlin? Who can under-rate the importance of the fact that in a collection at Berlin a work on Hadith has been found whose author died early in the 2nd century of Hijra? The work is known to the classical bibliographies. The work thus claims a priority over the Muwatta of Imam Malik. It is now known that the Maghazi of Ibn Is'haq exists at the Qarawiyin library of Fes; and to believe the librarian of a Fes library, even the complete copy of the Maghazi of Musa bin Uqbah is to be found there. Important works of Imam Abu Yusuf and Imam Muhammad have been procured with the admirable efforts of the Ihya'al-ma'arif an-nu'maniyah and after having been edited are ready for publication. The life of Imam Abu Hanifah by Imam Dhahabiy is another curiosity of the Kutub Khana Sa'idiyah. The kitab al-muhabbar of Ibn Habib (d 245 H.) is now being edited for the Gibb Memorial Series from the unique Ms. of the British Museum. The kitab al-munammaq of the same author has been found in Lucknow. Both these works shed important light on the

Arabia of Pre-Islamic and Early-Islamic periods. The Tadhkirat-un-nawadir and other unpublished reports and records of the Da'iratul-ma'arif bear ample testimony to what I am about. Prof. Massignon of Paris has found at Najaf some thirty works of al-Mas'udiy while we possessed as yet the Muruj and the Tanbih and part of the Akhabaruz-zaman. The libraries of Mashhad and Tehran have also a promising field.

But let us not neglect other things. The map of the new world as prepared by Columbus has long been thought lost to us. A contemporary of his, a Turk, had acquired this map and had incorporated it in his naval geography. Thanks to Prof. Kahle of Bonn, we have discovered it and besides articles in German, Dutch and Italian, the learned professor has written a voluminous book in English on the subject for an American society which perhaps has been published or is shortly going to be. This is an instance of a new and promising field where we may profitably begin work. At Istanbul I came across the tomb of the Ambassador of Tippu Sultan who died during the mission. I have brought with me several Turkish histories from Istanbul which deal incidentally with the relations of the Turks with the Muslim India in the time of the Moghals and after. The monumental work of Faridun Bey in two big folio volumes is a mine of precious information as it collects the original correspondence of the Turkish Sultans and the replies—also with India. Even some books on travel written by Turks are of great interest and a source of our history. I hope soon to shed some light on certain unknown points of Indian history from the unexpected quarter of Turkish sources.

As for my suggestions regarding our libraries in India, my aim is that the influential Orientalists who have graced the gathering here today which I have the honour now to address, may and will continue the efforts they are pursuing for the reform of our libraries.

We require research seminars on German models with select reference works. We should pay greater attention

to research. Unfortunately very few Indian Universities have as yet provided for doctorate in their course of studies. Again, besides Arabic, Persian, Hindustani and English works, our libraries should acquire a greater number of German, Italian, Spanish, Dutch, Turkish and certainly also Russian works on Islamica. By the way, I will refer to the arrangements recently made at the Osmania University where special courses in German and French have been started for the members of the staff who require them; and besides the general library of the university, departmental libraries for Arabic, Persian, Theolgy and others have been established. Similar arrangements and on wider scales may be started in other Indian Universities. There are not even half a dozen persons in India, I am afraid, who know, say, eight languages. In Germany and Holland it is a matter of course that the professors read practically every European language of any import and also three or four Oriental languages if they specialise in Orientalia. As demands are followed by supply and necessity leads to invention, our learning of several languages may widen the scope of our sources and consequently improve the standard of Indian scholarship.

NOTICE OF AN UNKNOWN ANTHOLOGY OF ANCIENT ARABIC POETRY, MUNTAH 'L-TALAB MIN ASH'ÂR-I 'L-'ARAB

BY MUHAMMAD *b.* AL-MUBARAK *b.* MUHAMMAD *b.* MAIMUN

BY

PROF. S. M. HOSSAIN, M.A., D.PHIL. (OXON.),

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At Oxford, in 1927, while hunting up references of the verses of an unknown Anthology of Ancient Arabic poetry, which I hope to present shortly to the students of Arabic, I came to find mention of another unknown Anthology of Ancient Arabic Poetry: Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-Arab[1] by Muhammad *b.* al-Mubârak *b.* Muḥammad *b.* Maimûn,[2] said to contain one thousand Arabic odes.[3] Although the anthologist, Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak *b.* Muhammad *b.* Maimûn, was no familiar figure in Arabic literary history, the name of the Anthology and the note about its enormous extent at once struck me that it was a very valuable work. So I once consulted about it the well-known expert, Mr. (now Dr.) F. Krenkow, who, during my stay in England, often very kindly invited me for consultation at his residence in Beckenham. Mr. Krenkow informed me that he also

[1] Kaizânat-u 'l-Adab, Vol. I, pp 10, 366, 448; Vol. IV, p. 283.

[2] *Ibid* Vol. II, pp 421, 467, Vol III, p. 164; Vol. IV, pp. 40, 373.

[3] Khizânat-u 'l-Adab, Vol I, p. 10.

came across the name of this anthology, most probably, in the catalogue of the books in the late De Slane's library. Afterwards when I visited Germany and met Dr. Hommel of Munich, the good old Professor, whose infinite courtesy and kindness I shall never forget, felt immensely interested to hear of this anthology—extremely interesting, as he said—and suggested to me to keep an eye for it in my intended Near East tour and look up for it, especially, in the libraries of Istamboul and Damascus. As a matter of fact, in Constantinople I came by a codex of this work in the library of Laleli, where it is numbered 1941. But this codex, 2·1 c.m. × 1·5 c.m., containing 164 folios, was only a small part—one-sixth—of the whole work. Again in Cairo, I got two manuscripts of the Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab in the Khedivial library. One of them is identical with the Constantinople codex and the other contains only a single fascicule of the entire work. The Constantinople codex gives no provenance or date and is apparently older than its Cairene counterpart, which bears at its end the date of transcription—the 11th Jumâdā 'l-Awwal, 995 A.H.

It would appear that both these copies were transcripts of a copy made from Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak's own manuscript. The Constantinople manuscript has lost the fly-leaf, which in the Khedival manuscript supplies the title of the work and the name of the compiler. On the second page of both the manuscripts is found a note on the contents of the whole work, followed by a note and table of contents of the present volume, with which the copyist from the compiler's manuscript may be credited. The great work is thus said to comprise from its beginning to its end—divided into six volumes—the composition of 264 poets, 1,051 full odes with 29 fragments: 39,990 verses. The present volume, which apparently and as also mentioned in the last page of the Khedivial copy, is the first of the six volumes into which the work is divided, and contains the composition of 58 poets, 219 odes with two fragments: 7,264 verses.

This note is followed by the preface of the anthologist, Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak *b.* Muḥammad *b.* Muḥammad *b.* Maimûn, who is reported to have said, after the usual doxology and felicitation on the Prophet and his family, as follows:—

I have collected in this book one thousand odes which I selected from the composition of those Arabic poets whose verses are often cited as authoritative and have named it Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash 'âr-i 'l-'Arab. I have divided the collection into ten parts and collected in each part one hundred odes, writing on the margin the meanings of the rare words occurring in them. I included in the anthology from the Mufaḍḍalian poems and the selections of al-Aṣma'î, the Naqâ id of Jarîr and al-Farazdaq and the poems which Abu Bakr *b.* Duraid mentioned in his book, called *al-Shawârid,* the best of the Hudhalian poems and from the poetry of those whom Ibn Sallâm al-Jumaḥî mentioned in the *kitâb al-Ṭabaqât.* I did not exclude any of the Pagan and Islamic poets whose verses are cited in *belles-letters,* unless it were for the fact that I did not come by the collection of his poetry and did not find it in *waqf* and other libraries. Of course, I took from the composition of each of the poets whom I included in my collection, the choicest and most elegant of his compositions; if a critic closely examines my selections he will recognise the truth of my assertion. I made these selections, having spent sixty years, after my boyhood, in the perusal of poetry. I got many of them by rote from my masters, Abu Muhammad 'Abdullah *b.* Aḥmad *b.* Aḥmad *b.* Aḥmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl *b.* Nâṣir and others whom I met, and wrote down most of the dîwâns containing these poems. I wanted to compile this work according to the arrangement of the poets, some of them taking precedence over others. But it was not possible as I could not find out any such arrangement for which I need offer my apology. I put Ka'b *b.* Zuhair first and concluded the work with the Hâshimîyât of al-Kumait in order to take blessings from the panegyric

on the Apostle of Allah (may Allah bless him and grant him peace) in the ode of Ka'b and from the mention of the Prophet (may Allah bless him and his family) in the Hâshimîyât with which I have concluded the book. The compilation of this book was made at Baghdâd during the months of the two years 588 and 589 A.H. I became acquainted with many works of poetry that I collected and I did not see anybody who acquired as many of these books as I did. Now I beseech Allah to send His blessings on Muḥammad and his family and to bless this book and lend His help to those who apply themselves to it.

From this preface it will be found that the anthologist divided his book into ten parts, each part containing 100 large odes. The note on the contents of the work, as found in both the Constantinople and Cairene codexes, however, mentions that the work is divided into six parts. But it must be due to a redaction made by some transcriber from the author's manuscript, who divided the work into six volumes of which the manuscripts in question contain the first volume, comprising a little more than two parts of Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak's collection. For, in both these manuscripts is found after the 104th poem[1] the note: End of the first part in the original manuscript and this is what the compiler wrote at the end of the first part: 'here end the hundred selected odes and with these is ended the first part of the thousand odes in the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab.*' Again, after the 194th poem[2] we find 'End of the second part in the original manuscript' and at the end of the second part in the original was found in the hand-writing of Ibn Maimûn: 'This is the end of the second part of the book which I named *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i l-'Arab* and I included in this part one hundred poems selected from the well-known Dîwâns.' Thus both in the preface and at the end of the first and second parts of the work Ibn Maimûn mentioned that he put together 100

[1] Folio 90 r. [2] Folio 150 r.

odes in each part In our manuscripts the first part is found to contain 104 poems, 4 of which must be additional pieces. For, poem No. 62 is mentioned in the manuscript[1] as besides the thousand selected odes and Poem No. 85[2] is said not to be included amongst the selected poems. Similarly in the second part also we find a note by the compiler on poem No. 147[3]: "I put down this piece on account of its exquisite beauty but it does not come under the number of my selections." Hence we can account for the additional 51 odes and 29 fragments over and above 1,000 odes, as mentioned in the note on the contents of the entire work. The second part is, however, found to contain only 90 poems. It must be due to the redaction I have referred to above.

In the Khedivial library of Cairo, I also came across a codex of a collection containing the Dîwân of Laqît al-Iyâdî[4] and of al-Hâdirah[5] and the commentary of the Dîwân of Abu Miḥjan al-Thaqafî[6] and of the Dîwân of 'Alqamah al-Faḥl.[7] As found in the colophon,[8] it was transcribed by a scribe, named Ismâ'îl Ḥaqqî, who came originally from Africa and was domiciled in Syrian Tripoli. The scribe betrays his *Maghribi* origin by writing sometimes with one dot and putting the dot underneath. The first of this codex—which contains 33 poems by Jarîr, 30 by al-Farazdaq, 9 by al-Akhṭal, 3 by Qais *b.* al-Khaṭîm, one poem by Ka'b *b.* Sa'd al-Ghanawî, one by al-Shanfarâ and one by Ta'abbaṭa Sharran and three poems al-Aḥwaṣ Muḥammad *b.* Âṣim *b.* Thabit al-Anṣârî—claims to be a part of the *Muntaha al-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* by (Muḥammad *b.*) al-Mubârak *b.* Maimûn al-Baghdâdî, although it thus contains only 81 poems. The author of the Khizânah has quoted from seven poems in this part, *viz.*, from three

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[1] Folio 51 r

[2] Folio 67 v.

[3] Folio 119 v.

[4] Folios 248-256.

[5] Folios 258-270.

[6] Folios 272-291.

[7] Folios 292-318

[8] Folio 347 v.

poems by al-Farazdaq,[1] two poems by Jarîr,[2] one poem by Qais *b.* al-Khaṭîm [3] and one by Ka'b *b.* Sa'd al-Ghanawî [4] and mentions them as selected by Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak in his *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab.* No poem of the first two parts, as contained in the Constantinople codex, is found quoted in the *Khizânah*, which mentions three other poems by Muslim *b.* Ma'bad al-Wâlibî,[5] Muzâḥim al-Uqailî [6] and Kuthayyir 'Azzah [7] as belonging to this Anthology.

That the *Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab min Ash'âr-i 'l-'Arab* is an anthology of the best compositions of all such Pagan and Islamic poets who are often quoted in *belles-lettres*, as mentioned by the anthologist in his preface, may be accepted on the authority of a literatteur like Abdul Qâdir al-Baghdâdî (*d.* 1093 A. H.) whose *Khizânat-u 'l-Adab* is, as we know, an exposition of the citations in the commentary of the Kâfiyyah, containing biographical sketches of the poets and scholars of the Pagan and early Islamic periods who are oft-quoted as authority.[8]

But nothing can be known about the anthologist, Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak *b.* Muḥammad *b.* Muḥammad *b.* Maimûn from our sources of biographical reference. The second manuscript of the Khedivial library gives the name as al-Mubârak *b.* Maimûn al-Baghdâdî and the redactionist in his notes in the other Mss. often calls him simply Ibn Maimûn. That he was a native of Baghdâd may also be gathered from the preface in which he says that he made his compilation at Madînat-u 'l-Salâm. Thus, probably, the work came to be known to 'Abdul Qâdir al-Baghdâdî, the author of the *Khizânah.* Al-Khaṭîb al-Baghdâdî, however, does not mention him in his history of Baghdad. Yâqût mentions in his Mu'jam-u

[1] Khizânat-u 'l-Adab, I 463, II 467 and IV 40.

[2] *Ibid*, I 448 and 463.

[3] *Ibid*, III 164.

[4] *Ibid*, IV 373.

[5] *Ibid*, I 366.

[6] *Ibid*, IV 255.

[7] *Ibid*, II 421.

[8] J. Zaidân: Târîkh-u Adâb-i 'l-Lughat-i 'l-'Arabiyyah, Vol. III, 288.

'l-Udabâ'[1] one Muḥammad *b.* Maimûn of Cordova, a skilled grammarian and well-known scholar, who wrote a commentary on the *Maqâmât* of al-Harîrî, but we have no chronological data from which we could suppose that our anthologist's father or grand-father came to Baghdad from Cordova. From the preface of the book, which mentions the years 588 and 589 as the date of its compilation, we learn that the anthologist spent 60 years in the study of Arabic poetry before beginning to compile his work. This gives the 6th century as the age in which he flourished, being born within its first quarter. We further learn from this preface that he read most of the poems of his selections with his masters, Abu Muḥammad 'Abdullah *b.* Ahmad *b.* Aḥmad *b.* Aḥmad al-Khashshâb and Abu 'l-Faḍl *b.* Nâsir The former was a pupil of al-Jawâlîqi, who died at Baghdad in 539 A.H.[2] and the name of the latter, whom Yâqût mentions in his Mu'jam al-Udabâ'[3], is Abu 'l-Fadl Muhammad *b.* Nâṣir al-Sulamî.

Muḥammad *b.* al-Mubârak often mentions the occasion of the poems of his collection and sometimes traces his sources as far back as could be available. For instance, on the first poem in the Anthology he notes: a panegyric on the Prophet by Ka'b *b.* Zuhair. I read it in the year 542 A.H. with my master Ahmad *b.* 'Ali *b.* al-Samîn who delivered it to me, having got it from Abu Zakariyâ Yaḥyâ *b.* 'Ali al-Khaṭîb who got it from Abu 'Amr Muḥammad *b.* al-'A'bbâs *b.* Hayawayah al-Jazzâr who got it from Abu Bakr Muḥammad *b.* al-Qâsim al-Anbârî who got it from his father who got it from Abdullah *b.* Amr who got it from al-Hajjâj *b.* Dhu 'l-Ruqaibah *b.* Abd-u 'l-Rahmân *b.* Ka'b *b.* Zuhair al-Mujainî who got it from his father who got it from his grand-father who got it from Ka'b.

The anthologist also sometimes makes interesting remarks and important observations. Thus, regarding a

[1] Vol. VII, p. 112.

[2] Suyûṭî: Bughyat-u 'l-Wu'ât.

[3] Vol. I, p. 217 and Vol. VII, pp 209, 286 and 289.

poem of Jarîr[1], he observes that it is the last of three best poems by Jarîr which the poet said satirising al-Farazdaq but yet it does not occur in the Naqâ'id. The author of the Khizânah quotes verbatim this criticism of Ibn Maimûn. Again about Ubaidullah *b.* al-Hurr[2] the anthologist says that al-Sukkarî reckons him amongst the Luṣûṣ but he was not a bandit although he gathered a rabble for leading expeditions. From al-Sukkarî's *Kitâb al-Luṣûṣ*, which, unfortunately, has been irretrievably lost, seven other poets and, in all, 19 poems are found included in the second part of the Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab: four poems by Ubaid *b.* Ayûb al-Anbârî, three by al-Khaṭîm al-Muḥrizî, two by Jahdar *b.* Mu'âwiyyah *b.* Ja'dah al-'Ukalî, one poem by al-Samharî, *b.* Bishr al-'Ukalî, one by Taḥmân *b.* Amr al-Kilâbî, four poems by the above-mentioned Ubaidullah *b.* al-Hurr and four by al-Qattâl whose name is given as Abdullah *b.* Mujîb al-Kilâbî. In the other parts of our anthology which are yet unknown, we could probably find far more materials for the reconstruction of al-Sukkarî's interesting work on which one of our Research students has been engaged. Similarly from the Mufaḍḍalîyât 14 poems are found in the first part,[3] 20 in the second part[4] and two[5]—one by Ta'abbaṭa sharran and one by al-Shanfarā—in the unknown part of the second Cairene manuscript. In the other seven parts of the work we could not only expect to find some more selections from those two collections but we could also have got a large number of selections from the Aṣma'îyât. As I have shown elsewhere, the Collection of al-Aṣma'î have come down to us very incomplete in Ahlwardt's edition of the Vienna codex of

[1] Folio 47 r. [2] Folio 129 r.

[3] Mufaḍḍalîyât, ed. Sir Charles Lyall, Nos. IX, XVIII, XXI, XXII, XXIV, XXV, XXX, XLIV, XCVI-XCIX and CXXIV.

[4] Ibid, Nos. V, VI, X, XV, XVII, XXVII-XXIX, XXXI, XXXIV-XXXVI, XLI, XLII, XLVII, LXVII, LXXVI, LXXXIX, XCI and CV.

[5] Ibid, Nos. I and XX.

the Aṣma'iyât. If the selections made from the Aṣma'iyât in the Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab, as mentioned in its preface, were before us, we might have in them some valuable additions to Ahlwardt's edition.

In this short paper, I just draw the attention of Arabists to this anthology of vast extent, interest and importance, of which I could discover only one-third or a little more than three out of its ten parts. Several scholars from Europe and India have made enquiries from me about its contents. I, therefore, have made a list [1] of the poems included in these parts, arranged in the alphabetical order of the names of the poets with the first hemistiches, numbers of verses and numbers of the folios in the Laleli and the Khedivial manuscripts.

In the first two parts of the Muntaha 'l-Ṭalab will be found notices of the dîwâns of several poets that are yet unknown to us. I may mention the poets Bishr *b.* Abî Khâzim, 'Urwah *b.* Udhainah, al-Aswad *b.* Ya'fur, al-Shamardal, al-Mutawakkil *b.* 'Abdullah al-Laithî, Tamîm *b.* Ubayy *b.* Muqbil, Kuthayyir 'Azzah [2] and Jamîl. From the number of *their poems included, it is* evident that the anthologist had access to the Dîwâns of these poets. A few of these and other selections in the first two parts of our anthology are not fully known and some are altogether unknown.[3] How much more we could expect to find like these poems in the remaining seven parts, if they come to light!

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[1] To be published elsewhere.

[2] Kuthayyir's Dîwân with the commentary of Abu Abdullah al-Rashidi is known to exist in a manuscript of the Escurial library.

[3] For example, out of the 13 poems by Abîd *b.* al-Abraṣ 5 will not be found in the Poet's *Dîwân* edited by Sir Charles Lyall.

ARABIC POETRY OF HAFIZ

By Kazi Ahmedmian Akhtar,

Junagadh.

The share contributed by the Persians in the expansion of Arabic literature is a subject too vast to be dealt with in a short paper like the present. However, the studies on the Arabic compositions of those famous Persian poets who are called bilingual, like Masud-i-sa'd-i-Salman, Sa'di, Khusraw, Imad, Hafiz and Jami, would furnish ample material for filling the gap in the literary history of Persia.

As a matter of fact, the role played by the Persian poets in the realm of Arabic Poetry is of outstanding importance as it forms a link between the post-classical Arabic literature and the contributions of the Persians to the Arabic language This is, indeed, a very interesting subject for study and research, which has hitherto been neglected, at which the late Professor Browne has expressed his astonishment.[1]

That Khwaja Hafiz of Shiraz enjoys a world-wide reputation as a lyrical poet of Persia, does not require special emphasis. His Persian poems are pretty well-known and read with great interest and enthusiasm all over Asia and Europe. But very few of his admirers are perhaps aware that Hafiz possessed the ability of composing poems in Arabic also. A considerable number of Arabic verses is found in his Diwan which have become an integral part of his Persian poems.

The Diwan of Hafiz, which has since long been published in Persia, India and Europe, was not compiled

[1] A Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 447.

by the poet himself in his life-time, but was collected after his death by his old friend Mohammad Gulandam, who edited it with an introduction.

It has been rightly remarked that numerous interpolations have crept in the Diwan-i-Hafiz on account of its constant transcription, and as Rida Quli says[1] the verses and odes of the Salman of Sawa (d. 778 A.H.), a contemporary of Hafiz, have been sandwiched in his Diwan. Undoubtedly such verses and even complete odes have been interpolated in most of the later editions of the Diwan, but there can be no obvious reason for inserting the Arabic verses or poems, composed by others in the name of Hafiz, although an instance of this kind will be noticed later on. We have little doubt, however, about the genuineness of these Arabic compositions in the Diwan of Hafiz.

Before dwelling on the Arabic poetry of Hafiz it will be worth while to know the academic career of the poet and his competent knowledge of the Arabic language and literature, and also to inquire what sort of works he composed in Arabic besides these stray verses in his Diwan.

In his biographies the poet is simply described as a "Hafiz," or one who commits the Quran to memory. He was not only a *Hafiz* in this sense, but he was also conversant with the different readings of the sacred book to which the following lines allude :—

"The love may attend to your complaint if like Hafiz you learn the Quran by heart with 14 readings.

"I have never seen any poetry sweeter than thine, O Hafiz, by virtue of that Quran which thou keepest in thy bosom."

One of his biographers says that Hafiz received his education under Mawlana Shamsuddin Abdullah of Shiraz, who used to teach in the school founded by him.[2]

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[1] Majma'ul-Fusha, Vol II. p 12.

[2] Majma'ul-Fusha, Vol II, p 12.

It is stated that Haji Qiwamuddin Hasan (d. 754 A.H.), the Vizier of the Treasury of Shah Abu Ishaq, who was a patron of letters, founded a college at Shiraz, where he appointed his *protege* Hafiz as a Professor of Jurisprudence and Quranic Commentary.[1]

His services in the said college can be inferred from the following :—

"How long, O Hafiz, thou wilt sit at the door of the school, get up, and let us find an 'escape' in a tavern?

"O Hafiz, don't find the pearl of love in the corner of the school; step out if you are inclined to search for it."

The oldest documentary evidence which we possess about the attainments of Hafiz in Arabic, is the introduction to his Diwan written by his friend Gulandam, which is a fine specimen of the Persian prose of the eighth century. In the course of his introduction the editor says, *inter alia* :—

"However, diligent study of the Quran, constant attendance to the King's business, the annotation of the Kashshaf and the Misbah, the perusal of the Matali and the Miftah, the acquisition of canons of literary criticism and *the appreciation of Arabic poems*, prevented him from collecting his verses and odes."[2]

In the above translation by Professor Browne the the italics are mine. The word is found in most of the printed as well as manuscript copies of Hafiz's Diwan. Browne's reading does not convey any plausible meaning, as the appreciation of Diwans or poems does not involve such an absorbing mental pre-occupation as to prevent a poet from compiling his Diwan. The exact translation should be "the search of the Arabic Diwans" which is most suitable and appropriate.

This introduction has been found in the oldest copies of the Diwan. Haji Khalifa has also translated a portion

[1] Hayat-i-Hafiz (Urdu), p. 8-11

[2] Professor Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, Vol. III, p. 272.

of the above quotation into Arabic [1] from which it is evident that Hafiz, besides studying the Quran, wrote annotations on the well-known commentary of al-Zamakhshari, which served at that time as a text-book in the Arabic Madrasahs and is still prescribed in India and Muslim countries. He also annotated the Misbah, a book on Arabic grammar by al-Mutarrizi (d. 610). [2] Both these works of Hafiz have apparantly been irrecoverably lost. To his annotations on Kashshaf he alludes as follows :—

"No one of the Hafizes in the world hath combined as I have the aphorisms of the philosophers with the scripture of the Quran."

From the following lines it is evident that Hafiz had a special liking for the book Kashshaf and he spent most of his time in reading, lecturing and writing notes on it. He says :—

1. Read a verse from the book of the face of the beloved, as it is an explanation of difficult passages from the books "Kashf" and "Kashshaf."

2. Take the register of poems and proceed to a jungle, as it is time for attending the college and discussing over the books (Kashf and Kashshaf.)

By Kashf, mentioned in both the verses, probably Kashful-Asrar is meant, a book on the exegesis of the Qur'an, written by Abu Talib of Mecca (d. 437 A.H.) [3] or the Kashful-Asrar of Abdul Aziz Ahmed al-Bukhari (d. 730), a commentary on the Principles of Jurisprudence by al-Bazudi (d. 482). [4]

Besides this, Hafiz indulged in the study of Matalī and Miftah. By the first probably Matali'ul-Anzar is meant,

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[1] Kashfuz-Zunan, Vol. I, p. 508.

[2] Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 448-449. Haji Khalifa has given the titles of commentaries on this book and the names of their authors, some of whom were contemporaries of Hafiz. This book was prescribed as a text-book in the 8th century.

[3] Haji Khalifa, Vol. II, p. 320.

[4] Ibid, Vol. I, pp. 114-115.

A work on logic and philosophy by al-Baidawi (d. 683 A.H.) [1] the second Miftahul-Ulum a cyclopædia of Rhetoric by as-Sakkaki (d. 606 A.H.).[2] Both the works were generally prescribed as text-books for higher studies in Arabic in those times. This is a proof of Hafiz's Scientific and Philosophical studies in the Arabic language.

From the introduction of Hafiz's Diwan, referred to above, we learn about his fondness of the Diwans of Arabic poets, which is by itself a testimony to his high taste for Arabic Poetry. In the opening line of his Diwan he has inserted a hemistich from the verse of the Umayyad ruler, the notorious Yazid, who was a poet of some distinction and the author of a Diwan.[3]

Its quotation by Hafiz became so popular that it inspired several poets to compose their odes on the same metre and rhyme.[4]

The concluding couplet in the above-mentioned Ghazal of Hafiz, has been a subject of criticism by the Indian poet and critic, the learned Azad of Bilgiram, who says that it is not according to the rules of Grammar. But ar-Radi in his commentary onthe Kafiyah,[5] and some commentators of the Alfiyyah have allowed latitude to the poets in such cases. It is a well-known dictum that "whatever is allowed to poets is not allowable to others."

That Hafiz had an access to the works of the Arabian poets, can be inferred from his verses in which he seems to have barrowed the ideas of those poets like Abul-Ala Maarri.

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[1] See Haji Khalifa, Vol. II.

[2] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 480. Haji Khalifa has given a list of commentaries on Miftah, some of which have been written by the contemporaries of hafiz.

[3] Ibid, Vol. I, p. 526.

[4] See the complete ode of Jami with an English translation in Browne's Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, pp. 544-545.

[5] Sharh-ur-Radi 'alal-Kafiyah, Vol. I, p. 86, Delhi 1282 A.H.

About the poets' knowledge of Arabic, Professor Browne observes:—

"As regards Hafiz's intellectual attainments his bilingual poems alone show that he had a good knowledge of Arabic, apart from the statements of his editor, Muhammad Gulandam, as to his more scientific work in that language."[1]

Looking to a trustworthy piece of historical importance, contained in the introduction to his Diwan, and finding in it the references to his literary pursuits, we come on surer ground as to Hafiz's qualifications and his systematic studies in Arabic arts and sciences. Hafiz was well acquainted with standard works of Arabic, Philosophy and Medicine, the Sharh-i-Mawaqif by Qadi Aḍaduddin al-Iji, and the al-Qânûn and ash-Shifâ of Avicenna.

There is no separate Arabic Diwan of Hafiz, but his occasional Arabic verses and poems which are scattered here and there in his Persian Diwan, form the bulk of Arabic production of Hafiz. These verses and poems are of two kinds, *viz.* :—

1. Mulamm' aat, "Patchwork" or macoronic poems, in which alternate lines or verses are in two different languages, generally Arabic and Persian. The Arabic hemistich is often some well-known phrase from the verses of the Quran or a quotation from Hadith (Sayings of the Prophet), a proverb or an aphorism, and these have been so exquisitely set that, according to the learned Shibli, "they look like pretty gems bedecked in a ring."[2]

2. Purely Arabic poems and verses which are unrivalled in simplicity and eloquence and bear witness to the cultivated ease with which Hafiz composed the Arabic poems. Although the poet's tongue is Persian yet his mouth is full of Arabic. It must be mentioned that most of these Arabic verses have been found to be transcribed incorrectly. We have been able to collate them

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[1] A Literary History of Persia, Vol. III, p. 289.

[2] Shi'rul-Ajaw, Vol, II, p. 227.

with different copies of the Diwan and have corrected the mistakes made by the copyists.

I. The first kind of Hafiz's Arabic poetry falls into four groups:—

(1) The *tadmin* or "insertion" of the Quranic verses.[1]

(2) The insertion of Hadith or sayings of the prophet.[2]

(3) Proverbs.[3]

(4) Lyrical, mulamm'a or "patchwork" verses which abound in the Diwan.

It must be remarked here that Hafiz has imitated the ode of his compatriot Imâd Faqih using the metre and rhyme employed by the latter, as in other odes in which, too, the metres and rhymes used by Imâd have been adopted by Hafiz.

Professor Iqbal of the Punjab University has published such parallel odes of both the poets in the *Oriental College Magazine.*[4]

The poet Jami has imitated Hafiz. It seems that he was a student of the poetry of Hafiz, as he has tried to imitate him in his metres and rhymes. He refers to Hafiz and his ode.

II. The second kind of Hafiz's Arabic poetry is purely Arabic verses of which a considerable number is found in his Diwan.

An Arabic ode of 9 couplets has been given by Sadiq Ali in the name of Hafiz in his commentary on the Diwan. But this ode belongs to the famous poet Amir Khusraw

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[1] *E.g.* Quran 97; 5. 1 : 25. 104 : 9. 21 . 30 (See also Kulliyat, P. 742, Lucknow) 5 · 45 13 : 29.

[2] See Taybis' *Sharh ul-mishkat.*

[3] *Vide* al-'Askaris' *Jamharatul Amthâl*, p. 24, Bombay. Cf. Imad Faqih, a compatriot of Hafiz (*Oriental College Magazine* Vol. V, No. 4, Lahore).

[4] November 1929, p. 95-96.

(d. 722 A.H.) who quotes it *in extenso* in his introduction to the Persian Diwan Ghurratul-Kamal.[1]

In conclusion, we are inclined to remark that, the Arabic poetry of Hafiz has a peculiar charm of its own and on account of its archaic simplicity and elegant style, it deserves to rank with the best poetry of the later and contemporaneous Arabic poets, which is not regarded by competent critics as original in the real sense, because it lacks in the rigid conventionalities of Arabic classicism. As a matter of fact, we fail to find in the Arabic poetry of Hafiz that force of expression, fluency and artistic exuberance, rich imagery and glowing eloquence which characterise his Persian odes and which have immortalized him as the greatest lyrical poet Persia has ever produced. It is hardly necessary to point out here that the plane of Hafiz's imaginative flights was the Persian rose-garden, in which he poured out his melodies like a sweet nightingale, but it was beyond his natural tendencies and intellectual environments to strike his lyrical notes in the same strain which the mountainous region and sandy desert of Arabia could hardly afford; and therefore his Arabic poems appear like a colourless boquet of wild flowers in comparison with his blooming Persian rose-garden.

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[1] Dibacha-i-Ghurratul-Kamal, p. 65, Delhi.

OMAR KHAYYAM AS A THINKER AND PHILOSOPHER

By J. E. Saklatwalla,

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Omar Khayyam has been called "the erudite philosopher of the age—the Lord of the seekers of truth—the King of the learned."

Omar Khayyam never suffered from what the Frenchmen call 'impuissance de vivre' meaning thereby an incapacity to face the facts of life and adapt oneself to its hard and unalterable conditions. Coleridge suffered from this 'impuissance' and in spite of this defect he never wavered in his life from the pursuit of truth. Omar in his walk of life had throughout a humanising task to perform and this he did full well by his poetry. This humanitarian impulse has been well manifested in several of his quatrains. Omar Khayyam laboured in order to found a philosophy of life He laboured to correct, chastise the pseudo Sufis and bigots of religion. He, in the poetry, both of man and of nature, struck an unfaltering note which his ever-present sympathy with rustic life was well expressed in his sequestered homely garden house by the Rudbar. Omar from his very early age was more inclined to philosophic thought and he filled his mind with the thought of 'Wine Divine,'[1] as he hailed the rising Orb of the day.

There are many thinkers who believe that poetry has nothing to do with philosophy. Such was not the case with Omar Khayyam. Omar has philosophised in his Rubaiyyat, for, as Dryden had said in regard to Coleridge

[1] Divine Love is exemplified to us in a variety of symbolic imagery, 'under the similitude of corporal things.'

'philosophy has served as raw material for his quatrains.' With Thomas Traherne, Omar well knew that no man can be a Man unless he be a philosopher.

Omar was a connoisseur in mysticism[1] and as such he revelled in expressing in symbols of 'wine and cup-bearer, tavern,' as is the wont of all Persian poets, the philosophy of kisses to express religious devotion, the perfection of the Divine Being, and the raptures of piety, is undoubted. Omar's whole life was characterised by what Hazlitt called 'the mighty heap of hopes of thought, of learning and humanity.' Omar lived and died full of hopes of 'divine union' which a true mystic and Sufi aspires after. For, our poet full well knew that—

> 'Work without hope draws nectar in a sieve,
> And hope without an object cannot live.'

I must not be backward to admit that I have laid under contribution works of numberless authors[2] who have treated, spoken and written about Omar, his life, his philosophy, his poetry and his outlook as a preacher of the highest Sufi order and to crown above all as a mystic. My reading has opened to me the treasure of Omar's mind and thought and I have borrowed freely from numerous sources. Omar had studied in the 'Darul-hikmat' Greek philosophy of Plato, Aristotle and Pythagoras. The same course of study was continued in the Khana-i-Nizaria in Alamut Fortress, the haunt and citadel of Hasan Sabbah. It was the close study of Greek philosophers' lives, Plato and others, no less to some extent the Vedic philosophy of India (*vide* Payne's Introduction to his translation of Omar Khayyam) that have come to give a firm impression to the minds of Eastern and Western readers the spiritual uplift and implicit faith in the Existence of God. Omar was not an apostate, an athiest or an agnostic. Let those who accuse

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[1] E. Underhill · "Mysticism is the art of union with Reality."

[2] I am much indebted to the profound study "Metaphysique of Mysticism" of my late Guru A. Govindacharya Svamin of Mysore.

Omar of being an athiest note what Omar wrote in the opening chapter of his recently discovered prose work styled 'Navroze-Nameh' wherein he invokes most reverently God the Creator. This opening address to the Almighty as translated by Frederick Rosen settles this doubt once for all. It begins—

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious! Praise and thanks to the Lord—may His glory shine!—Who is the Creator of the world and the Holder of the earth and of time; who gives all living beings their daily sustenance, who knows the manifest and the occult, who is Himself without desire and without associate, without rule or want, who is beyond the limits of measure or numbers almighty and wanting neither help nor assistance. Number of quatrains can be cited to show and prove his deep reverence and belief in life everlasting, divine union and Supreme Reality.[1] In his oft-quoted Rubai, Omar confesses his deepest belief in the Unity of God and discarding the question of Duality. This view was no less expounded by Rumi when he sang—

"Duiam az dil badar kardam
Yeki didam do alam ra" etc... ..

Were I, therefore, to search in the whole range of English poets right up from Chaucer to Francis Thomson, I do not think, a better example than Thomas Traherne—'the Divine Philosopher' as he is denominated by his admirers—to compare with Omar Khayyam. Had Omar lived in the British Isles in the 17th Century he would have well nigh composed his 'Centuries of Meditations' which is considered the magnum opus of Traherne. Dr. Tullock, in his Rational Theology (II, 186), has succinctly summarised the undercurrent of these 'Meditations' in the following words:—'No spiritually thoughtful mind can read them unmoved. They carry us so directly into an atmosphere of divine philosophy, luminous with the

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[1] I am not I till I am one with Thee,
I am not I till, loosed from Self's control,
I cease to be and love absorbs my Soul (E. Holmes).

richest lights of meditative genius . . . We see a mind religious to the core . . . not only free from all pietistic weakness and dogmatic narrowness but poising itself naturally at an altitude out of sight of them . . . His mind is fresh as a new-born life, with open eyes of poetic wonder and divine speculation. He has not painfully reached the serene heights on which his thoughts dwell; but these heights are the natural level of his lofty and abounding spiritual nature.' (Tullock: Rational Theology, II, 186). Were one to closely study and parallelise it with a number of Rubaiyyat from Omar, doubtless a very close resemblance will be found subsisting between these two poets, one of the 11th Century and the other who flourished in the 17th Century. Some minor differences may be gathered here and there but the sum total of the underlying thought and philosophy will be clearly perceived from a comparative study of these two thinkers.

Omar's study and erudition were no less colossal than those of Traherne. After Firdausi, it can safely be asserted that Omar set the ball of evolutionary movement of thought rolling, closing with Al-Ghazzal, Avicenna, Abu-Abdulla Sufi, Abdul Malik Attash and other Arab thinkers. With Traherne, Omar has much in common particularly Platonism and at many points they are both akin.

Just as a writer has observed, these two particularly resemble each other in loftiness and serenity of Soul. Both have expressed and revealed with transparent frankness experiences of the inner life. Both went through a period of scepticism and both emerged pledged to Mysticism. The ultimate choice of both was the personal quest of the Divine Union which is the sole ambition of a true Sufi philosopher. Hence, under the influence of Platonic doctrines both these writers sought after the purification of the Soul and spiritual wisdom (the wine of Omar).

Omar mostly lived the life of cloistered peace enjoyed by the Universities and Kitabkhanas of Nishapur, Merv,

Cordove and Alamut. Omar had the energy of enjoyment of beautiful life. His eager spirit went out ardently to the world of men and science and Nature. Like Traherne, was not monastic, not ascetic. Omar's was an illuminated soul that saw beauty in an acorn—a grain of sand, the lily, the grandeur of stars and planets. He saw God in everything and studied His Immanence.

In one place I have called Omar—a Nature Mystic. No less does W. K. Flemming in his 'Mysticism in Christianity' say that there is no one in the whole range of mystics who looks on Nature as Traherne does.

Omar Khayyam may be likened to an interpreter of despair and disillusionment residing in the solitude of his homely abode in Nishapur. I may venture to call him a 'waif of eternity,' as he raised the wine-cup of the divine union and craved and yearned for absorption in the unfathomable Reality. In his humble home he withdrew himself unto himself to prepare his Self to receive his own Self.

It was the Psalmist who cried—'Oh that I had the wings of a dove, for then would I fly away and be at rest.' Chatterton sang and harped on the same tune 'joyless seek the solitary shade.' Cowper poured out his heart, 'Oh! that the desert were my dwelling place.' Omar no less hankered after silence and solitude 'some letter of the after-life to spell.'

Omar had pivoted his life on 'Love Divine' and likewise Traherne believed that 'love is the one supreme duty and good, that love is wisdom, purity and valour and peace and that its infinite sorrow is infinitely better than the world's richest joy' It was such love[1] that filled the heart of Omar and possessed him. It was this love that guided his every action and ruled all his thoughts. The whole standard of his life's action was based on the highest levels of spiritual life.

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[1] Bishop Gore says: 'As God is Love, so where love is, God is and the permanence of love in us means that we are permanently dwelling in God and God in us.'

Were we to look at the author of the 'Imitation'—Thomas A. Kempis, he desired and wanted to save his own soul. Traherne wanted to save the world. Not unlike Traherne, Omar desired to better the world as several of his quatrains testify. Omar was never oppressed with real or imaginary sin. This astronomer-poet of Persia was full of the rapturous aspirings of a joyful and happy soul, well conscious of its kinship with God himself and continually dwells upon the goodness, the love and the mercy of God. All the thoughts[1] that singed through Omar's brain found an exact counterpart in Traherne when he said 'The whole world ministers to you as the theatre of your Love, without which it were better for you to have no being.'

Traherne's 'Centuries of Meditations' is entirely based on the close study of the Bible. It is no less a manual of contemplation. Each century depicts the progressive stages of contemplative life. The first Century is on 'Love' in all its phases—ethical, moral, physical and spiritual. The other '[illegible]ies' treat of holiness, service to humanity, happ[illegible]icity. It is in general a compendium of precep[illegible] the Bible and points to a true Christian's path-w[illegible] in life. It may be likened to a correct guide-book o[illegible] the Testaments. The whole philosophy of this [illegible] can be summarised in these words—'Seek Ye [illegible] the Kingdom of God and His righteousness, a[illegible] these things will be added unto you.'

Can I no[illegible] the ever recurring refrain of the quatrains of [illegible] in the memorable words of Walt Whitman—[illegible]

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[1] Befo[illegible] presence, Power Divine
W[illegible] this idle sense of mine?
[illegible] the learning of the Schools?
[illegible] sages, priests and pedants?—Fools!
[illegible] world is Thine, from Thee it rose,
[illegible] it ebbs, by Thee it flows.
[illegible] worldy lore! By whom is wisdom shown?
[illegible] Eternal knows, knows all, and He alone!

> 'I cannot rest, O God, I cannot eat or drink or sleep,
> Till I put forth myself, my prayer, once more to Thee,
> Breathe, bathe myself once more in Thee,
> Report myself once more to Thee.'

These lines full well express the ever constant call of the 'wine' of Omar and of all Persian mystical poets. So, it will come home to all who call for 'wine' the 'ruby cup' as an eternal task of all the thinkers, philosophers, mystics and contemplatives who have come and gone and those who will appear in time to come. By this task eternal will men feel the urge which spurs them on to newer and better worlds.

I will never forgive myself if I fail to establish a comparison of the 'urge of Love' as implanted in man as sung by Browning and Omar. 'Love,' says Henry Jones, 'is for Browning the highest and richest conception man can form.' Love has the highest truth conceivable and believable. Love consists in recognition of life's duty as the Divine Command. Said Browning—'There is no good of life but Love—but love—Love, give love, ask only love and leave the rest.'[1] Omar firmly held that from love all other goodness is derived. Browning made love and humanity one. So did Omar. Omar's task in life was to constitute love into the imm[illegible] of his being. Browning's fundamental conception [illegible] love finds its consummation in man—

> 'What God is, what we are,
> What life is, how God tastes an infinit[illegible]
> Infinite ways—one everlasting bliss,
> From whom all being emanates all pow[illegible]
> Proceeds in whom is life for evermore[illegible]
> Yet, whom existence in its lowest form i[illegible]

Omar by constantly calling to bring wine (highest form of love) gives to love a religious significance by making it the power divine, the central energy of God's being. The principle of love propounded by Omar is surely the richest vein of pure ore in his poetry. In the case of Omar

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[1] Aquinas says: 'In love, the WHOLE spiritual life of man consists.'

it was by love alone that he knew the secret of all being. The final belief of Omar as we read his quatrains after quatrains is in his praising and calling for 'Wine'—the love of God.

Who would fail to remark the consanguinity of feeling and sense in the following lines Browning wrote in his song—'Christmas Eve'—

'No, love, which on Earth, amid all shows of it,
Has ever been seen the sole good of life in it,
The love, ever growing there, spite of the strife in it,
Shall arise, made perfect, from death's repose of it.
And I shall behold Thee, face to face
O God, and in Thy light retrace
How in all I loved here, still wast Thou.'

It may not be out of place to add in passing the valued opinion of Professor Cowell, one of the profoundest Orientalists of the 19th Century. Professor Cowell looked on Omar as a true Sufi and his poem as a mystical one in which profoundly religious impulses and doctrines are conveyed in a series of figures wherein the drunkenness lauded by Omar is to be read as the rapture of Divine Love, and the Wine which causes it as the Divine Mercy.

Mr. Benson's estimate of the character of Omar may well be cited here. 'Omar was a sentimentalist, and a lover of beauty, both human and natural. Omar tended to linger over golden memories of the past, and was actually alive to the pathos of sweet things that have an ending. Omar was penetrated with a certain dark philosophy, the philosophy of the human spirit at bay when all refuge has failed.'

Let me in conclusion add the most telling experiences certain well-known mystics had come to enjoy in their lives:—"The Mystics in their search for their different stages and degrees of intuitions of Eternal Life explore the resources of all the arts—poetry, music, dancing, to raise themselves to the pitch of what Coventry Patmore once spoke of as a 'sphere of rapture and dalliance.'"

Many typical examples of these degrees may be cited to confirm it. St. Francis and after him Richard Rolle heard celestial melodies; Kabir the 'Unstruck music of the Infinite.' Dante saw the saints dancing in the sphere of the Sun; 'Suso heard the music of the Angels; Plotinus and Jacob Boehme resort to dance as an image of the glad harmonious movements of liberated souls.' In the East the ecstatic dances of Chaitanya and the sweet melodies of the Āzhvārs and Tukaram and the elated strains of Hafiz and Jellaludin Rumi and Omar and the songs of the Sufis or Dancing Dervishes, all illustrate in diverse manners the world of mystic experiences.

IV. CLASSICAL SANSKRIT SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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To occupy the Chair of the Classical Sanskrit Section in this learned assembly of Orientalists is an honour, the value of which I fully appreciate. The chief duty of a President, I imagine, is to conduct the meetings, to keep silence and to listen. With your cordial co-operation I anticipate no difficulty in this direction. But I am told that before this Presidential duty, I have to discharge another function. It is expected that I should deliver a Presidential address. I shall not plead shortness of notice, even if the result of the election was communicated to me in the third week of November; nor need I put forward the excuse of incompetence which is obvious to all of you. But I feel it would indeed be presumptuous for me to take the superior role of discoursing and teaching when I have come to this conference to listen and learn. This chair has been occupied by many a far-renowned scholar before me, and it would be futile for me to emulate them. Most of you have specialised in your particular branches of study, and have devoted years of patient labour to them; I can hardly pretend that I can give you anything further than what you know so well. On the contrary, I hope to learn a great deal from you.

As you are aware, the rather loosely applied term 'Classical Sanskrit' is very extensive in its scope. It embraces a literature which covers a period of about

twenty centuries and is second to none in its wide range of interesting topics; it is almost impossible for a single scholar to envisage it completely and thoroughly. Even leaving aside the fine arts and technical sciences, which belong to another section of this conference, there are still left some difficult Śāstras like Lexicography, Grammar, Metrics, Poetics and Erotics which properly belong to it and in which its achievement is no less remarkable. As I do not pretend to possess mastery over all these branches I shall confine myself to a few general suggestions and reflections, regarding study and research in Sanskrit, which have occurred to me in my own pursuit. Most of these must have occurred to you also, but I want to formulate them for your consideration so that you may devise whatever steps you may think necessary.

It appears to me that Oriental research has not received that attention and encouragement in this country which is its birthright. This is indeed a larger problem, but it applies in a very high degree to the case of what is called Classical Sanskrit. It is true that the subject is regularly taught in schools, colleges and universities, and the indigenous Indian scholarship at no period has lost its partiality and preference for this phase of the development of Indian literature. Although early European scholars of Sanskrit like Colebrooke and Sir William Jones took classical Sanskrit literature as their starting point, it is somewhat surprising to find that in the subsequent history of European scholarship, which has now travelled far and wide, this great literature is more or less neglected. The attitude of Weber and Macdonell, who in their short summaries devoted a few perfunctory pages to Classical Sanskrit, is typical. The view seems to have prevailed that the classical literature is artificial and uninspiring; and scholars were attracted more powerfully, for linguistic and other reasons, to the more ancient aspects of Indian literature. In recent years the interest has travelled from India proper to Greater and Wider India outside. Perhaps the more

modern date and the finished and stereotyped form and content of classical literature do not appeal to the scholar whose philological and antiquarian zeal finds a better satisfaction in things more antique. Whatever may have been the reason, it is indeed remarkable that while Vedic and Buddhistic literatures have been assiduously cultivated, classical literature has been less fortunate.

At the same time, it cannot be denied to-day that this literature has a right to independent recognition. It is a matter of gratification, indeed, that Indian scholarship, as I have said, has never neglected it. It will be profitable in this connexion to pause and consider the extent and value of the result produced by the revived investigations in this field carried on for nearly one century. We can at once realise that scholarly research in India has made great strides within the last fifty or sixty years and that a vast amount of work has already been achieved. The enterprise of the various learned series in Calcutta, Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Benares, Lahore, Mysore, Trivandrum, Madras, Srirangam and other centres has been yearly publishing a large number of important texts. A great deal of patient intensive research is steadily being carried on into difficult and obscure problems; and the net amount of output is not indeed discouraging.

But the field is limitless, and the serious workers have been unfortunately few. The impression that not much work is left to be done is, as you know, not true. A large number of subjects still awaits general as well as special investigation. Poetics has just begun to be systematically studied, but Dramaturgy and the histrionic art are still practically unexplored. No scientific study has yet been made of Metrics, or of Erotics. Most of the important Sanskrit lexicographical works have now been published, but no complete scientific dictionary of Classical Sanskrit has yet been compiled. Nor has any attempt been made to supplement Bohtlingk and Roth's monumental work, which was completed in 1875 and

which needs to be brought up-to-date by incorporation of materials from the large mass of subsequently published literature. In Grammar, systems other than Pāṇinian have been, more or less, neglected; and even of the Pāṇinian system it cannot be claimed that a thorough scientific study has been made. Some work has been done in Sanskrit Philology, but it is comparatively little when compared with what is done in the sphere of Vedic Philology. We have as yet no full and consistent history of Sanskrit Poetry or Drama, nor of the problems connected with the social and cultural life of the people revealed in the literary works. Professor Winternitz's work collects together in a comprehensive and well documented form all the scattered information on the subject and is indeed a marvel of methodical scholarship, but it can hardly be regarded as a satisfactory history of a remarkable literature. The subject is indeed too multifarious and vast for a single scholar to encompass; but it is inexplicable why no attempt has yet been made in India to accomplish it by the collaboration of a band of competent scholars.

In this connection I may refer to the important work of collection and preservation of manuscripts of Sanskrit works; for the manuscripts are to the student of literary history what the inscriptions are to the political historian. Laudable attempts have been and are being made in this direction; but the extent of operation in each province has of necessity been limited, and there are not many organised departments of search and collection of manuscripts now in this country. Some old collections, again, are inaccessible and loans are impossible. Of the collections that have already been made detailed catalogues are still unavailable. It is a matter of congratulation, however, that the University of Madras has now proposed a scheme to correct and supplement Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*, the last volume of which was published in 1903. It deserves encouragement and co-operation from interested scholars and institutions.

I may also take here the opportunity of referring to a very important question which is connected with the utilisation of manuscripts and which seriously affects the study of Classical Sanskrit. We have as yet very few really critical editions of the standard classical texts. Even the professed scholarly editions do not often analyse, estimate and turn into account the variety and extent of existing manuscript material; and the question of existing recensions of the texts is very seldom properly considered in editing them. In most cases there have been mechanical reproductions of the early printed editions published in the last century from admittedly insufficient manuscript materials. The case of the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntala* may be taken as typical. No scholar has yet made an attempt to produce a really critical edition by studying the various recensions of the work and evaluating the divergent manuscript tradition. In other words, we have been multiplying college text-books, but the modern methods and principles of textual criticism have been scarcely understood or consistently applied even to the more important classical texts. One of the fundamental conditions of all serious study and research is that the text on which it proceeds is properly and definitely constituted; for no useful critical investigation can ever be based upon an uncertain text. If the first edition of Kālidāsa's great work was published in Europe, is it not time that the last critical edition should be published in India?

Let it not be understood that my object is to depreciate unduly the very sincere efforts of a large number of competent Indian scholars who have produced a mass of important and interesting work and have contributed materially to the progress of Sanskrit study. The value of such efforts can never be disputed or depreciated. My object is to appeal to them not to remain complacently content with what has already been achieved. Every worker in the field realises that there are serious difficulties and handicaps in the way of progress, but, given the

necessary enthusiasm and patience, they are not insurmountable. Sanskrit studies have received comparatively poor recognition in this country; but this should not discourage serious workers.

Speaking of the difficulties and handicaps, I may call your attention to a very grave disadvantage which must have been felt by many of you in the course of your studies. There is in this country no central organisation for the co-ordination of research and for affording the necessary facilities. There was at one time such a scheme before the Imperial Government, but like most government schemes it never took any effective shape. The different Universities, no doubt, have their modest plans and efforts which have in most cases been fruitful; but these necessarily small and scattered attempts can never serve the larger national purpose. There is also the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona, with its magnificent collection of manuscripts and with its readiness to help scholars; but the Institute also has never been able to develop and expand its activity for want of sufficient funds; and in recent years its energies have been mostly absorbed in the colossal task of producing a critical edition of the Great Epic. You may say that this Conference itself is such a central organisation. This is true, but the Conference has not yet taken upon itself the responsibilities of such a task in all its implications, which should be one of its worthy objects. In this connection I may refer to another want which is often felt by most advanced students and research-workers. India is a vast tract of land, and the printing presses and publishing firms are numerous; in spite of facilities of communication, it is not always possible to get exact information regarding Indian publications on Oriental subjects. Sometimes in some obscure corner an important text is published; it is after several years probably that it comes to the notice of the interested scholars. No doubt, the different oriental journals and some enterprising publishing firms give the desired publicity; but

we have as yet no means of having complete information regarding books which are already published or are in the course of publication. Since this Conference is a central body, it is desirable that it should devise means for publishing an annual bulletin containing such information.

From what I have said it will be clear that the work of the Orientalist in Sanskrit is far from being complete. Many of the fields are not yet thoroughly explored; and even those which have been explored still await workers to systematise the collected data or supplement them by the study of details. The task of a modern investigator is perhaps more arduous and less grateful than that of his predecessor. The days have gone by when the scholars, who were pioneers in these studies, were at once in a position to lay before the learned world a mass of new, important and often startling facts. On the scholar of our time there falls the duty of defining more accurately, and, not infrequently, of correcting the outlines drawn by his predecessors with bold, perhaps over-bold, hand. Upon him lies the burden of limiting sweeping generalisations and reproving the premature enthusiasm of first discoveries, of tracing more hidden connexions, of distinguishing finer shades and nuances of thought, phrase or fact, of applying more delicate critical tests.

Work of this kind demands great critical acumen and attention to details, sobriety and fairness of judgment, and infinite labour and accuracy. No one can say that the Indian scholar lacks these qualities; but let there be no misunderstanding when I say that we often fail to make use of these requirements in cases where our sentiments are concerned. Our philosophical temperament often makes us prone to indulging complacently in abstract generalisations. We often jump to conclusions or theorisings from meagre and insufficient facts. Local bias, patriotic motives or personal prejudices are hard to avoid, while traditional orthodoxy and its stereotyped views hamper us in our search after truth. Our

statements are often too vigorous, too sweeping and too confident to be wholly true. It is indeed sad to reflect that, barring honourable exceptions, the professed Indian scholar, when compared with his European colleague, often falls far lower in the scale, in the extent, duration and persistence of his efforts, in the freedom and variety of his viewpoints, in the standard of his workmanship, in the mass of his actual output. We have our equipment and ideas, as well as the high tradition of scholarship; but it takes long years of patient toil to systematise and present our views in a well matured form. This patience and this capacity of taking infinite pains most of us unfortunately lack. It is difficult to overcome predilections and partialities, but the hasty tendency to lay down the law is fatal to all scholarship. Before one can commit oneself to a definite conclusion, the careful probing of a problem from all sides and weighing of evidences are absolutely necessary, while openness to fresh facts and patient balancing of probabilities are requisites which cannot be easily dispensed with.

There is also a tendency to underrate the value of the modern methods on the one hand, and of the traditional methods on the other. The traditional methods are our own, but the importance of modern methods cannot be ignored. Exaggerated patriotism is as bad and barren as supercilious modernism. Our methods are, no doubt, peculiarly suitable to the understanding of our literature, but if we are to progress we must also look ahead. Nothing is more childish, more false, more harmful than the mean or ignorant conceit of a narrow nationalism which pretends to neglect or disown anything coming from outside. In refusing to admit, without examination, any merit in foreign scholarship we not only confess ourselves out of date, but also display an over-sensitiveness, which is often a sign of weakness. In the sphere of learning there is room for all. The foreign scholar has his obvious limitations, but it is useless to deny that we have much to learn from him and revise our old methods in that light.

These are not mere high-sounding platitudes which I am repeating. If we are to recover our good name in scholarship we must wake up to hard facts and realities. Let us lay aside our misguided conservatism, on the one hand, and arrogant radicalism on the other, both of which are not indicative of the honestly critical and truth-finding spirit. We glory rightly in the achievement of our forefathers, but let us ask ourselves what we have done in our generation to deserve our priceless heritage. Let us prove ourselves worthy of our sacred trust. It must be understood that to do so, long years of strenuous toil, patient devotedness and singleness of purpose will be necessary. It would be futile, indeed, to force marches with scholarship, for that is bound to result in immature and uncritical efforts. We should always bear in mind that, in the field of scholarship, as in other fields, the maximum of results cannot be attained by the minimum of efforts.

There was a time when scholarly pilgrims from outside used to come to India to learn. It behoves us to-day to recover that reputation. As you are all aware, Orientalism in the last century lost far more than gained ground in this country. The credit belonged at one time to the European scholars of reviving a critical study of Oriental subjects. If to-day the current of oriental enquiry is no longer a strong and fertilising stream in Europe, is it not desirable that we in India should make an attempt to divert it to its native channel and see that it does not lose its force and volume for all time? Sanskrit learning must have its permanent home in the land of caves and temples; it cannot be transported westward for all time. The scientific study of oriental subjects must now, in the fitness of things, have its centre in the land of its birth; and it entirely depends upon our own efforts that it really becomes so.

BHARTṚIHARI, A BAUDDHA?

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Students of Sanskrit Literature are under the delusion that there existed at least *two* different authors with the name Bhartṛihari, of whom one, the author of the famous *Śatakas* was a Hindu and the other, the author of the *Vākyapadīya*, a Bauddha.[1] It is proposed in this short paper *to refute the view that the author of the Vākyapadīya was a Buddhist.*

The view that the author of the *Vākyapadīya* was a Buddhist has the main support of I-tsing. His account that Bhartṛihari entered into the monastery seven times, returned to the world and lived the life of a layman, shows that he was a Buddhist mendicant *at least for some time.* In that case he must have written the *Vākyapadīya* either before he became a *Bauddha* or after his reversion to *Brāhmanism*, since the work clearly indicates the Brahmanical convictions of its author, (as will be shown in the sequel).

Another reason for calling Bhartṛihari a *Buddhist*, is Vāchaspatimiśra's reference to Bhartṛihari as *bāhya* in his *Tattvabindu*[2] when the former quotes a verse from the latter's *Vākyapadīya*. Though the term *bāhya* possesses the bad odour of the Buddhist, it need not be always taken in that sense. It may mean only its literal sense, (*i.e.,*) one who is an *alien* (to the speaker). In the *Tattvabindu* Vāchaspatimiśra following the celebrated *Vārttikakāra* Kumārilabhaṭṭa, has refuted the sphoṭa

[1] Pathak J.B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVIII.

[2] Vide Tattvabindu (Annamalai University Sanskrit Series No. 3), p. 70.

doctrine (as elucidated by Maṇḍanamiśra in his *Sphoṭasiddhi*) and maintained the view that *varṇas are arthapratyāyakas*. And it is not quite unnatural to call by the term *bāhya* the exponent of the sphoṭa doctrine in the science of Sanskrit Grammar, especially when he has advocated the *varṇavāda* to be accepted by all Mīmāṁsakas including Maṇḍanamiśra.

A close study of the Brahmakāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya would convince even a casual reader that the author Bhartṛihari is a great monistic philosopher, accepting śabda as the ultimate reality of the world. Careful students of Indian Philosophy are aware of the fact that the *Upanishads* which are otherwise known as *Vedānta*, do contain exposition of three kinds of monism—śabda-monism, vijñāna-monism and sattā-monism; and it may be noted here that Patañjali and Bhartṛihari have developed and systematised the śabda-monism in their works on grammar, just as Buddha and his disciples and Śaṅkara and his commentators have systematised respectively the vijñāna-monism and sattā-monism.

The five opening verses of the Vākyapadīya which explain as usual the *anubandha chatushṭaya*, contain the essence of Bhartṛihari's monistic philosophy. He accepts the *vivarta-vāda*, which is one of the fundamentals in Śaṅkara's monistic system; and *this gives Bhartṛihari a very high place as a pre-Śaṅkara Advaitin in the history of Indian Philosophy*. His characterisation of sabda-brahman as one [1] that has neither beginning nor end, as the essence of śabda or speech, as the cause of audible sounds and as having this phenomenal world for its manifestation

[1] Anādinidhanam brahma śabdatattvam yadaksharam |
vivartatē-'rthabhāvena prakriyā jagato yataḥ ||
ēkameva yadāmnātam bhinnam śaktivyapāśrayat |
apṛithaktvepi śaktibhyo pṛithaktvenaiva vartate ||
anyāhatāḥ kalā yasya kāla śaktimupāśṛitāḥ |
Janmādayo vikārāḥ shaṭ bhāvabhedasya yonayaḥ ||
ēkasya sarvabījasya yasya cheyamanekadhā |
bhoktṛi-bhoktavya rūpeṇa bhogarūpeṇa cha sthitiḥ ||
Vākyapadīya, kāṇḍa, I, Verses 1-4.

and as being the only efficient cause of this universe—mostly resembles Śaṅkara's description of Brahman in his Jijñāsādhikaraṇa and Janmādyadhikaraṇa bhāshya. What is known in the Upanishads as '*ēka advitiya Brahman*' is ordinarily experienced by all in different forms and capacities; and this, Bhartṛihari says, is due to various *upādhis*—limiting conditions—imposed on the supreme Brahman. Hence the experiences representing the six stages of the phenomenal world—birth, existence, transformation, growth, decay and destruction—present the characteristics of *Kālaśakti* which is popularly known as *māyā* in Śaṅkara's monistic system. Because this *Kālaśakti* in the opinion of the Advaitins possesses different and, sometimes, even opposite properties like sattva and asattva, this universe appears differently as *bhoktṛi* (enjoyer), *bhoktavya* (enjoyable) and *bhoga* (enjoyment). It is again through this *Kālaśakti* that the Absolute Brahman manifests itself in the form of this manifold world. It is on the basis of this extraordinary kind of work that this *Kālaśakti or māyā* is generally described by the *Śāstrakāras* as *anirvachanīya*, (*i.e.*), neither *sat* nor *asat*, neither separate from, nor identical with, the Absolute. *The acceptance of such an Eternal Truth*, viz., *the śabdabrahman and the explanation of this phenomenal world as the seeming manifestation of that Eternal Truth (by the power of Kālaśakti) goes against the very conception that Bhartṛihari, the author of the Vākyapadīya, was a Buddhist, since no Buddhist is said or known as yet to have accepted anything as eternal.*

Again, Bhartṛihari's masterly elucidation of the Āgamapramāṇa in this section of the *Vākyapadīya* contains a direct proof of Bhartṛihari's non-Buddhistic faith. Following the hoary traditions of the vedic seers, Bhartṛihari speaks out, as a great champion of Hindu religion and philosophy, his firm belief and conviction that *āgama* (the Vedas, Smṛiti, etc.) is the sole authority on *dharma* which is transcendental and as such, cannot be understood

by other *pramāṇas* like *pratyaksha* and *anumāna*. In this connection he revels in the glorification of the Vedas in that they, as *self-revelations*, explain the mystic nature of *dharma* and *moksha*. He strongly asserts that mankind cannot find better means than the Vedas for understanding the hidden truth of this universe. Man naturally relies on his powerful and fertile reason, but it has not only not helped him but has even spoiled him, firstly because it has not given him any satisfactory solution for many vital problems of this world; and secondly because it leaves behind a residue of doubt in him so much so that he is disinclined to accept the solution given in the Vedas for these puzzling problems. Bhartṛihari lays down the general principle that on questions of supernormal character, *āgama or śāstra* is the only authority and *tarka* is unreliable,[1] for, however, great might be a man's intellectual attainments, his well-thought-out syllogism may in no time be proved fallacious by a greater intellectual giant. He adds[2] that a man who trusts his reason in transcendental matters is for ever doomed just as a blind man who touches only with his hands the slope of a huge precipice and advances further, is destined to death by an instantaneous fall. Tarka has only a timely effect by pulling down a man from his status, but it fails often to convey the truth. Tarka may be accepted as an accessory to āgama, but it should not direct its path against āgama. So says Bhartṛihari: '*Vedaśāstravirodhīcha tarkaśśchakshurapaśyatām*'.[3] *This is an important fact that has been generally spoken of by the Upanishads and established by Śaṅkarāchārya and his followers.*

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[1] Yatnenānumitopy arthaḥ kuśalair anumātṛibhiḥ । abhiyuktatarairanyair anyathainopapādyate । Vākyapadīya K. I, v. 34.

[2] *Ibid* verse 42.

[3] *Ibid* verse 137.

WHO ARE THE ANITYASPHOṬA-VĀDINAḤ?

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Pandit Charu Deva Shastri has put all lovers of Sanskrit under obligation by the publication of the first kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya, with two commentaries, one by Bhartṛihari himself and the other by Vṛishabhadeva. The second one explains both the verses and the commentary of Bhartṛihari. Bhartṛihari's own commentary on his verses has been published for the first time in its authentic form. An adaptation of it was published in Benares long ago but there it was attributed to Puṇyarāja in spite of the colophon (Vāk. p. 62, Ben. Edn.) which mentions Harivṛishabha who is no other than Bhartṛihari himself; but on page 1 we read the editor's heading: *Vākyapadīyaṃ Puṇyarājakṛita Prakāśākhya ṭīkāsahitaṃ prārabhyate.* The second commentary by Vṛishabhadeva is also very welcome. It is a pity that the editor has published only extracts from it, though probably he might have had excellent reasons for doing so.

The two commentaries together throw a good deal of light on the first kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya which was rather obscure in many places. The object of this paper is to draw attention to one of the points on which we have now more information than before on account of these two commentaries.

It is well known that for grammarians the real word śabda is the *sphōṭa*, an eternal, imperishable reality which exists in all of us and which, when awakened or suggested, expresses the meaning. It is the sounds which are uttered that suggest this eternal *sphōṭa*. These sounds

are produced by human effort and they are perishable. They are called *dhvanayaḥ*. This orthodox view of the grammarians is the *nityapaksha*, the view that the real word *sphōṭa* is eternal. But there were other views. The Naiyyāyikas, for instance, held that the word is *anitya* and refused to admit the necessity of postulating the existence of such an entity as *sphōṭa*. The Bauddhas also held *śabda* to be *anitya*.

When we turn to the Vākyapadīya we find that there were people who believed that *śabda* was *anitya* and yet made use of the word *sphōṭa* in expounding their views. Their views are set forth in Vākyapadîya I, 103-106 (Lahore Edition) and the two commentaries mentioned above throw some light on these views. Immediately before this passage, Bhartṛihari sets forth the orthodox view, the *nityapaksha* and points out, rather elaborately, the distinction between *sphōṭa* and *dhvani* on the one hand and between *prākṛta dhvani* and *vaikṛta dhvani* on the other. I shall not dwell on that just now. Then he undertakes to explain the distinction between these very things from the point of view of the *kāryapaksha* or *anitya-paksha*—"*kāryapakshe sphōṭa dhvani bhedam pradarśayann āha 'ya' iti*". (Vāk. p. 98, Lah. Edn.), says the commentator Vṛishabhadeva referring to the following verse :—*Yaḥ saṁyoga vibhāgābhyām karaṇair upajanyate*| *sa sphōṭa śabdajñāḥ śabdāḥ dhvanayō 'nyair udāhritāḥ*‖ (Vāk. I, 103, Lah. Edn.). The word *anyaiḥ* shows that it is not the *nityapaksha* which is now being expounded. It is the view of those who *did not* hold that the eternal word *sphōṭa* is suggested by the transitory sounds (*dhvani*)-'*anyaiḥ' iti- abhivyakti vādibhyaḥ* (Vāk, p. 99, Lah. Edn.) says Vṛishabhadeva. But all of them apparently did not hold the same view. There were minor differences among them, though all of them are represented as using the word *sphōṭa*. I shall take their views in the order in which they appear in the text.

The question is: what is *sphōṭa* and what is *dhvani* and what is the relation between the two?

According to the first view, *sphōṭa* is the name of the first sound which is produced by the vibrations, movements, contacts and explosions of the vocal organs : *anitya pakshe sthāna karaṇa prāpti vibhāga hetukaḥ prathamābhinirvṛitō yaḥ śabdaḥ sa sphōṭa ity uchyate* (Vāk. p. 98, Lah. Edn.). These first sounds, however, do not disappear, without producing others. They are all causes (*kāraṇa*) of others which are their effects (*kārya*). The sounds which are the effects are called *dhvanayaḥ* : *kārya śabdānām iti* । *samyōga vibhāgajānām sphōṭajānāṁ dhvanīnām* । *kāraṇa śabdānām iti, saṁyōga vibhāgajānām sphōṭānām* । (Vāk. p. 100, Lah. Edn). To me, it seems that it would be more in accordance with the view which is being set forth here by Bhartrihari if the text read : *kārya-śabdānam iti* ।*samyōga-vibhāgaja sphōṭajānām dhvanīnām* । instead of the reading given above. However, I have given the text as it is published. These subsequent sounds called *dhvanayaḥ* are represented as spreading in all directions. They are like the reflections of the original sound (*tadrūpapāti bimbōpagrāhiṇah*). They are all links in a chain of sounds which proceeds from the original sound called *sphōṭa*. In this chain, each link shows lesser strength in reflecting the original than the preceding one. In other words, the links in each chain become progressively inaudible until they disappear altogether. These chains of sounds in which the links are like the original *sphōta* or the sound produced by the initial contacts of the vocal organs spread in all directions in two ways : according to the *Vīchitaraṅga nyāya* and the *Kadamba Kōraka nyāya* : *tasmāddhi sthāna samyōga vibhāga jāta-chhabdād daśa digvyāpinaḥ Kadamba-Kōrakāvad Vīchi santānavach cha śabdā jāyamānāḥ śrōtraṃ daśadigavasthitānām upagachchhanti* (Vrishabha on Vāk. I, 103, Lah. Edn.). The first sound in each chain is the result of the vibrations of the vocal organs, while the others are produced, not by the movements of the vocal organs, but the sounds immediately preceding them. It is the latter which are called *dhvanayaḥ*—'*śabdajāḥ śabdā dhvanayō-'nyair*

udāhṛitaḥ' [1]. The chain of sounds which follows the initial sound *sphōṭa* is not always of the same length. According as it is short or long, this initial sound *sphōṭa* is said to be *hrasva* or *dīrgha*, though, as a matter of fact, such a distinction cannot exist in the initial sounds, all of which can last only just one moment—*tēshāṃ prāthamikānām abhinnaḥ kālaḥ sarvēshām eka kshaṇāvasthānāt* (Vṛishabha on Vāk. I, 104, Lah. Edn.). The length of the chain is wrongly attributed to the original sound which produces the chain. Why one chain is long and another short depends upon the nature of the cause which produces the original sound. Each link in the chain is the cause of the following link and the result of the preceding one. Looked upon as a cause, it is called *prākṛita dhvāni*; as a result, it is called *vaikṛita dhvani* (*tatrādya . . . . prākṛitaḥ parō vaikṛita iti bōdhyaṃ*—(Comm. on Vāk. I, 104, Ben. Edn.)

Vākyapadiya I, 103 is quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Dhvanyālokalōchana (p. 47) while he is explaining the different meanings in which the word *dhvani* is used by Ānandavardhana. It is used by them in five meanings and Abhinavagupta wants to show that all of them are based on the usage of grammarians. The first meaning of the word *dhvani* in Dhvanyāloka is *vyaṅgyārtha*, especially that kind which is like a reverberation, an echo (*anuraṇana*) proceeding from the expressed or conventional meaning. Abhinavagupta, following Ānandavardhana, is of opinion that this ālaṅkārika use of the word is based on the usage of grammarians and to prove it he quotes Vākyapadīya I, 103, cited above. In this verse, the word *dhvani* is used, as explained above, to the links in the chain of sounds coming from an initial sound. From this, it is clear that, according to Abhinavagupta, the first *anityapaksha* which we are now considering was held by grammarians, even though they may not have been strictly orthodox grammarians. This view is strengthened by the illustration which Bhartṛihari gives for explaining how the chains of sounds which follow the original sounds are

not always of the same length. He compares the sound produced by the contact of a drum and a stick with that produced by the contact of a piece of iron with bell-metal. (Bhartṛihari, I, 104). The reference to the sound produced by the contact of the drum and the stick reminds one of the passage in the Mahābhâshya where the same illustration is used to point out the difference between *sphōṭa* and *dhvani*.[1]

I am aware that this passage is usually explained as supporting the *nityapaksha*, but a grammarian holding the *anityāpaksha* can also interpret this in his favour. Indeed they seem to have actually done so, judging from the reference to the same illustration in Bhartṛihari's commentary explaining this view.

Thus in Vāk. I, 103, *sphōṭa* means the initial sound which is produced by the movements of the vocal organs and *dhvani* means a link in the chain of sounds which follows it, as a kind of echo, a reverberation. Referring to this view, Abhinavagupta says: *esha pākāro* '*vyakta śabdānāmeva vartate*. (Dhvanyālōka p. 47). This is a little surprising, bacause it is clear from Vāk. I, 103, quoted by Abhinavagupta and from Bhartṛihari's and Vṛishabhadeva's commentary on it that all these writers have the human speech in their mind. The sounds which they are describing and between which they are trying to establish distinctions are all produced by the play of *sthāna* and *karaṇa* *i.e.*, vocal organs. And yet Abhinavagupta says that the distinction between *sphōṭa*, and *dhvani* established in Vāk. I, 103, refers to *avyakta sabda*. Does *avyakta sabda* mean a sound produced by the human vocal organs but without any regard to meaning? Does this mean that the word *sphōṭa* was used by the grammarians not only for that eternal entity which, when suggested, expresses the meaning, but also for the initial sound of a chain, irrespective of any meaning? Does this mean that the necessity for postulating an eternal

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[1] M. Bhā. I, 1.70.

verbal entity arises only for the explanation of the phenomenon called 'meaning'?

Other exponents of the *anityapaksha* explain the relation between *sphōṭa* and *dhvani* in a different way: *anityaśabda-vādibhir eva pūrvam anyathōktam! idam tu darśanāntaram* (Vṛishabha on Vāk. I, 105). According to some, *sphōṭa* and *dhvani* are produced at the same time, like the flame of a lamp and its light. There is no interval between them. The only difference between the flame and the light is that, in the former, the particles of fire (*tejas*) are in greater concentration or density, whereas in light they are not so dense. What is called a lamp is a light which is in a very concentrated form in the centre and which spreads in all directions from that centre becoming less and less dense. All this happens at the same time. In the same way, *sphōṭa* is the name of the central sound which spreads in all directions. From a distance it is possible to see the light, but not the lamp. In the same way, from a distance we can hear the *dhvani* but not the *sphōṭa*. In other words, it is sometimes possible to hear some vague sounds from a distance without our recognising the sounds. (Vṛishabha on Vāk I, 105.) In this view, another comparsion of *sphōṭa* and *dhvani* is with a substance and its smell. The two are produced together. (Vṛishabha on Vāk. I, 105)

Who were the people who held this view? Were they also grammarians?

THE DATE OF RASĀRṆAVASUDHĀKARA

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The Rasārṇavasudhākara is a work on Alaṁkāra literature which deserves consideration at the hands of scholars and students. Its reputed author Śingabhūpāla is generally known as Sarvajña Śingapa. His date has been fixed by the late Mr. Seshagiri Sastri, who was the first to bring to light this work, as approximating to 1330 A.D.[1]

It is the object of this short paper to fix the date and authorship of Rasārṇavasudhākara in the light of the materials that have accumulated since 1896, along with the internal evidence furnished by the work itself. While there is paucity of evidence, dogmatic assertions cannot be made; the present attempt is rendered difficult by the absence of direct epigraphic material to rely on, as well as by the exaggerations that poets readily indulge in, in evaluating the services of their patrons to the people in general and to literature in particular.

The first few pages of the work furnish the genealogy of the author:

"In the Recarla family there was a prince named Yacama Nayudu who was learned and wealthy. He fought a battle with the Pandya King and became victorious. He was styled Khadga-Narayana on account of his prowess. His wife was called Pocamata. He had three sons named Singama Nayaka, Annama Nayaka and Ecama Nayaka. While the eldest brother was ruling over the kingdom the youngest Ecama distinguished

[1] See Seshagiri Sastri. Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts, 1896-7. pp. 7-11 and pp. 91-98 for extracts.

himself and got a son named Nagama Nayaka. Singama Nayudu had two sons named Anapota called also Ananta Nayudu and Madhava Nayudu the latter of whom had many sons of whom Devagiri was the most important. The elder succeeded to the throne and on account of his valour obtained the title of Somakula-Parasurama. He constructed the steps over the mountain of Srisaila for the benefit of the pilgrims to the sacred shrine of Siva under the title of Mallikarjuna situated on the summit. His wife was called Annamamba and she gave birth to two sons who were named Vedagirisvara and Sivabhupati.

"This king Singama Nayudu lived prosperously with his six sons and settled in a town called Rajacala (Racakonda) which was the capital of his ancestors and ruled over the country between the Vindya Mountains and the hill Srisaila situated in the Kurnool District."[1]

1 Yāchama Nāyuḍu

2 Singama Nayudu — 3 Annama Nayuḍu — 4 Echama

4 Echama → 7 Nagama Nayaka

2 Singama Nayudu → *5 Ananta or Anapota* — *6 Mādhava Nayuḍu*

5 Ananta or Anapota → 8 Vedagiriśvara — 9 Śingabhūpāla — 10 Devagiri and others

9 Śingabhūpāla → 11 Anapota — 12 Dāca — 13 Vallabha — 14 Vedagiri — 15 Dama — 16 Māda.

(Compiled from the text.)

This dynastic line agrees with the list furnished by Sewell for the Venkatagiri Zamindari[2]. Yāchama or Yerra Dācha was sent by Pratāparudra II against the Pāṇdyans who had conquered Kānchi[3], perhaps as an assistant of Muppidi Nāyaka. The confusion caused by

[1] Report on a search for Sanskrit and Tamil Manuscripts, 1896-7, Seshagiri Sastri, p. 9.

[2] List of Antiquities, II, p. 240.

[3] See A.R.E. (Madras) 1909, part II, para 73 and 1918, para 50.

the invasion of Malik Kafur did not leave anything untouched except perhaps Ravi-varma Kulasēkhara, the ruler of Kollam.[1] His victorious march to the north is recorded in his inscriptions at Conjeevaram A.D. 1313-14. The invasion of Muppidi Nāyaka came in 1317 which effectively brought a portion of the Tundira Maṇḍala under the rulers of Warrangal.[2]

Dācha's son Śingama Nāyaka also served Pratāparudra II.[3] Thus the first two members were the generals of the Kākatiya king. According to our list the reputed author of the work Rasārṇavasudhākara was a grandson of this Śingama Nāyuḍu. The date 1330 A.D. may well be assigned to this Śingama; for in 1896 Seshagiri Sastri did not possess materials which we are fortunate in having to fix the date with greater precision. Further, Sastri had assumed that the reputed author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara had the biruda of Sarvajña as well an assumption which has been pulled down by Mr. Prabhākara Sastri.[4]

A careful consideration of the internal evidence leads us to the conclusion. Verse 21 makes a clear reference to the minister of the Yādava king Singhana—Hēmādri—the author of *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*.

Anapota, the father of Śinga, performed the sixteen great dānas mentioned by Hēmādri and constructed a flight of steps up the Śrīśailam Hill at very great cost making its approach easy for all pilgrims. Using the word (Hēmādri) with a double meaning the author hints that the two meritorious works were done by spending the mountains of gold (Hēmādri) that were at hand in the hope that they would produce better results by such expenditure than by being kept idle in the Treasury.[5]

[1] Ep Ind, Vol. IV Arulalaperumal temple inscription.

[2] K. V. S. Aiyar, Historical sketches of Ancient Dekhan, p. 302. A. R. E. 328 of 1905. K. A. Nilakanta Sastry: Pandyan Kingdom (1929), p. 213.

[3] Sewell: List of Antiquities, II, p. 240.

[4] V. Prabhākara Sastri. Sringara Srinathamu (Telugu)

[5] Rasārṇavasudhākara edited by Dr. T. Ganapatisastri, p. 4.

But this meritorious act of the construction of the flight of steps up the Śrīśailam Hill is generally attributed in the inscriptions to one Vema Reḍḍi of the Koṇḍavīḍu dynasty.

The Vanapalli Plates of Anna Vema (Son of Vema) state specifically that the steps constructed by Vema were near the Pātāḷa Gaṅga[1] But the place where Anapota of Rājacula constructed the steps is not known so far. It may be that they were constructed in another part of the hill, for there seems to be more than one route up the hill.[2] Hence there is nothing wrong in crediting Anapota as well with a similar meritorious act. There is nothing improbable in the rulers of the two dynasties of Koṇḍavīḍu and Rājacula having vied with each other in their benefactions to such an important temple as that of Śrīśailam. Vema's date is known from the inscriptions to be 1320-54 A.D.

There has been much confusion in the identification of the author of Rasārṇavasudhākara. Perhaps it is caused by there having lived a number of Śingabhūpālas, closely related to one another and almost contemporary with our author.

Thus Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar identified Śinga the author of a commentary on Sangītaratnākara called Sangītasudhākara, with the Yadava King Singhana.[3] A. C. Burnell thought that Rasārṇavasudhākara was written by a Tanjore Prince of the 18th Century.[4] Rama Sastry opined that Singayya Nāyaka, the ruler of Koṟṟukoṇḍa was perhaps identical with Sarvajña Singama.[5]

Again M. T. Narasimha Iyengar has assumed that the Singama to whom Vedānta Dēśika sent his works at

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[1] Ep. Ind., III, pp. 59-66.

[2] Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XXIII, p. 110.

[3] Bhandarkar Report, 1882-3 (Bombay), pp 37-8.

[4] Aufrecht Catalogue Catalogorum, I, p. 497 (a)

[5] Ep. Ind., XIII. Akkalapundi Grant dated Saka 1290: A.R.E 1913, part ii, para 71.

his request had the title of Sarvajña.[1] We have already indicated that it is not based on sure foundations. For we have reason to believe that it was the grandson of this Singama, who alone bore the title. Thus literary tradition has contributed much to the existing confusion.

The author of Rasārṇavasudhākara has quoted from several authors The clues which we get therefrom for fixing the date are sometimes very difficult to follow. The latest authors quoted are Jayadeva and Vidyādhara, apart from the reference to Hēmādri, which is indirect.

In the last section, in enumerating the names that may be given to the characters of bards, Singa gives as examples *karpūrachaṇḍa-Kāmpilyetyādikaṃ nāma vandināṃ.* Kāmpilya is the name given to one of the bards in the work *Pratāparudrakalyāṇa* of Vidyānātha. Singa came after (Hēmādri ?) and Vidyānātha who was patronised by Pratāparudra II. The latest date of the Kākatīya ruler so far known is 1326 A.D. Putting Singa one generation later we arrive at 1350 roughly. Thus the earlier limit can safely be fixed.

The lower limit is fixed by those who quote Rasārṇavasudhākara. Among these, Mallinātha, the great commentator and his son Kumārasvāmin, the commentator on the work of Vidyānātha are the most prominent. The Chamatkārachandrikā of Viśvēśvara Kavichandra has several quotations from Rasārṇavasudhākara.

A further source of help is the work called Prasaṅgaratnāvali by one Potayārya of Vādhula gotra.[2] It is an anthology compiled from various sources such as the Purāṇas, Śruti, the Kāvyas and the Smṛitis. The date of this work is stated to be Śaka 1388, Cyclic year Pārthiva, A.D. 1466.[3] The work consists of seventy-nine paddhatis of which only seventy-four seem to be available. The seventy-second chapter contains short notices of all

[1] See his introduction to the *Subhāshitanivi* (Vani Vilas Press, Srirangam).

[2] D. C. S., XX 12068, p. 8066.

[3] Ibid.

the celebrated princes up to Sarvajña Singapa, who had been great patrons of literature. This is a point from which we can argue backwards. Singa, the author of Rasārṇavasudhākara, must certainly be earlier than or a contemporary of Potayārya. Thus the range is reduced to an intervening date between 1350 and 1460 A.D.

We have already hinted at the difficulty in identifying our Singa. During this period there were several Singamas. There was one Singama, a contemporary of Prauḍha Dēvarāya of Vijayanagar,[1] also called Sarvajña Singama. Another Singama of the time of Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagar is also mentioned[2] not to speak of Singayya Nāyaka (of Korṛakoṇda) of the Akkalapuṇḍi grant dated Śaka 1290 or 1368 A.D.[3] We are fortunate in having the genealogical tree furnished by the author of Rasārṇavasudhākara. This does not agree with that of any of the Singamas mentioned above but only with the Recharla family. We cannot expect the author to give us wrong information where his own immediate ancestors and descendants are concerned.

Hence inscriptions are not of very great help except indirectly. We have very few records of our author so far discovered to rely upon as positive evidence. Still there are three inscriptions which are of use to the present purpose. They are:—

1. A record of Rājarāja Mādhava, dated Śaka 1343;
2. Another of Śaka 1309 mentioning Chingama Nāyaka, son of Anapota;
3. Another by the wife of Anapota, dated Śaka 1303.

To take the last first. This is a record of the time of Anapota, the father of Singabhūpāla. It is to be found in the temple of Lakshmīnarasimha at Simhāchalam in the

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[1] Sewell: List of Antiquities, II, p. 240.

[2] Refer. V. Rangacharya: Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency. II p. 976, 601 of Kurnool District. Inscriptions of Ceded Districts, No. 48.

[3] See infra.

verandah built round the garbhagriha (43rd niche). It records in Saka 1308 or A.D. 1381, a gift of gold by the wife of Anapota.[1]

The second is a record dated Śaka 1309 mentioning 'Chingamanāyaka,' son of Anapota.[2] In our list there are only two Anapotas, numbers 5 and 11. One is the father and the other son of Singabhūpāla. To me it seems that the person referred to here is Anapota the father and not the son of our author, the reasons for which opinion I shall show hereafter.

The inscription of Rājarāja Mādhava of the Recharla Family is dated Śaka 1343, A.D. 1421.[3] It states that Mādhava was the son of Singabhūpāla and Annamarutha. He ruled in the ancestral capital of Rājādri which may be identified with Rājāchala of Rasārṇavasudhākara. He granted the village of Tolūri in Rājādri district to the god Raṅganātha of Śrīrangam.

Who is this Mādhava? How is he related to our author? The dynastic list (see above) has studiously refrained from mentioning the names of the wives of both Singas Nos. 2 and 9. One Annamāmbā is cited as the wife of Anapota, the father of Śinga (No. 5 of the list). Though somewhat confusing at first sight, a reconciliation of the conflicting data is still possible. There is nothing positively against the assumption that Śinga, the reputed author of Rasārnava married one Annamāmbā. Rājarāja Mādhava may be identified with the sixth son of Śinga (No. 16) in the list. The mention of Rājādri (Rājāchala), the capital of the dynasty, strengthens this identification.[4]

It may be noted in passing that one Gauraṇārya in the preface to his work Lakshaṇadīpikā (Poetics)[5]

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[1] V. Rangacharya: Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. III, p. 1683, ff. 339 of 1899

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. P 1567; No. 454 of Trichinopoly, edited by T. A. Gopinatha Rao. Ep. Indica, XIII, pp. 220-225.

[4] Ep. Indica, XIII, p. 223.

[5] D. C. S. XXII, Nos. 12951 and 12952. The latter is a prose work, while the former is in verse.

mentions a king Singaya Mādhava of the Recharla family. The author was the son of one Āyamaprabhu the brother of Mitarāya who was a minister of King Singayya Mādhava. The prose manuscript refers to Ayama Mantrin as the brother of Potaṇa Mantrin. Our identification can at best be only tentative at this stage. Perhaps this Singaya Mādhava is the same as the donor of the Śrīrangam plates. If this proves correct Gauraṇārya would become a contemporary of Śrīnātha and Potaṇa, the great Telugu poets of the day. He would also precede Śingama the grandson of the reputed author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara. Since the Chamatkārachandrikā is quoted in this work, he is later than Viśvēśvara Kavichandra, its author. We may therefore tentatively place Gauraṇārya about 1430 A.D. as an elder contemporary of Potayārya, the author of Prasaṅgaratṇāvalī. (Bommaganti Appayāchārya, the author of the commentary on the Nāmaliṅganuśāsana of Amarasimha is also called Śrī Māra Pota).[1]

One argument which may be put forward is to identify Mādhava (No. 6) with Rājarāja Mādhava the donor of the Śrīrangam plates, for he was also son of a Śingamanāyaka (No. 2) who was the general of Pratāparudra II. Such a position cannot be accepted, inasmuch as the difference in the time between Mādhava No. 6 and Mādhava No 16 is fairly great. The elder Mādhava must have been a contemporary of Anapota No. 5 and ordinarily must have passed away when the 6th son of the younger son of his elder brother Anapota came of age to rule and make grants.

By 1421 A.D. the 6th son of Ṣinga the reputed author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara had come to the throne

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[1] T. C. S. Vc. R. No. 4557. p 6633-34. The author here pays very great compliments to Kumarasinga and his literary talents. No work which has not been looked through by Kumara Singa deserved to be read by learned men. Nor was there any necessity for a second correction if a work had been once glanced through by Kumarasinga. See also T.C.S. II A. R. 1170.

of Rājāchala. Naturally Singa must have passed away by 1400 A.D. or 1410 A.D. The earlier date of 1350 A.D. has to be pushed down, if Anapota of Rājāchala and Vema of Koṇḍavīḍu are accepted as contemporaries. Narrowing still further, and allowing for the early training and education of the young prince, the period after 1360 and before 1400 would be the best acceptable age for the author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara.

The late Mr. Seshagiri Sastri mentions three Telugu poets as patronised by our Singama:[1] Bommeru Potarazu or Potanna, Sākalyamalla and Śrīnātha. Potanna was a contemporary of a Singa Bhūpāla, but not of Singa, the author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara. The date of Potanna, is 1400-75 A.D.[2] and his period of activity could have begun only after 1420 at the earliest, by which time Mādhava of the Śrīrangam Plate had come to the throne. Either Singa must have passed away, or Potanna was still a child in the last years of Singa.

As for Śrīnātha, (1365-1440) the possibilities are greater since he was a poet even as a boy. We have another Singabhūpāla, a grandson of our author who was, possibly, the patron of both Śrīnātha and Potanna. Srīnātha, seems to have begun his celebrated tour in the south after 1410 A.D. This gives room to the supposition that his great influence was with the grandson of the author of the Rasārṇavasudhākara than with the author himself.[3]

The Vaishṇava tradition that Vedānta Dēsika wrote at the request of Singabhūpa the Subhāshitanīvi, Tattvasandēśa and Rahasyasandēśa with a commentary, and sent them on through his disciples, can also be verified here. Evidently Singabhūpāla must have been the Crown Prince

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[1] See his Report for 1896-7, pp. 7-11.

[2] See Chenchiah and Raja Bhujanga Rao. A History of Telugu Literature, p. 59.

[3] Mr. Prabhakarasastri clearly distinguishes between Singa, the author of Rasārṇava, and Sarvajña Singa. The latter is a grandson of the former. See his Sriṅgāra Srīnāthamu, ch. 6, p. 215, concluding para.

when he requested the great Polyhistor to favour him with his grace. This inference is strengthened by the leaning towards Vaishṇavism shown by the Śrīrangam plates of Rājarāja Mādhava, which record the grant of the village of Toluri in the district of Rājādri to the God Raṅganātha in the midst of the Kāverī, with the eight enjoyments and powers after the king had worshipped the feet of his guru Venkatāchārya, son of Rāmānujācharya of the Śrīśaila family.[1]

Gopinatha Rao has translated 'Ashṭabhōgatējasvāmya' as the eight enjoyments and powers. A better translation for 'Tējasvāmya' would be the ownership of mines in the fields such as gold, silver, diamonds, rubies, etc., which come under what Kauṭilya would call Ākara Karma.[2]

The biographer of Vēdānta Dēśika calls Singa as the son of Mādhava. So far, no Śinga known to us and belonging to the Recharla family has had a Mādhava for his father.[3] The late Mr. Gopinatha Rao (in editing the Inscription of Rāja Rāja Mādhava) has left it with the bare statement, quoting the word of Vēdānta Dēśika 'To son of Madhava, the fact was communicated by Nigamanta Desika.'[4] Nor has he identified the donor Mādhava with any one in our dynastic list.

I therefore am inclined to advocate a later date for the authorship of Rasārṇavasudhākara than 1330 A.D. suggested by Seshagiri Sastri. The period between 1360 and 1340 may safely be assigned under the present circumstances. Mallinātha and Kumārasvāmi must certainly be dated later than Śingabhūpāla since he is quoted by them. Unless there is direct evidence forthcoming to prove that Singa was a patron, a proposition which has not so far been accepted, they should be dated only after 1400 A.D.

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[1] Ep Ind., XIII, p 223.

[2] According to Indian logic, Tejas is divided into four kinds. See also Annam bhatta, Tarka Samgraha—Revised Edn. p. 36 (1926).

[3] See Vedanta Desika Vaibhava Prakasika, verse 129.

[4] Ep. Ind., XIII, p. 222.

TRAGEDIES IN SANSKRIT

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A study of Western dramatic literature has taught us to consider the tragedy as the best form of drama. The Greeks considered this type of dramatic spectacle as "great and majestic" and with the moderns it is a mighty "work of art designed to please." Eminent playwrights from ancient times have tried their skill at it, but "twice only has tragedy flowered to full perfection—once in Periclean Athens and again in Elizebethan England."

This work of art—Tragedy. deals with the "tragic aspect of life." It narrates the story of suffering and woe of a great and noble person; depicts the nature of man, his various passions and struggles; portrays the gradual process by which a flaw of nature, an error committed, grows and expands till it ends in a great catastrophe. Tragedy is supposed to serve a definite function too, for according to Aristotle, it produces "a moral and delightful effect by the purification of passions—a certain kind of cathaisis."

When therefore, we became acquainted with this species of drama of the West we grew curious to know if a like type of spectacle existed in our own literature. We sought the assistance of the Western scholars of Sanskrit, in satisfying our curiosity. They pointed out only the absence of the tragic type of drama in Sanskrit. Wilson's observation in this connection is interesting. He wrote—"The Hindu plays never offer a calamitous conclusion, which, as Johnson remarks, was enough to constitute a

tragedy in Shakespeare's days . . . . The Hindus in fact have no tragedy." Another eminent scholar of the West writing on Sanskrit dramas says: "The end must be happy . . . . Tragedy is forbidden." Obviously in pointing out the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit he based his remarks on the evidence supplied by the Indian poetics.

We next turned our attention to the Indian poetics themselves just to know if there was not a type of drama mentioned in them having the essential elements of a tragedy. A sad and calamitous ending is the keynote of a tragedy and it was exactly this that the Indian poetics prohibited. Thus the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Visvanātha is very clear on this point (S. D. VI, 16-18). According to this canon a Nāṭaka shall never present death on the stage nor can it present the scene of a battle. And it is exactly these that we witness in the great tragedies of the Greeks and the Elizabethans—Ajax and Evadne die a violent death upon the stage, Othello kills himself "to die upon a kiss," and fierce battle-scenes in the dramas of Shakespeare are not uncommon.

So, the Western Sanskrit scholars told us we had no tragedies and our poetics sounded the same note. We felt disappointed that so good a form of drama, highly esteemed in the West was absent in our literature. Suffering from a kind of complex therefore, we began to explain away the absence of tragedies—perhaps to console ourselves. We said we were averse to this type of literary production because we were too joyous a nation for entertaining pessimistic thoughts. We argued that tragedy aimed at giving a faithful picture of life and that our dramas were indifferent to the actual conditions of life in this world. We pointed out that our religious temperament was against any tragic conception. Lastly, we argued that our belief in the karma theory failed to arouse in us the tragic emotions of pity and fear and that our mental outlook and philosophy of life prohibited an attempt to write tragic plays.

Are the sayings of the poetics the last word on the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit? Are we to conclude that the dictum of the poetics is all authoritative? If it is so, if in our dramas "no one dies and every one is married" why (in the world) do we witness the suffering and death of Duryōdhana on the stage in the Ūrubhaṅga of Bhāsa? Why is there the portrayal of a certain kind of gloom hovering around the noble character of Karṇa in Karṇa-Bhāra?—his doom and death is almost sounded at the conclusion of the play! The play has certainly not a happy ending for the presentation of a "śakti" is a poor substitute for the great losses of Karna.

I think we were not well advised in going to the poetics for an answer, in expecting the Sanskrit scholars of the West to enlighten us on this point and in trying to explain the reasons for the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit literature. Instead, we ought to have gone direct to the Sanskrit dramas to find out if in any of them, the salient and essential features of a tragedy were present.

Starting from this point of view, the following four dramas may be singled out as perfect specimens of tragedies:

1. The Karna-Bhāra of Bhāsa.
2. The Ūrubhaṅga of Bhāsa
3. The Veṇīsaṁhāra of Bhattanārāyaṇa.
4. The Chaṇḍakauśika of Āryakshēmīśvara.

On examination, every one of them will be found to conform in the minutest detail to the Western standards of tragic drama.

Bradley defines in precise and clear terms the Shakespearean tragedy as "a story of exceptional calamity leading to the death of a man in high estate." It is clear from this definition that the final scene of a tragedy must present the spectacle of the death of the hero. At any rate, this is true of the Shakespearean tragedies for their last scenes always end with "a violent curtain." Bradley would refuse therefore to call the Karṇabhāra a tragedy because this drama does not include the death of the

hero. But the question is whether a tragedy should necessarily end in the death of the hero. According to Bradley's definition of Shakespearean tragedy we must furnish only an affirmative answer. All Shakespearean tragedies end in the death of the hero. But the saying "that every death-bed is the scene of the fifth act of a tragedy" is true only in the Shakespearean sense. And when we discuss tragedies in general we understand that death need not be the necessary ending of a tragedy. In Aristotle's definition of a tragedy the word death never occurs at all, nor is it implied. It runs thus:—"Tragedy is an imitation of an action that is serious, complete and of a certain magnitude; in language embellished with each kind of artistic ornament, the several kinds being found in separate parts of the play; in the form of action, not of narrative; through pity and fear effecting the proper catharsis or purgation of these emotions." It is clear from this definition (as to) what exactly a tragedy is. It is a representation of a serious, complete action and as Lucas points out "it does not for the Greek imply, an unhappy ending." Much less death! It is simply a drama that renders human life seriously. Collins opines that death is not the necessary ending of a tragedy, not even a sad ending. He says · "A sad ending is not essential to tragedy; greatness and 'removedness' are." So it is not death but defeat and suffering that is essential to constitute a tragedy. Thus in "The Persians" of Aeschylus we do not find the death of the hero, rather it is the frightful fate of Xerxes that is presented—Xerxes who was routed at Salamis, driven home in confusion followed by losses and defeat. In some other tragedies where the hero dies, his death is reported, not represented as in Shakespeare. "In the whole of the extant Greek tragedies," says Haigh, "there are only two examples of sudden death upon the stage that of Ajax and Evadne." If therefore, Shakespeare ended his tragedies by presenting the death of the hero, it was because death represented the acme of calamity and not because a tragedy necessarily

[illegible] the presentation of such a spectacle. The Greeks preferred to close the tragedy on a quiet note but Shakespeare was violent. Death of the hero was presented because it was a situation that the poet sought after to produce the highest tragic effect—"death was the extreme instance of dreadfulness." Schopenhauer for instance was of the opinion that "the representation of the great misfortune is alone essential to tragedy." From this discussion it is evident that the death of a hero is not an essential element in a tragedy. What is essential is the representation of the exceptional calamity that overtakes the just and the innocent.

Therefore, though in the Karṇabhāra, the death of the hero Karṇa does not take place, still, since it deals with the greatest calamity that befell Karṇa, as he was tricked out of his divine armour and ear-rings at a time when he needed them most, the play should be classed as a tragedy.

With regard to the three other dramas mentioned above the difficulty does not arise at all, for in all these dramas we see the calamity culminate in death. Duryōdhana in Ūrubhaṅga dies before our very eyes. In the Vēṇīsaṁhāra Duryōdhana, whom I consider to be the hero of the play, dies in the course of the action. Likewise in Chaṇḍakauśika the hero is made to ascend the heavens—a euphemistic manner of suggesting the end of the hero. It is a significant fact that at the end Hariśchandra is taken to heaven in a Vimāna instead of being crowned king once again. His departure to the Brahmalōka in a divine chariot ordered by Dharma is but a refined Hindu way of portraying the end of the king. For instance, in Ūrubhaṅga, Duryōdhana is not spoken of as dying but as going to heaven in a vimāna drawn by thousand swans.

But whose death is it that takes place in the Vēṇīsaṁhāra of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa? No doubt the death of an important character is reported in the final act. But is it the death of the hero?

The one interesting problem that the Vēṇīsamhāra has always given rise to, is in regard to the hero of the play. It presents us three important characters Duryōdhana, Bhīma and Yudhishṭhira, and tests our skill in naming the hero.

It is futile to argue that Yudhishṭhira is the hero of the play on the basis that it is he who decides the destinies of the Pāṇḍavas. No doubt his brothers blindly follow him and always await his command for action. Even the angry Bhīma who dared to challange his authority for a day could not embark immediately on warfare until at last the permission came. Then only the great Raṇa-yajña begins. Though this is a fact, still, it is too weak to establish the theory that Yudhishṭhira is the hero. It is equally bad logic to conclude that since in all the Nāṭakas the hero is a Dhīrōdātta and as in the Vēṇīsamhāra Yudhishṭhira belongs to this type of a Nāyaka the rest being Dhīrōdāttās, he must necessarily be the hero of Vēṇīsamhāranāṭaka. In fact we never see Yudhishṭhira at all on the stage except in the last act where he bewails foolishly the death of Bhīma and rushes into the mad act of committing suicide—all the while being a "big dupe of the Chārvāka demon."

Nor can we say that Bhīma is the hero of the play. He appears to be only an active agent of the Pāṇḍavas for the destruction of the Kurūs in general and the Kauravas in particular. He is, besides, kept very much in the background. We see him on the stage rarely. He appears in the first act, the concluding portion of the fifth and in the final scene of the final act. His behaviour evokes our aversion, not admiration. His conduct in announcing himself to the elders in the fifth act is characterised by a wild ferocity. His continued boastfulness often excites our disgust. No doubt he has cause for being angry, but continuously to boast of the actions which he has accomplished and which he was going to accomplish makes him unpardonable in our eyes. It is therefore evident that neither Yudhishṭhira nor Bhīma can be considered as the hero of the play.

Only Duryōdhana remains and he should be considered the hero for the following reasons:—

(1) There is a perceptible change in the portrayal of the character of Duryōdhana in the Vēṇīsamhāra as compared with the portrayal of his character in the epic Mahābhārata. The change makes Duryōdhana great in our eyes. If Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa wanted him to be anything less than the hero of the play he would not have effected this great change at all. In the epic the story of Duryōdhana is a story of bad faith and trickery. Out of this Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa by the touch of his genius has created the picture of a character truly great. He must have taken the clue from Ūrubhaṅga of Bhāsa.

(2) He is constantly kept before our eyes. He figures in all the acts of the drama, except the first and even in the first our attention is made to concentrate on his actions.

(3) He impresses us by his heroism and has all that wins our admiration. He is an affectionate brother, a trusted friend and an unbending warrior. He is always contrasted with the boastful Bhīma. His frailties and imperfections elicit our sympathy. He is more human in his qualities than Bhīma.

(4) The interest of the story centres around him. The final issue, namely, the great war between the Kurūs and Pāṇḍavas is solely dependent upon his decision. Yudhishṭhira is ready for reconciliation at any moment. Only Duryōdhana is not willing to bring it about. He refuses to listen even to Kṛishṇa's message of peace. The great Mahābhārata war which ends in the destruction of the Kurus and the Kuru chief is solely due to the stubbornness of Duryōdhana.

These arguments are enough to point out how the hero of the Vēṇīsamhāra is not the victorious Bhīma—as some erroneously hold, but the defeated Duryōdhana just as in the Persae of Aeschylus, the hero is not the victorious Greek but the defeated Persian king. The whole story of Vēnīsamhāra therefore is treated from Duryōdhana's side. We are more carried away by the fears and sorrows of Bhānumati, Kuntī, and Dhṛitarāshṭra, than by the victory of the Pāṇḍavas and the success of Bhīma. Duryōdhana in his fall is greater than Bhīma in his triumph.

The foregoing paragraphs should establish that the hero of the Vēṇīsamhāra is Duryōdhana. His death comes about in the final act of the play. We do not see him die on the stage but in true Greek fashion his death is reported to us, for the first time by the chamberlain.

The discussion has, so far been about the calamity or the death of a hero. But is there a speciality about the tragic hero, about his character and station in life?

Aristotle in his analysis of a tragedy lays stress upon the character of a tragic hero. He writes:—"He (the tragic hero) is, moreover, illustrious in rank and fortune." It follows therefore that the tragic hero is above the common man in external dignity and station. He must be "great and exalted" a "conspicuous person of a heroic mould."

Let us examine whether the heroes of Karṇabhāra, Ūrubhaṅga, Vēṇīsamhāra and Chaṇḍakauśika are persons of "high estate." They are. The hero of Karṇabhāra is a celebrated warrior on the side of the Kauravas and when the play is in progress he is acting as the generalissimo of the Kaurava forces. The hero of Ūrubhaṅga and Vēṇīsamhāra is Duryōdhana—a king who wanted to be the supreme monarch after destroying his cousins, the Pāṇḍavas. The hero of Chaṇḍakauśika is Hariśchandra, a king of the Solar dynasty that ruled over Ayōdhya.

But that is not all. The nature of the hero in a tragedy must be exceptional. At least in certain respects

his character must raise him "above the average level of humanity." Who can say that the character of Duryōdhana in the Ūrubhaṅga is not exceptional? What a noble Kshatriya he is! His last spirited speech to his wife bears testimony to this fact. His fair attitude towards the fallen Bhīma is admirable. This mighty warrior is a man with an extraordinary sense of self-respect. The character of Duryōdhana is as distinguished and exceptional as his station in life.

The nature of Karṇa is no less distinguished. If Duryōdhana is a perfect specimen of a *mānaśauṇḍa*, Karṇa is a *dānaśauṇḍa, dānavīra.* There is nothing that he refuses to give. Everything is at the disposal of the Brāhman who on the battle-field asks alms of Karṇa. He is even ready to part with his divine armour and ear-rings. A great soldier, a man of undaunted courage, he proceeds to fight even in the teeth of ill omen. He has his own admirable philosophy of a soldier's death in the field. This is Karṇa!—an extraordinary warrior and exceptionally munificent being!

We see Duryōdhana in the Vēṇīsaṁhāra more as a great soul than an author of deadly and vicious schemes which the Mahābhārata tries to make out of him. The author of the Mahābhārata paints Duryōdhana in the blackest possible colours, but Bhāsa and Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa paint him with the brightest possible ones. The whole play is permeated with the high martial spirit of Duryōdhana. What makes him great in our eyes, however, is the importance he lays on self-respect. Dhṛitarāshṭra calls him a *mānaśauṇḍa*. He is not afraid to die but his sole ambition is that his bitter enemy Bhīma must not be his destroyer.

Like a true Kshatriya he wants to kill his opponent in fair fight and rejects with disgust the proposal of his father to seek some other means of victory. He gives a spirited reply to his mother explaining his capacities as a soldier. He always wishes to fight with an opponent worthy of his steel. On the final day of war when he

could have chosen to fight with Nakula or Sahadeva, he chooses to fight only with Bhīma. Mean and cowardly thoughts never pollute his great soul, and he bitterly chides his mother for entertaining unheroic sentiments. At last he dies a noble death fighting on the battle-field.

As a king and as a man Hariśchandra is nothing, if not great. The very mention of his name brings very clearly before our minds the picture of one steadfastly devoted to truth, intent upon carrying out to the very letter the first of the moral precepts *satyam-vada* and unswerving from the path of truth and righteousness even during the time of his hardest trials. His sense of duty has become proverbial. He does not exempt his own wife from handing over the requisite *kambala* ere she peforms the funeral rites of her son. His character and conduct elicit the appreciation of even his bitter opponent—Kauśika. Dharma himself appreciates his greatness.

So far we have seen the nobility and greatness of Duryōdhana, Karṇa and Hariśchandra. Yet what is the history of these great men that the dramas present? It is a tale of their woe, their suffering and death. It is exactly for this that I call these dramas great tragedies. The tragic heroes of the West present a similar tale—the tale of their calamity. Lear is a great king but he falls from his greatness and dies; Prometheus is tortured for all his greatness and is punished for being good to mankind. Xerxes is defeated. Hamlet dies and Othello kills himself. What an exceptional calamity for all these great men!

Look at the fate of Duryōdhana in Ūrubhanga. To what pitiable position is he reduced! The greatest of the Kurūs has fought with Bhīma only to have his thighs smashed by his opponent and to fall down in great agony. He is half dead, his whole body is wet with blood and he can only walk with very painful effort. Such is his miserable condition when his parents, his wives and his child come to see him. Duryōdhana tries to get up to salute his parents but falls down in the attempt and feels

ashamed to find himself reduced to such woeful condition. While in such a miserable plight, he is unwilling to be seen by his son. He fears lest his son might think low of the prowess of the father who is sitting there defeated. But Durjaya finds him out at last sitting on hard ground. The most pathetic situation arises when the child wants to sit on the lap of his father while the fond father is compelled to keep him back. In the whole of Sanskrit literature we do not come across a like pathetic situation. This marks the height of his agony and Duryōdhana is relieved of it only by his death.

Equally pitiable is the condition of Karṇa in Karṇabhāra. The great hero is going to meet his mighty warrior-foe Arjuna. This is the time when he ought to be fully equipped for victory. But fate prepares him for a defeat! He is tricked out of his kavacha and kuṇḍalas by Śakra, who comes to him in the guise of a Brāhman and prays for alms. Karṇa grants them and loses them both at a time when he needs their services most. Deprived of his kavacha and kuṇḍalas, the curse of Paraśurāma hanging on his head, the condition of Karṇa was worse than that of a bird with its wings cut off. He needs no more than an ordinary shaft of Arjuna to bring about his death.

Calamities never come singly and the last days of the hero of Vēṇīsaṃhāra are crowded by unprecedented adversities. Great generals on his side like Bhīshma and Drōṇa fail him. His most affectionate brother Duśśāsana is killed and even his best and trusted friend Karṇa who is his *sarvāṅgachandanarasa*, *nayanāmalendu* and *hṛidayasthamanōratha* dies. While trying to save his brother from the clutches of Bhīma he is wounded and swoons on the battle-field. His charioteer bears him away. Thus defeated at every step, dogged by misfortunes he grows dejected and at last, overcome by shame, he refuses to remain in the sight of men as he has not yet killed the sons of Pāṇḍu. He therefore prefers to stay at the bottom of a lake

Hariśchandra's again is a heartrending story of great suffering. Having become the victim of the furious anger of the sage Kauśika, he is subjected to unparalleled hardships. He is worsted of his kingdom and to pay off the promised fee to Kauśika thinks of selling his own self. But his wife and son come forward offering themselves for sale. They are purchased by an Upādhyāya but not for the requisite sum. The agent of the preceptor, a Brahmachārin behaves roughly and pushes back without pity the young and delicate Rōhitāśva. The boy's fall naturally moves the parents into tears but they are helpless. The difficulties of Hariśchandra are not yet over. Half the promised *dakshiṇa* still remains unpaid. The angry sage stands stubborn and pitiless. There is only one way of clearing the dues and that is by selling his own self. But unfortunately the purchaser is a Chaṇḍāla. Meanwhile another calamity befalls the boy Rōhitāśva. He is bitten by a snake while collecting flowers for the preceptor The poor queen repairs to the cremation ground to perform the funeral rites of her son. There in the cremation ground stands her own husband ready to collect *mṛita kambala.*

But enough of these tales of sufferings. It seems as though Karṇa, Duryōdhana and Hariśchandra are created to suffer and to perish. But while we hear the story of their calamity, unconsciously we begin to ask ourselves the reason of such adversity. All these are great men but they suffer. And why ?

The situation is very similar to that of Lear, Hamlet, or Othello. Why did these people die ? Did these people suffer without any cause ? If so, will not unmerited suffering cause a feeling of "repulsion" in us, a sight "too horrible" to see !

A careful perusal of the tragedies of the West shows us that the great calamity of the hero may be brought about :—

1. By the agency of blind fate as in Oedipus rex. Attic tragedy seems to annotate the saying—"There is a divinity that shapes our ends."

2. By circumstances.—In a tragedy we see how the hero is unequal to the circumstances. He becomes overpowered by them and fails. Goethe shows that Hamlet is a victim of circumstances and that he himself felt it—

> " The timeis out of joint! O cursed spite
> That ever I was born to set it right."

3. By his own character.—By character I mean the onesidedness of the hero, his weakness, a defect or flaw in character. According to this the hero will be the author of his woe, a victim of his own act, a dupe of his own folly.

4. By " Hamartia ".—The flaw in the character of the hero leads him into the commission of a fatal error. Thus Lear's great passion leads him to the commission of the folly of distrusting his last daughter.—

To return to our Tragedies and Tragic heroes.—

The Karṇabhāra points out how the hero Karṇa is responsible for his own fall No doubt his actual fall is not mentioned but all the materials from which we can conclude the fall of Karṇa are made available by Bhāsa, who leaves the actual end of Karṇa to the imagination of readers. Karṇa commits the tragic error of presenting the Brāhman with his divine armour and ear-rings. In doing this he is committing both a moral and an intellectual error. Moral because in giving away his kavacha and kuṇḍalas he is not acting in favour of his master Duryōdhna. Duryōdhna has absolute trust in Karṇa and his prowess. It is therefore Karṇa's *bhāra* or responsibility to bring victory for Duryōdhana. To achieve this end he should keep himself fully equipped for fighting the Pāṇḍavas. At a time therefore when Karṇa needs them he bestows them on the Brāhman. He forgets that, at this particular time he is a soldier first out to bring victory to his master. This is his proper dharma. He forgets this and cares more for his cherished principle of not refusing anything that is asked of him. In giving away, therefore, the kavacha and the

kuṇḍalas he is morally guilty, inasmuch as he is letting down Duryōdhana's cause and forgetting his own responsibility.

Karṇa's behaviour indicates also an error in his judgment. Prior to the approach of Śakra in the guise of a Brāhman, Karṇa feels that everything is not all right with him. He is feeling depressed in spirits, he is conscious that the promise he made to his mother has put him in a disadvantageous position. He is aware of the great curse of the son of Jamadagni. He is seeing the weapons gradually becoming useless. He is also witnessing many inauspicious signs. He is also aware that the foe whom he has to meet is a mighty warrior. All these certainly are not encouraging to Karṇa. It is then that a Brāhman approaches and requests him for alms. The appearance of the Brāhman creates a vague distrust in the mind of Karṇa and this is intensified by the behaviour of the Brāhman who agrees to receive the kavacha and kuṇḍalas all the while refusing other useful things. Any other man in a like circumstance would act otherwise. But Karṇa is too generous to suspect the visitor. He becomes an easy victim of Śakra and parts with the kavacha and kundalas, though Śalya is there shouting aloud, "*Aṅgarāja, nadātavyaṃ nadātavyaṃ.*" In thus parting with these effective materials of protection Karṇa is committing an intellectual error. The result is easy to imagine. He becomes exposed later to the severe shafts of Arjuna.

The fact that contributes to the fall of Duryōdhana, acording to Bhāsa, was *aparitosha* or absence of contentment! Bhāsa sounds the keynote of the character of Duryōdhana. It is this absence of contentment coupled with the extreme emphasis he lays on his *abimāna* that led him to ruin. This tragic trait forces him to commit certain undesirable acts. · Duryōdhana himself admits how his extreme pride *māna* forced him to commit certain actions. Add to this the workings of fate. Kṛishṇa himself is there—a just god to teach Bhīma the most unjust

methods of warfare. Is not fate working adversely? Is this the reward of Duryōdhana for having spared the life of Bhīma when he was at his mercy?

Elsewhere I have pointed out how in working out the character of Duryōdhana, the author of the Vēṇīsamhāra has taken the clue from Bhāsa. The same *māna* which Bhāsa speaks of, Bhaṭṭanārāyana also speaks, but to a greater extent. This forms the taint of his character that ruins him just as ambition ruined Macbeth and pride Coriolanus. Duryōdhana is as great a tragic hero as any of the heroes of the Shakespearean dramas. The Vēṇīsamhāra is a tragedy of character. The poet again and again points out the pride and arrogance of the hero Duryōdhana. Thus Duryōdhana is prepared even to die but never at the hands of Bhīma. His extreme pride developed in him an irreconcilable attitude. It even made him arrogant. He tried to bind Krishna who went to him as a messenger of peace. Blinded by pride and with a spirit of vengeance raging within him, he delights in the fall of Abhimanyu. The same pride leads him on to the commission of certain undesirable events of which Bhīma rightly complains. Yudhishṭhira is prepared for a treaty at any time but Duryōdhana remains adamant. Duryōdhana is too proud to grant even five villages. When the mighty Aśvatthāma offers his services, Duryōdhana rejects the same. He is prepared to take the consequences but not the services of one that wished ill of his friend Karṇa Even at the last moment Dhṛitarāshṭra suggests to Duryōdhana to make up with Yudhishṭira by granting him the desired conditions. If then, Duryōdhana had listened to his father's words, the calamity could have been avoided. But Duryōdhana refuses to listen. No wonder he is the cause of his own undoing.

If the Vēṇīsamhāra is a tragedy of character, the Chaṇḍakauśika is a tragedy of fate and circumstances. Hariśchandra is an embodiment of virtue but he suffers.

He seems to be a mere play-thing in the hands of destiny, reminding us of those words of Lear:

> "As flies to wanton Boyes, are we to th' Gods—
> They kill us for their sport."

Hariśchandra is a typical example of a man 'more sinned against than sinning." It is obvious from the numerous references we find in the drama that Kshemīśvara meant the play to be a tragedy of fate. This is how fate arranges to ruin the noble life of Hariśchandra. On a certain day, the king just feels uneasy and wants some sport to divert his attention. A certain forester enters and suggests big game hunting. The king starts and is lured into the midst of the forest by a boar. The boar, however, disappears and the king is left standing near the precincts of a *tapōvana*. At the same moment, he hears maidens crying out for help. The king means to help them and going a few steps further finds a *sage* offering oblations into the fire. Before him were standing three maidens crying aloud for help. The king angrily demands an explanation of the conduct of the sage. The sage in his turn becomes angry with the king. Meanwhile the maidens disappear! The king learns that the sage was Kauśika and the maidens were the Vidyās in bodily form and that Kauśika was trying to have the possession of the three Vidyās when he was disturbed by the intrusion of Hariśchandra.

Thus Hariśchandra committed an error, though unconsciously, and in a tragedy even an unconscious error will have the force of guilt. His intrusion seriously affected Kauśika's interests. This is obvious from the words of the king. The drama suggests that the whole of the calamity that befell Hariśchandra is an offspring of this error. But this error was committed by Hariśchandra under the influence of fate. For the boar that lured him to the penance-grove of Kauśika was none other than the Vighnarāṭ! This deity wanted to spoil the attempt of Kauśika who was trying to gain possession of all the three Vidyās. To carry out his intention he made poor Hariśchandra as his

instrument. The fate that forced Hariśchandra to commit the tragic error also heaped calamities on him. The worst of all was when poor Rōhitāśva was bitten by a snake and the funeral rites of the boy had to take place in the very cremation ground, the guard of which was Hariśchandra himself.

The foregoing few paragraphs have described how the heroes were faulty and how they suffered. But their faults were far from being "the sole or sufficient cause for all that they suffer." It is exactly this that a tragedy depicts, for it has its own function to fulfil.

According to Aristotle, tragedy brings about a catharsis of the emotions of pity and fear, thus producing a "pleasurable relief" in the mind of the spectator. The calamities and sufferings of Hariśchandra, Duryōdhana and Karṇa evoke our pity because misfortunes of the undeserving elicit our pity. Of course their calamity would have been "too horrible" a spectacle to see except for the fact that they have contributed—though slightly—towards their fall. While we pity these sufferers we fear for our own selves "lest we too might incur similar misfortunes!" Hence a fear is created in us for ourselves.

So far with regard to the substance of these tragedies. In construction also these dramas resemble the tragedies of the West. But while the Chaṇḍakauśika and the Vēṇīsamhāra resemble the Shakespearean tragedies in construction, the Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra resemble the Greek tragedies.

Thus the first act and the introductory portion of the second act of Chaṇḍakauśika present a situation only. The conflict has not yet arisen. Similarly, the first act of the Vēṇīsamhāra deals only with the exposition of the incidents that might lead to a conflict. The regular conflict commences in Chaṇḍakauśika when the sage Kauśika determines to make Hariśchandra a *satyachyuta*. In Vēṇīsamhāra the conflict commences when Yudhishṭhira permits the announcement of war at the conclusion of the first act. Then in the later part of the second and in the

third, fourth and fifth acts of the Vēṇīsaṁhāra, the development of the conflict is detailed. During the course of this conflict the cause of the hero Duryōdhana is gradually weakened. Meanwhile the Pāṇḍavas are getting the upper hand and the catastrophe comes in the final act. In the Chaṇḍakauśika the actual conflict of the hero with the angry sage is detailed in the second half of the second act and in the whole of the third act. The hero emerges out of the conflict successfully at the conclusion of the third act—since the fee due to the sage is paid. But as a result of this conflict with Kauśika, Hariśchandra has yet to suffer many troubles. The fourth, and most of the fifth act of the drama deal with the result of the actual conflict till it reaches the catastrophe at the end of the fifth act. Of course in these dramas the catastrophe never occurs as a result of the inner conflict—the inner conflict or the psychology of the divided self is peculiar to Shakespearean tragedy. What we find in our dramas is the occurrence of the catastrophe purely as a result of the outward conflict.

Again in modern tragedies of the West the main source of interest lies in the feeling of curiosity they arouse in the mind of a spectator as to the ultimate issue of the plot. Likewise in our dramas also. For instance, we are not able to say till the very end of the play what exactly would be the fate of Duryōdhana. In spite of the loss of the brothers, of able generals and friends, Duryōdhana seems to be still entertaining hopes of vanquishing his opponents. The reply he gives his mother creates a confidence in us that after all Duryōdhana might win. Nor does the playwright hint anywhere that Duryōdhana in might is in any way inferior to Bhīma. Even in the last act a hope that Duryōdhana after all might be the victor arises in us when he is given the option of fighting with any one of the five Pāṇḍavas; so that till the very end we are made unable to decide the actual issue.

Similarly in Chaṇḍakauśika when Hariśchandra promises that he would manage to give a huge sum of

money within a month, we do not know how he proposes to execute his promise. The sale of his wife and his child and ultimately of himself comes to us as a big surprise. Having paid the amount, still he finds himself in difficulties. We do not know how exactly he will emerge out of them. So that the feeling of curiosity as to the ultimate issue of the plot is continuously kept up. Both Kshēmīśvara and Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa manage to keep the secret to the end, so that the audience might not, "turn their faces to the door and their backs to the stage when there is no more to learn."

Let us now turn to see the structure of the Karṇabhāra and Ūrubhaṅga. At the very outset we are struck by the very simplicity of the structure. The structure of the Vēṇī and the Chaṇḍakauśika are of a complex variety as of the dramas of Shakespeare. But the principle underlying the structure of Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra, is the desire for intensity rather than "variety of impression." There is nothing here as the multiplicity of scenes and acts. The Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra are "one act" plays and the attention of the spectator is made to concentrate on a single and absorbing issue. The situation also in these "one act" plays is unchanging. We confine our attention for the most part to one central personality, Karṇa or Duryōdhana, and to one particular incident—Karṇa's presentation of the kavacha and kuṇḍalas to the Brāhmin or Duryōdhana's fall. In these dramas there is the mere representation of the catastrophe but no curiosity is aroused in regard to the same. There is nothing like an exposition, a conflict and a denouement in Karṇabhāra and Ūrubhanga. It is only the climax that is presented. The structure of the dramas remind us of the Greek tragedies "whose structure resembles the concluding acts of a modern play." It is only an intense spectacle that is presented—not how it begins; for the Greek tragedy begins at the climax.

Aristotle insisted that in a tragedy the unities of time, place and action must strictly be adhered to.

The Sanskrit dramas are all famous for the non-observance of these unities. But the **Karṇabhâra and** Ūrubhaṅga are exceptions, for these observe the unities to the very letter. Thus in the Ūrubhaṅga there is the unity of action, in so far as it presents a supreme crisis only—the death of the hero. The place never changes for the whole action takes place on the battle-field and Duryōdhana's fall takes place " within a single revolution of the sun." Likewise in Karṇabhāra. The scene is laid on the battle field and the incident narrated takes place within a few hours, the action itself being simple and straight—Karṇa's alms-giving.

Euripides was responsible for certain innovations in the Greek drama. Of these the prologue was one. It was a narrative at the commencement of the play explaining the antecedent circumstances. It was the quickest way of " passing through the dull details " of a tragedy and arriving at the emotional scenes. How did the authors of Karṇabhāra and Ūrubhaṅga arrive at the emotional scene? By the introduction of a Vishkambhaka in Ūrubhaṅga wherein figure three messengers From the conversation that takes place between these three, we learn the great fight of Bhīma and Duryōdhana which results in the fall of Duryōdhana. Immediately after the Vishkambhaka, the intense spectacle of the wounded hero is presented. Likewise in Karṇabhāra, a soldier comes and introduces Karṇa giving us a few necessary details. The Vishkambhaka also serves the purpose of the Greek chorus.

There are certain things common to Greek tragedy and the Sanskrit tragedies mentioned above. The subject matter of a Greek tragedy is generally taken from the epics or mythology. Similarly these tragedies of ours. The tragedies of the Greeks are " slices from the great banquet of Homer." These Sanskrit tragedies are " morsels from the great feast of Vyāsa." The unrelenting power of fate is the keynote of many of the dramas of Aeschylus and references to fate are not uncommon in our own tragedies. In Ūrubhanga and Karṇabhâra the plot

is entirely subordinate to the display of character as in most of the Greek tragedies. As in the last scenes of the Greek tragedies the end of Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra is marked by a "feeling of repose." There is nothing like the exciting finish of the Shakespearean drama. Duryōdhana dies a calm and heroic death. Karna is not perturbed at having lost his valuable kavacha.

Again like the curse that rests on the line of Pelops, a curse rests upon poor Karṇa—*the curse of Jamadagni's son*. The Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra may be compared to the Persae. For in these the epic and lyrical elements preponderate and descriptions of battles, rival warriors, and pathetic bewailing of the heroes are abundantly found. The dialogue in Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra is not mere conversation but has the force of action as in the Greek tragedies. The *Bhaṭas* in these dramas serve the same purpose as the "hot-foot runners"—the messengers of the Greek dramas. Bhānumatī in Vēṇīsaṃhāra is disturbed by a dream she dreamt the previous night She cannot but interpret this dream as portending some misfortune to her husband and his brothers. Therefore she thinks of offering oblations to the sun-god. The dream of Bhānumatī reminds us of the dream of Atossa, the queen mother who, like Bhānumatī, goes to sacrifice to the gods. Apart from the dream there occur certain other events which portend evil to the hero. This feature is noticeable in the Greek plays also. Thus in Karṇabhāra when Karṇa starts to the battle-field evil omens occur. He feels that he is not in his usual spirits. In Vēṇīsaṃhāra we feel that Duryōdhana ought not to have disturbed Bhānumatī's prayer to the sun-god. Significant again is the hurried entrance of the Kanchukin in Act II shouting aloud *nanu bhagnaṃ Bhīmēna bhavataḥ*. In Chaṇḍakauśika certain terrible happenings occur foreboding evil to the king and the kingdom.

The use of the tragic irony is as favourite a device of the authors of our Sanskrit tragedies as of the Greeks. Thus some of the utterances of Duryōdhana in the

Vēṇīsamhāra, sound ironical. He thinks that none can harm Jayadratha ; but Jayadratha is immediately killed.

Yet another thing that strikes our imagination is the absence.of the comic element in all these dramas. The Vidūshaka who is so favourite a character in the Sanskrit dramas is discarded by Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa. Kshēmīśvara introduces him in the first act but the Vidūshaka finds that he has nothing to do whatsoever. There is absolutley no trace of humour in the two dramas of Bhāsa. The absence of the comic element has a parallel in the Greek tragedies, for in the whole of the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles we do not find one comic character except that of the watchman in Antigone.

In Ūrubhaṅga and Karṇabhāra again we do not come across many characters at all. Apart from the ladies of the harem that go over to the battle-field to see Duryōdhana we hardly see four characters on the stage at a time. In Karṇabhāra the action begins and ends with only four characters on the stage, Karṇa, Śalya, Śakra and Dēvadūta. The fewness of the characters is very much like the Greek tragedies which command not more than three actors. "Female characters," says Haigh, "play an unimportant part in the tragedies of Aeschylus." The remark equally holds good in the case of Karṇabhāra and Ūrubhaṅga. In the dramatis personæ of Karṇabhāra no lady character is mentioned. Fate in the Greek drama plays a great part in deciding the issues. In our tragedies too there is a good deal of divine intervention. The gods take sides too. Śakra for example tries to dupe Karṇa. Kṛishṇa is responsible in bringing about the end of Duryōdhana in Ūrubhaṅga.

The Greek authors again bring rival principles into collision. In the Antigone for instance the divine and the human law stand opposed. The author of Karṇabhāra in true Greek fashion brings about a clash between two ethical principles—Karna's sense of duty and his charity. Lastly, Greek tragedy seems to moralise and philosophise always. Thus Aeschylus in Prometheus tries to teach the

truth "that the religion of fear comes before the religion of love." Euripides shows how the guilty partnership of Jason and Medea ends in suspicion and merciless revenge. Moralising certainly is not the direct aim of the Sanskrit dramatists. But it is an indirect aim. The Chaṇḍakauśika teaches us that passion always fails as truth succeeds. The Ūrubhanga points out how crime never goes unpunished and the Vēṇīsaṃhāra shows how arrogance and pride disfigure the heroic strength and valour of a man and that "retribution awaits the aggressor."

Certain apparent anomalies in Vēṇīsaṃhāra disappear when the play is viewed as a tragedy. The anomalies presented are:

1. Impropriety of the love scene in Act II.
2. Undramatic construction of the play.

Let us discuss the first--impropriety of the love scene. Dr. Keith's words suggest that the love scene in Act II is improper. He writes: "The love interest is certainly not effective, but it may be that, it was forced on the author by tradition rather than by any thought of producing a real interest of itself." The poetics also opine that the love scene is out of place.[1]

Viśvanātha and the Kañchukin obviously think that Duryōdhana ought not to have indulged in a love scene with Bhānumatī at a time when the great war was in progress. Quite a convincing argument. But how is it a playwright of the type of Bhaṭṭanārāyana had not the sense of an ordinary Kuñchukin? Bhaṭṭanārāyana must have certainly been aware of the folly he was committing in writing such an irrelevant scene. Or he was doing it deliberately.

I am inclined to believe Bhattanārāyaṇa deliberately sketched the love scene. His hero was Duryōdhana, not the boastful blood-thirsty Bhīma. He was writing the tragedy of Duryōdhana—the fall of the great warrior. He wanted to intensify this fall of the hero and he did it

[1] See Sāhityadarpaṇa.

by showing a contrast between the happy and delightful life that he led in the company of Bhānumatī and the miserable life that he led during the concluding days of the war. It is therefore clear that when the Vēṇīsamhāra is treated as a tragedy of Duryōdhana the love scene serves its own purpose. Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa was not "forced to write it by tradition" as Dr. Keith supposes, but he deliberately did it—to suggest the intensity of the fall of Duryōdhana.

Similarly, the love element detailed in the first Act of Chaṇḍakauśika. Here also the author has deliberately introduced *vipralambha-śriṅgāra*. On a certain occasion the king was engaged in performing certain religious austerities. The queen found it impossible to bear the separation! The happy couple who could not bear the separation even for a day had to separate from each other, perhaps for ever! So even here the sriṅgāra element has contributed towards the intensification of the calamity of the hero.

The second anamoly pointed out in the construction of the Vēṇīsamhāra is the irrelevancy of the Acts III, IV and V. The third Act narrates the quarrel that takes place between Aśvatthāma and Karṇa. For those that think Bhīma is the hero of the play this quarrel absolutely will have no significance. But view the play as a tragedy the hero of which is Duryōdhana and the irrelevancy vanishes. A furious quarrel ensues between Aśvatthāma and Karṇa as a result of which the former refuses to fight while the latter continues to be the general of the army. Is this not a decided calamity that happens to the hero Duryōdhana? For if there is one man that is affected by the vow of Aśvatthāma it is Duryōdhana. Duryōdhana suffered a calamity in losing the services of the great bowman Aśvatthāman. Nor do the different acts hang loose around the central thing. In Acts III, IV and V great calamities that occur to the hero Duryōdhana are detailed. In Act III Aśvatthāma determines to stay out. In Act IV Duryōdhana's brother Duśśāsana is killed. In Act V Karṇa's death is announced.

In Chaṇḍakauśika two other features are very significant. They indicate how the poet wants us to treat the play as a tragedy.

1. *The ending of the play.*—The end suggested of the hero Hariśchandra is significant indeed. Dharma appears on the scene and orders a divine chariot and takes away Hariśchandra to the abode of Brahma. I have argued elsewhere that this is but a euphemistic way of suggesting the end of Hariśchandra. What strikes us as very peculiar is the fact that the author Kshēmīśvara should not have followed the usual path of Hindu authors in crowning finally Hariśchandra and allowing him to rule the kingdom peacefully. Instead, Rōhitāśva's coronation takes place and Hariśchandra's existence in this mortal world is terminated.

Obviously the poet felt that Hariśchandra was treated most unjustly by this world. He had undergone exceptional sufferings for no fault of his. He had undergone through "a living martyrdom." Granting that the king should have had the privilege of getting "his gilt robes and sceptre again"—would he have enjoyed the pleasure? The rest of his life would have been miserable in thinking of those great calamities he had undergone. Therefore he needed only "a fair dismissal" from the stage of life and Kshēmīśvara gave it To have crowned Hariśchandra again would have been as ridiculous as Tate's sentimental alteration of King Lear. In indicating the end of the king on this earth the poet awakens the knowledge in us, "that life on earth cannot satisfy us thoroughly and consequently is unworthy of our attachment"—a doctrine which the Hindus are so fond of preaching again and again.

2. *The title of the play.*—The play is called Chaṇḍakauśika. It is named after the opponent of the hero Kauśika. Why did not the author name the play after the hero Hariśchandra? That would have been indeed very reasonable. As it is, we can justify the title on one ground, that it is the anger of the sage which is primarily

responsible for bringing about the great sufferings of the hero. Hence the play is named after the angry sage.

But to explain away so tamely the title would be doing injustice to the author. For the author in calling the play Chaṇḍakauśika is suggesting also the tragedy of the great sage Kauśika. The Chaṇḍakauśika therefore is a play that portrays the tragedy of two great souls—one of Hariśchandra who suffers exceptionally for having committed an ignorant error and for being a victim of fate, the other of Kauśika, a great sage who on account of excessive anger is ultimately defeated. The story of Kauśika is a tragedy of character. He lost the control over the Vidyās because he grew angry. In anger he vowed to ruin Hariśchandra but brought defeat on himself. In the same way the title Vēṇīsamhāra is also significant. It suggests the death of the hero, Duryōdhana.

Before I conclude I wish to point out certain criticisms levelled against the Ūrubhaṅga being called a tragedy. Luders was the first to suggest the view that Duryōdhana was the hero and Ūrubhanga was a tragedy. But Dr. Keith considers that Luders was erroneous in thinking so. Says Dr. Keith: "Duryōdhana is the chief subject but not the hero of the play." I do not understand what Dr. Keith means by calling Duryōdhana a chief subject of the play. For nowhere in the Sanskrit drama do we come across such "a being as a chief subject." Even after consulting all the Indian poetics I have failed to come across an authority sanctioning only a chief subject for a drama. Granting that Duryōdhana is the chief subject whom does Dr. Keith consider as the hero of the play? I am sure he never thinks that the Ūrubhaṅga is a play without a hero! For it is too much to presume so. Or does he think that Kṛishṇa is the hero, for according to him the Ūrubhaṅga "depicts the deplorable fate of an enemy of Kṛishṇa." Where is it pointed out in the play that Duryōdhana is a deplorable enemy of Kṛishṇa? If Kṛishṇa was his enemy why does Bhīma worry himself with Duryōdhana? For, it is with Bhīma that Duryōdhana

carries on the mace-fight. If Krishṇa is so noble a being as Dr. Keith supposes, out to punish Duryōdhana for his crimes, why is it that the poet manages to bring him into contempt in the eyes of the spectators? Did not this just and noble Krishṇa suggest to Bhīma the adoption of unfair methods of warfare? Krishṇa knew how Duryōdhana was fighting a fair duel. In fact he spared once the life of Bhīma. The conduct of Krishṇa in suggesting the unfair method of fighting is as questionable as the conduct of Rāma in killing Vāli. The learned Doctor thinks that an adorer of Vishṇu relishes the fate of Duryōdhana. Yes—the adorer relished the death of Duryōdhana in the epic Mahābhārata, but never in the Ūrubhaṅga. Again if Duryōdhana is only a "wicked man" as Dr. Keith thinks "who perishes merely" "a criminal undergoing punishment", why is it we sympathise with him? Why do we grieve at his death? Why do we pity poor Duryōdhana who dies a heroic death before our very eyes? Nor does the playwright show us the wickedness of Duryōdhana. His nobility and straightforwardness are made prominent to the utter exclusion of his wickedness. Dr. Keith evidently seems to think that this play of Bhāsa is a necessary conclusion of Mahābhārata. It is not so. And we do a great injustice to the poet in thinking so. For the dramatist wants us to believe in the greatness and nobility of Duryōdhana who suffered an exceptional clamity because he overemphasised *abhimāna*.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that when viewed from the standpoint of both content and construction, Karṇabhāra, Ūrubhaṅga, Vēṇīsamhāra and Chaṇḍakauśika should be called Tragedies. It is therefore wrong to presume the absence of tragedies in Sanskrit.

The *rasa* that these Sanskrit tragedies portray is *karuṇā*. Some hold that it is *raudra*; but it is not so, for *raudra* is based on anger. It is not indeed the emotion of anger that is roused in us when we see a tragedy but pity which may conveniently be rendered into Sanskrit as *karuṇā*. Only, the term *karuṇā* has a wider connotation.

While the Westerner feels a pleasurable relief when the tragic sentiment of pity is roused in him and experiences a "harmless joy by the process of catharsis" the Hindu derives a positive delight from the sentiment of pathos stirred up in his heart. That this sentiment of *karuṇā* should bring joy to our heart is a peculiar feature of the *vilakshaṇa kāvya vyāpāra* and the Indian poetics in detail prove that *karuṇā* results in *ānanda*.

Our ancient playwrights had realised the importance of the portrayal of the "tragic sentiment" *karuṇā*. The dramatist Bhavabhūti considered all other so called sentiments as only variations of this one all-absorbing *rasa*.[1]

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[1] *Vide* (a) Rasagangādhara, pp. 25 and 26. (Kāvyamāla 12).
(b) Sāhityadarpaṇa, 3rd parichchēda: (Nirnaya Sagar Press), pp. 82 and 83.

V. PHILOSOPHY SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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The Twofold Way of Life.

I propose to make a few observations on a familiar subject, *viz.*, the two Indian ways of life which are commonly described as the *pravṛtti-mārga* or 'the path of active life' and the *nivṛtti-mārga* or 'the path of renunciation.' A way of life necessarily implies a goal to be reached, but I do not intend to consider its nature now. The Indian conceptions of the goal are many, and some of them differ vastly from the others. But a knowledge of these differences is not required for understanding that aspect of the two ways of life with which I deal in this paper. References to these ways can be traced throughout the whole of Indian literature. Already in the Ṛgveda we have, by the side of hymns addressed to the various gods for securing from them prosperity in life here or hereafter, those that glorify asceticism; and one particular hymn, which is well known, mentions 'the mad *muni* with his long hair and coloured garments.' The same two paths are alluded to in later literature also as, for instance, in the Mahābhārata where, if we find some like Ajagara proclaiming the excellence of renunciation (xii. 177), we find others like Bhīmasena ridiculing that view and insisting on the need for leading a life of strenuous activity (xii. 10). These modes of life may bear different names in different periods, and a school of thought may, in the course of history, give up its adherence to one and

come to adopt the other; but their twofold character persists throughout.

It is true that these ways of life are not peculiar to India, but are found wherever the human mind has reflected on the purpose of life and the means of achieving it. One of them, *viz.*, the way of *pravṛtti*, man adopts instinctively; and it is therefore known everywhere. The other may not be so common, but even that is not special to India. We know, for instance, that it was well recognised and, with its vows of poverty and chastity, was zealously pursued by many in mediæval Europe. But in their Indian form, these paths present a rather unusual feature in that they have ceased to be mutually exclusive. In India also, they begin as antithetical, and we find early teachers like Jaimini[1] and Āpastamba[2] contending that *saṁnyāsa* or renunciation, unlike *gārhasthya* or the state of a householder, is no part of the normal scheme of Aryan life. This attitude, however, has for long been changed. The negative way of *nivṛtti* still continues to be more or less the same as it was originally, but the positive one of *pravṛtti* has become profoundly transformed by the incorporation in it of the essence of the other. This has removed the original opposition between them, although the paths remain distinct. But it is necessary to point out what exactly is the nature of this change, for even in its earlier sense the way of *pravṛtti* involves numerous checks on natural impulses and therefore implies the need for a great deal of self-restraint in those that follow it. What particularly marks the later conception of *pravṛtti* as distinguished from the earlier, is the *total* exclusion of self-interest from it. It does not aim at merely subordinating the interests of the individual to those of the community, or of any other greater whole to which he may be regarded as belonging, but their entire abnegation. The path of *pravṛtti*, in its later form, thus lays the same degree of emphasis on self-renunciation as the path of

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[1] Cf. *Vedānta-sūtra*, III, iv. 17.

[2] *Dharma-sūtra*, II, ix.

nivṛtti does, and the one acquiesces as little as the other in what is sometimes described as 'reasonable self-love' or 'enlightened self-interest.' The distinction between them is that while the latter regards renunciation as the sole principle of life's discipline, the former looks upon it as only a qualifying means to the pursuit of a higher end which is positive in its character. By thus combining asceticism and activity, the discipline of *pravṛtti* elevates them both. Asceticism thereby becomes much more than self-denial, and activity is freed from all egoistic motives.

We do not know when this important change was made; but it is clear that it should have been effected quite early, for we can trace the new idea distinctly in the Upanishads. Their favourite way of setting it forth is by contrasting the specific organs of sense, in the matter of their functioning,[1] with Prāṇa or the vital principle as manifested chiefly in breath. The various senses operate for the sake of the whole bodily system; but over and above contributing to the general well-being of the body, these organs act in a manner which ministers directly to their own gratification. The eye, for example, sees and thus protects the organism from possible destruction which might arise in its absence. But it also often indulges in seeing for its own sake. Similarly the sense of taste seeks its own gratification in helping the organism to make a right choice of food. It is altogether different in the case of Prāṇa, since it has no purpose of its own to serve like the senses, and functions *solely* for the organism. This is merely an allegory to show what perfect unselfishness means. It signifies that a person who chooses the path of *pravṛtti* should always keep before his mind the example of Prāṇa and that, whatever he may do, he should do it not for himself in the least but for the whole of which he forms a part. The most explicit reference to the idea *pravṛtti* in this form is, of course, to be found in the Gītā; but while that work may be said to have given

[1] Cf. *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, I, iii.

wide and permanent currency to the new idea by presenting it in a splendidly devised setting, it did not initiate it. My purpose now is not merely to refer to the two paths in this their altered relation, but also to draw attention to the beautiful manner in which they have been embodied in two masterpieces of classical Sanskrit literature—the *Buddha-carita* of Aśvaghoṣa and the *Kumāra-śambhava* of Kālidāsa. By saying this, I do not imply that the poets have consciously aimed at propounding their views of life in them, or that the later of the two poems is a studied rejoinder to the earlier. As works of art, they give but spontaneous expression to the inmost convictions of the artists ; and, if there is any truth in the saying that poets are the best spokesmen of the national mind, we may take these works as furnishing a strong support for the thesis that there has for long been in the Indian outlook on life a difference of the kind indicated just now.

We shall take up for consideration the *Buddha-carita* first. The work, as its name signifies, has for its theme the story of Buddha's life, the details of which being well known need not be recounted here. The poem opens with a description of the happy circumstances in which Buddha is born and the royal surroundings amidst which he is brought up. But the prosperity in which we find him is not to last very long. For Buddha soon comes to know of the numerous ills, like death and decrepitude, to which all living beings, without exception, are subject. These sadden his heart intensely; and he is no less affected by the apparent callousness of men, who continue to live their routine life amidst such distressing sights (iv. 59-61). He accordingly leaves the comforts of the palace for the trials and hardships of the forest, determined to discover a remedy for these ills through rigorous self-discipline and meditation (vi. 52). But Kāma, or Māra as he is called here, 'the Satan of the Buddhist world,' is greatly perturbed by this resolve for, if the young prince should succeed in his efforts to find a remedy for the ills

of *saṁsāra*, his own occupation, as he says, will be completely gone (xiii. 5). He therefore tries to tempt Buddha, but, meeting with absolute indifference from him and wondering whether his heart has been turned to stone (xiii. 16), abandons his purpose. Buddha continues his quest, and at last succeeds in gaining the knowledge which he is seeking. Such, in brief. is the way of renunciation as represented in this poem. Though entirely negative it does not, we should point out, exclude active sympathy for fellow-beings, as is shown by the fact that the very first thing which Buddha does after his success is to spread among people the saving knowledge which he has gained. It is not suffering humanity alone that evoked his sympathy; even the sorrow of the meanest living thing, says the poet, drew tears from his eyes (v. 5). But the point for us to note is that so far as his own perfection is concerned, it is attained when desire in all its varied form is overcome. His efforts to help others by pointing to them the way to that wisdom, which has brought him everlasting peace, indicate his magnanimity; but it is wholly extraneous to his reaching the goal of existence.

Let us now contrast with this the other way of life as it is represented in the *Kumāra-saṁbhava*. The story in this case may not be so generally known as in the previous one; but the broad features of it, which are all that we need recall here, are fairly familiar. Śiva has lost his beloved Satī, in the full glory of her youth and in circumstances which are extremely tragic. This has thrown him into utter despair and, renouncing everything, he retires as an ascetic into the solitudes of the Himalayas. Satī is born again in that very region as Pārvatī, daughter of the mountain-lord, and grows up to be the prettiest of damsels. When her parents are about to seek a suitable husband for her, Nārada, the divine sage, appears and prophesies that she will become the consort of Śiva. Encouraged by this prophecy, the mountain-king approaches Śiva and, after honouring him as becomes a

guest, leaves his maiden daughter there, with her two companions, to minister reverently to him in his austerities, hoping that Śiva's thoughts might thereby turn towards love again. As in the case of Buddha, Śiva also is tempted by Kāma. But as depicted here he is, unlike Buddha, once on the point of yielding to the temptation. On one occasion when Pārvatī is doing homage to Śiva, Kāma aims his dart at him, impelling him to cast a longing look on her radiant face (iii. 65-67). He, however, quickly recovers his lost self-control and burns down Kāma in a fit of fury. Finally therefore Śiva also, like Buddha, succeeds in withstanding the temptation. Up to this point, the two stories run nearly parallel. But at this stage, there is a divergence, for Kāma in Kālidāsa's story revives later and receives a treatment from Śiva which is the very opposite of the one he received before. This differential treatment is not to be ascribed to a mere caprice of the hero, for, we should remember, he is Śiva; and it is therefore clear that our poet has two kinds or types of love in view, one of which alone, according to him, merits repulsion. To determine what the distinction between them is, it is necessary to mention a few more details of the story. But before we do so, it is perhaps desirable to refer to another point. Kālidāsa has here confidently ventured upon depicting the love between the supreme God and his consort; and he has not escaped criticism at the hands of fastidious *alaṁkārikas* for choosing such a theme.[1] It is not necessary for us to discuss this aspect of the matter, but it is clear that the topic is not one for all to write or speak about without appearing to profane it. So far as our present purpose is concerned, it will suffice to regard the love delineated here as the ideal of human love; and we shall, as far as possible, avoid alluding to Śiva in his character as the Lord of the universe.

The story is purely mythological; and Kāma, as we have seen, appears in it as personified. The circumstances

[1] *Cf. Rasa-gaṅgādhara.*

in which he first comes before us are briefly as follows: There is at the time great distress among the gods, for they have been long subjugated by a wicked demon. They entreat Brahmā for help in vanquishing their foe. But seeing that no one less valiant than the son of Śiva will be equal to the task of overthrowing him, Brahmā advises them to try whether Śiva can be weaned from his asceticism and induced to think of wedded life again. Then Indra, the king of the gods, bespeaks Kāma's assistance in diverting Śiva from his austerities, and naturally flatters him in doing so. Kāma feels considerably elated at being preferred by Indra to his other lieutenants (ii. 64; iii. 10); and, in his elation, declares that he is prepared, for the sake of his sovereign, to corrupt even the most virtuous of men:

adhyāpitasyōśanasāpi nītiṃ prayuktarāga-
praṇidhir dviṣaste |
kasyārthadharmau vada pīdayāmi
sindhōstaṭāvōgha iva pravṛddhaḥ ||
(iii. 6)

Pride goes before a fall, it is said; and in preparing to smite Śiva, Kāma himself, as we know, is smitten and dies. Kālidāsa foreshadows this result by means of poetic irony, when he makes Kāma say to Indra before setting out on his fateful errand, 'If only you look upon me favourably I shall, with no comrade but Spring and with no better aid than my flowery arrow, bring down the mighty Śiva himself' (iii. 10). Of the subsequent incidents in the story, we need take account of only two. The burning down of Kāma has frustrated the hopes of the gods; and they have since approached Śiva himself praying him to help their cause, which is the cause of righteousness in the world (iii. 20). He relents and agrees to seek Pārvatī as his bride for, as he declares, he has no purpose to achieve beyond the good of the world. The other incident relates to Pārvatī. The bitter disappointment caused by Kāma's destruction makes her doubly firm in her resolve to marry Śiva; and she enters

upon a severe course of penance, feeling convinced that that is the only means of winning his love (v. 59, 64). When she is thus engaged Śiva meets her, disguising himself as a common celibate or *brahma-cārin.* The scene that follows is one of the most lovely in the poem. The celibate, after learning with what purpose she is subjecting herself patiently to all the pain that penance means, tries to dissuade her from it by pointing to several 'shortcomings,' as he terms them, in the person whom she is seeking for her spouse. But finding that her devotion to Śiva is unshakable and admiring her strength of mind, he reveals his identity and assures her that her penance has, indeed, won his love (iv. 42, v. 86). It is then that Kāma is revived. Śiva and Pārvatī are united in wedlock; and Kumāra—the offspring of the union—eventually conquers the demon-foe and restores the gods to their original supremacy.

Stripped of its mythological garb, this means that love, as it appears at first in Śiva, is a momentary surrender to the influence of Pārvatī's personal beauty as is suggested by the poet in two similes, used in this connection—one which likens it to the attraction of iron by a magnet (ii. 59), and the other to the flow of the tide at the rising of the moon (iii. 67). In its later phase, on the other hand, Śiva's love is not the impulse of an unguarded moment but a deliberate choice for a beneficient purpose. Pārvatī is sought not merely for her personal charms but as a help-meet in the discharge of a duty, *viz.* safeguarding the interests of righteousness. That is to say, love does not make light of *dharma* now as it did before, but occupies its proper place as an auxiliary to it:

dharmeṇāpi padaṃ śarve kārite Pārvatīṃ prati \
pūrvāparādhabhītasya Kāmasyōchhvasitaṃ manaḥ \
(vi. 14)

—a stanza which reminds one of the Gītā saying:

dharmāviruddhō bhūtēṣu kāmōsmi Bharatarṣabha \
(vii. 11)

Secondly Pārvatī, innocent as she is, is not fully fitted to

enter the kingdom of true love when she first sets her heart on Śiva, for she has not undergone the discipline of suffering. Now she has shown herself capable of the highest self-sacrifice, and is therefore worthy of such love. Mere personal beauty, however extraordinary it may be, cannot win the highest love (v. 53) whose steadfastness and intimacy, our poet symbolises by the relation that obtains between a word and its sense (vi. 79); and Śiva does not wed her until he comes to know that she has not less beauty of soul than beauty of form. Thus *kama*, according to this view, is an evil only in its unregenerate form; but when it is pure, *i.e.*, when it is not a mere sensuous passion and when it is ready to make any sacrifice for the sake of the object loved, it has a rightful place in the scheme of the universe. In its total absence, life would lose its meaning; and this seems to be the chief point of the fourth canto, styled *Rati-vilāpana*. According to the standpoint of *nivṛtti*, on the other hand, all love alike deserves condemnation as having no value whatsoever for man. This extreme view is implied, for example, by the altered designation of 'Māra' or 'death' under which Kāma appears in the *Buddha-carita*.

There remains only one other point to mention to show that the ways of life, as represented in these two poems, are the same as the two ways of *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti* described above. Following the conception of *kāma* in the two poems, we have identified it with conjugal affection. But it may be taken to typify all kinds of desire. Not only does the word bear this extended sense in Sanskrit; it is also indicated in one of the poems, *viz.* *Buddha-carita* where Māra, when love fails to help him in his purpose, tries, though with no better result, to excite other feelings in Buddha (xiii. 18 ff.) The treatment of *kāma* in this extended sense is, on either view, the same as the treatment of it in the narrower sense of love. According to one of them, all desires without exception are to be repressed; according to the other, they are to be directed, when once they have been purged of their egoism

through a proper course of ascetic discipline, to the realisation of a positive end which is not of the individual but of a wider whole with whose interests the individual identifies his own.

CONCEPTION OF BRAHMA IN VĪRAŚAIVA PHILOSOPHY

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For a man who wants finally to release himself from the cycle of births and deaths and thus to attain salvation, the only efficient means taught by the Vedic texts are known to be a knowledge and an immediate realisation of Brahman.

"Tameva viditvā atimṛtyum eti" "Nānyaḥ panthā vidyate ayanāya." (Śvetāśvatarōpaniṣad). "He escapes death only by knowing Him and there is no other way for the final release."

"Jñātvā tam mṛityum atyeti nānyaḥ panthā vimuktaye." (Kaivalyōpaniṣad) "*Brahmavidāpnōti paraṃ satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ brahma.*" (Taittirīyōpaniṣad). *jñātvā Śivaṃ śāntim atyantam eti.* (Śvetāśvatarōpaniṣad). This Brahma is termed Liṅga in the Vīraśaiva Philosophy. *Vātule*|| *Līyate gamyate yatra yēna sarvaṃ charācharam*| *tadētalliṅgam ityuktaṃ liṅgatattva parāyaṇaiḥ* | Because the letter "lī" means—the whole of this sentient and insentient world gets itself absorbed into—and the letter 'ga' means—the same emerges, from Brahman. Liṅga and Brahma are interchangeable words and both point to the one highest principle which is self-illuminated and Absolute when unmanifested, as is borne out by the Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad which begins with "*Oṁ ityēd akṣaram idaṃ*" and ends with "*ayam ātmā brahma, sōyam ātmā chatuṣyāt.*" This Liṅga is Brahman because it bulges out while creating the world (*bṛiḥ*—to bulge forth).

"*Brihatvād bramaṇatvāchha Brahmaśabdābhidhēyakam.*" (Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇih).

Before the creation of the world, this Brahma was pure existence, knowledge and bliss. He was devoid of any form and beyond all means of knowledge like perception, etc. He was self-illuminated (*svayamprakāśah*), all pervasive and all-knowing. He had the names of Śiva, Rudra, Mahādēva, etc. In that Brahma was lying, in a dormant condition, the whole of sentient and material world. This Brahma, with a spontaneous desire of creating the world, assumed a form of blissful nature, like the liquid ghee becoming solid and for the sake of being worshipped assumed a body resplendent with a glory of innumerable suns, pure and white as crystal, with three eyes, a black neck, and a crescent moon on the head. The energy or the potency of the Absolute Brahma is called 'Śakti or Māyā' and being the prototype of the female sex, is personified and is treated as the bride of the Lord.

This Śakti is of two forms—one pertaining to the soul *chichchaktih*, another to the matter *achichchaktih*. When this Śakti is in a subtle form (*sūkshmarūpam*) *i.e.*, when it retains its original Satva character, it is inseparably associated with Brahman as is pollen with lotus, and is devoid of any distinction of names and forms.

Atharvaśiras.—" Just as the body of a peacock, with all its variegated colours was existent in the cell, so also the whole world of spirit and matter was lying in me in a subtle condition. I was the only one existent, now also I am only one; I shall be same in future also: there is none else different from me."

'*Śaktyādi cha pṛthivyantam jagadētachharācharam*।
śivaśaktisamutpannam tanturlatōdbhavō yathā॥
(Śaktisandōha by Śivādityacharaṇa)—

The whole world of spirit and matter takes its rise from Śiva associated with Śakti, just like the threads of the web come out of the womb of the spider. Śiva, in conjunction with this Śakti, is the material as well as the instrumental cause of this world.

"*Yadā tamastannadivā na rātrih,*" *etc.*—(Śvetāśvatara.)

When everything was darkness without the distinction of day and night, due to the absence of any luminaries like the Sun and the Moon, etc., and when there was no distinction between the subtle and gross forms of Sakti due to the absence of name and form, there was only Śiva without a second, but in eternal union with a latent potency which had not yet assumed name and form. The latter was called Parā Śakti and while creating the world, it became Vimarśā Śakti having names and forms and the Absolute God in Union with this Śakti became Maheśvara who, as being the cause of the creation of the world, assumed six kinds of powers. (Sarvajñatva, Nityatṛptatva, Anādibodhatva, Svatantratva, Aluptaśaktitva and Anantaśaktitva). These are treated as the six bodies of Īśvara and form what is called Śiva Tattva,—the first element in creation, the last being the element of earth (Pṛthvi).

sō kāmayata bahusyāṃ prajāyeyeti—(Taittirīya)

This Īsvara desirous of creating the world united with Icchā Śakti and became Kālarudra. "*sa tapo tapyata*" "associating himself with Jñāna Śakti and with a view to furnish materials like body, etc. to all the Jīvas according to their past deeds, he became Viṣṇu. "*Idam sarvam asrjat.*" The same God characterised by Kriyā Śakti, unfolds the whole world and is called Brahma.

tat sṛshṭvā tadēvanupraviśat—(Taittirīya)

Śaktisandoha.—

Thus, Īśvara characterised by the above-mentioned three kinds of potency, created the whole multitude of effects consisting of 36 Tattvas from the earth up to the Śiva Tattva and he entered into them all as their self.

Sachcha tyachchā bhavat—(Taittirīya)

Being immanent, he became manifested as the world. Thus, the God Īśvara is canvas, as it were, on which is written the wonderful portrait of the glory of the three worlds.

In Vīraśaiva Philosophy, this Brahma associated with Parāśakti is termed Mahāliṅga. Liṅga means the place where the world merges from and gets itself absorbed into. Gāruḍe :—"*sthīyate līyate yatra tat sthalaṃ brahma śāśvatam.*" When the Śaktis—*sarvajñatva*, etc. transform themselves into Kalās, Brahma also transforms himself into a Liṅga. The world, therefore, is essentially the Brahma itself, just as the waves, bubbles, etc. are, in their essence, the water of the sea.

Kathopaniṣad.—

Just like the wind, assuming the form of Prāṇa, prevades the bodies of all living beings, so God pervades all the created beings. "*Ekō dēvas sarva bhutēṣu gūḍhaḥ.*" Just like the space which does not lose its all-pervasive nature, though limited by jars, houses, etc., so Brahman pervades the whole universe, though he seems to be limited by the existence of Upādhi.

Soul or Jīva.

When Śiva who, when associated with subtle Śakti was omniscient, omnipotent, etc., becomes associated with gross Śakti "*sthūla śakti*" which has got itself intermingled with three sorts of impurities called Malatraya, He himself becomes Jīva characterised by limited knowledge, limited power, etc. This Jīva is termed Aṅga in Vīraśaiva Philosophy and is referred to by the word "I" in empirical usage. Since this gross Śakti becomes many owing to the variety of Upādhi, the Jīva also characterised by this Śakti, becomes many, on the analogy of the space "*ākāśa*" becoming many owing to the manyness of jars, etc.

Śvetāśvatara.—

vālāgra śata bhāgasya śatadhā kalpitasya cha ।
bhāgō jīvasya vijñeyaḥ sa chānantyāya kalpyate ॥
naiva strī na pumān ēsha na chaivāyaṃ napuṃsakaḥ ।
yadyachchharīram ādhatte tena tena sa yujyate ॥

The Śakti which is an adjunct of Jīva becomes twofold and is called Āvaraṇa Śakti and Vikṣepa Śakti.

That Sakti which is the transformation of the subtle material Śakti "*sūkshma chichchhakti*" is termed Āvaraṇa, since it helps in hiding Brahma and makes it possible to say that there is no Brahma and He is not visible. This Śakti becomes five-fold and is termed Kalā, Vidyā, Rāga, Kāla and Niyati, all of which tend to create in Jīva, qualities which are the contraries of those existing in Iśvara, namely, limited knowledge, limited existence, limited action, etc. This five-fold Śakti is termed the Pañchakañchuka of Jiva and forms his psychic body (*kāraṇaśarīra*) where-unto the Jīva merges himself during suṣupti or deep sleep, when he feels pure bliss or Ānanda and is called Prājña.

Māṇḍūkya —

Suṣupti sthāna ekōbhūtaḥ prajñāna ghana evānanda mayaḥ ānanda bhuk chētō-mukhaḥ prājñaḥ.

The second is Aunmukhya Śakti which is also a transformation of the subtle material Śakti; but unlike Āvaraṇa Śakti, it affords materials to the different Jīvas for enjoying their pleasures, pains, etc. It is this Śakti which assumes the forms of the 24 Tattvas commencing with Primordial matter (Prakṛti Tattva) and ending with the earth.

The three Kośas *viz*, Vijñānamaya, Manōmaya and Prāṇamaya—form the subtle body of Jīva and the Jīva enters into this body at dream and is called Taijasa.

Jīva, when he is conscious of his union with Annamayakośa or the gross body, is called Viśva and will be in a waking stage.

Since Brahma is the cause of all these three varieties of Jīvas, He is called Turīya, that is, the Fourth.

"*prapañchōpaśamaṃ śāntaṃ śivam advaitaṃ chaturthaṃ manyante*!" (Māṇḍūkyopaniṣad) Just as the word "Black" denotes the quality of being black as well as the thing possessing blackness, so also all the words denoting things in the world of spirit and matter, point to God Śiva also who is in inseparable union with them all.

Vâyu Samhitâ.—

vigraham dêvadêvasya jagadetachcharâcharam ।
êtamartham na jânanti paśavaḥ pâśagauravât ॥

The whole world of spirit and matter forms the body of the great Lord. The people who are in bondage do not understand this fact owing to their ignorance.

Thus, since Jīva is associated with the gross form of Śakti, all his potencies also become circumscribed. The Icchâ Śakti, when limited, becomes Āṇava Mala and makes the Jīva believe that he is apūrṇa *i.e.*, limited by time and space. The Jñâna Śakti, when limited, becomes Mâyâmala and makes the Jīva Kiñchijña *i.e.*, limited in knowledge, and think that he is entirely separate from Brahma, owing to his connection with his body and its organs. The Kriyā Śakti, when similarly limited, becomes karmamala and renders the Jīva capable of limited actions only and incites him to do merits and demerits and thus to involve himself in an endless series of births and deaths.

Śiva and Jīva are differentiated by a difference in the form of Śakti with which they are associated. The subtle and the gross forms of the Śakti, appearing in the shape of the world of spirit and matter, account for the appearance of Śiva and Jīva in one and the same Chaitanya or the Supreme Power with which they are united.

The term "Śaktiviśiṣṭâdvaita" applied to the eschatological doctrine in the Vīraśaiva philosophy, refers to the essential identity between Śiva and Jīva. Śiva, owing to the transformation of his own Śakti, himself assumes the three kinds of bodies along with their impurities and becomes Jīva, his original form being hidden by Māyâ.

When Jīva, having received from his Guru the three kinds of Dīkshā or initiation, gets himself rid of the above three sorts of impurities (Kārmika, Mayīya and Āṇava) existing in the three bodies, by the installation of the three kinds of Liṅga, (Bhâva, Prâṇa and Iṣṭa) in them, he perceives Liṅga, otherwise known as Śiva, in all his bodies and Indriyas and feels one with Him.

The meaning and significance of " Liṅgāṅga sāmarasyam "

The very import contained in the well-known Mahāvākyas like "*tat tvam asi, ayam ātmā brahma,*" is expressed by the technical term "*liṅgāṅga sāmarasyaṃ*" in the Vīraśaiva Philosophy.

tat padenōchyate sadbhiḥ liṅgarūpas sadāśivaḥ ।
tvaṃ padēnāṅgarūpō hi jīvas saṃsāra lakshaṇaḥ ॥

The word Liṅga expresses the import of the word "*tat,*" the word Aṅga that of "*tvam*" and " *Sāmarasyam* " represents the word "*asi*". When the mind of Jīva is purified after observing the Śivāchāras, the sthūla śakti connected with him transforms herself into Bhakti. Liṅga which is otherwise known as *paraśiva tattva,* becomes three-fold and is termed Bhāva Liṅga, Prāṇa Liṅga and Ishṭa Linga, when it is in union with Satkalā, Chitkalā and Ānanda Kalā respectively. These three Lingas, on account of the Upādhi of Kalā inherent in them, become again, each two-fold. The Bhāvaliṅga sub-divides itself into Mahāliṅga with *śāntyatītottara kalā* and Prasādaliṅga with *śāntyatīta kalā*; the Prāṇaliṅga into Jaṅgamaliṅga with *śānti kalā* and Śivaliṅga with *vidyā kalā* and lastly Ishṭaliṅga into Guruliṅga with *pratishṭhā kalā* and Āchāraliṅga with *nivṛitti kalā.*

Similarly, Aṅga, which is otherwise known as Jīva, becomes three-fold and is termed Yogāṅga, Bhogāṅga and Tyāgāṅga, when it is in union with Viśuddha Bhakti, Vichāra Bhakti and Vidheya Bhakti respectively. These three Aṅgas, on account of the Upādhi of Bhakti inherent in them, become again each two-fold. The Yogāṅga sub-divides itself into Aikya Sthaḷa with Samarasa Bhakti and Śaraṇa Sthaḷa with Ānanda Bhakti. Bhogāṅga sub-divides itself into Prāṇaliṅgasthala with Anubhava Bhakti and Prasādisthaḷa with Ānanda Bhakti. Lastly, Tyāgāṅga sub-divides itself into Maheśvarasthaḷa with Naishṭhikā Bhakti and Bhaktasthaḷa with Śraddhā-Bhakti.

Thus, Linga is made the 'worshipped' (*upāsyaṃ*) and Anga 'the worshipper.' (*upāsakaḥ.*) By constant contemplation of and union with Linga, the Anga or Jīva becomes Linga, like a wasp transforms itself into a bee by always thinking of the bee.

yathā bhramarayōgena kīṭōpi bhramarāyate |
mānavaḥ śivayōgena śivassaṃjāyate tathā ||

The above Lingas of six denominations, namely, Achāralinga, etc., are supposed to preside over the six Indriyās, that is, the five organs of perception, *viz.*, nose, tongue, eye, skin and ear and the mind—the internal organ standing between the external organs and the soul.

The devotee, as a Bhakta, offers odour "*gandhaṃ*" to Āchāralinga in his nose, with his hand Suchitta, being actuated by Śraddhā Bhakti and mentally reciting the letter '*na*'. Then as a Maheśa, he offers taste *rasaṃ* to Gurulinga in his tongue, with his hand subuddhi, being actuated by Naishṭhikā Bhakti and contemplating the letter '*ma*'. As a Prasādi, he offers the pleasure of sight *rūpaṃ* to Śivalinga in his eye, with his hand Nirahankāra, moved by Sāvadhāna Bhakti and reciting the letter '*śi*'. As a Prāṇa Lingi, he offers the pleasure or touch *sparśaṃ* to Jangamalinga in his skin, with his hand Sumanah actuated by Anubhava Bhakti and reciting the letter *vā*. As a Śaraṇa, he offers the pleasure of hearing *śabdaṃ* to Prasādalinga in his ear, with his hand sujñāna, moved by Ānanda Bhakti and reciting the letter '*ya*'. Finally, as an Aikya, he offers *tṛptiṃ* to Mahālinga installed in his mind, with his hand Sadbhāva, impelled by Samarasa-bhakti and reciting the letter '*ōm*'.

The above is the Upāsanā which a Vīraśaiva is enjoined to practise in order to attain liberation from the bondage of Saṃsāra. This Upāsanā transforms the whole of his body into Linga and Mantra and makes him feel one with Linga. It will be seen that the above method of Upāsana is such as to include both knowledge and action (*jñāna, kriyā*) and enables the Upāsaka to actually live and practise his religion with his every day life, always,

with a sense of detachment. When he realises this union with Śiva—the pure Bliss, he sees no other thing, knows no other thing, and hears no other thing. Like water mixes with water, fire with fire, he loses all difference when he merges himself into Brahma. It is with regard to such a man of realisation that the following stanza holds good:

kēvalam sachchidānanda prakāśādvaya lakshaṇam |
śūnyakalpam parākāśam parabrahma prakāśate ||

A FURTHER NOTE ON VISHṆUSVĀMĪ AND VALLABHĀCHĀRYA

By Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M.A.,

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On a former occasion,[1] I tried to show that the religo-philosophical views of Vishṇusvāmī and Vallabhāchārya were so dissimilar as to prevent one from supposing that Vallabhāchārya was the follower of Vishṇusvāmī. Some fresh evidence in support of the above statement is now discussed in this paper.

A small work, Rāmapaṭala,[2] of the School of Rāmānanda, which, although its author is not known, is looked upon as more than three centuries old, deals with three topics *viz.* (*a*) the daily duties of the follower of Rāmānanda, (*b*) the general principles of the Rāmānanda School, and (*c*) a short account of the three religious Schools of Nimbārka, Vishṇusvāmī, and Madhva. We are here concerned with the account of Vishṇusvāmī. The Rāmapaṭala states[3] that in the School of Vishṇu-

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[1] Proceedings and transactions of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, Baroda, 1933, paper on "Vishṇusvāmī and Vallabhāchārya," pp 449-465.

[2] Rāmapaṭala, edited by Brahmachārī, Bhagavadacharya Baroda, 1933

[3] p. 65-66.

Vishṇuśyāmānuyāyinām sarvadā śubhadāyinī ।
Vishṇukāñchī dharmaśālā Mārkandaṃ kshētrakaṃ matam ।
Indradyumna vilāsaḥ syāt sāyujyaṃ muktir uchyate ।
Jagannāthaṃ upāsyaḥ syāt vishtā tu kamalā tathā ।
Tulasīmantraḥ parama-Tripurāriḥ śākhōchyatē ।
Āchāryō Vāmadēvaścha dvāraṃ tu nayanaṃ mataṃ ।

svāmī, Vishṇukānchī is the Dharma-Śālā, **Mārkaṇḍa** is the Kshetra, Indradyumna is the Vilāsa, Sāyujya is the Mukti, Jagannātha is the deity to be worshiped, and so also Kamalā, Tulasī is the mantra, Tripurāri is the Śākhā, Vāmadeva is the Āchārya, Nayana is the Dvāra, Purushottama is the Dhāma, Harināma is the food, Sunanda is the Pārshada, Yajus is the Veda, Śukla is the Varṇa, Achyuta is the Gōtra, Krishṇaparibhrama near the Vaṭa, Jalabimba is the Ṛishi, and Nandika is the deity. It[4] further tells us that in the Hiraṇyakeśi Śākhā of the Yajurveda it is stated that one should have a mark on the forehead, resembling the foot of Hari and vertical and that whoever bears a vertical mark with an open space in the middle becomes dear to the Great Lord, comes to possess merit and enjoys liberation. This is the first sacrament of a Vaishṇava. The remaining four Sacraments are,[5] according to Rāmapatala, as follows:—the meditation on

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Purushōttamākhyam dhāma chāhārō Harināmakam ।
Sunandah pārshada prōktō Yajurvedas tathaivacha ।
śuklavarnō'chyutam gōtraṃ vaṭe krishna Pariśramaḥ ।
Jalabimba rishir bhaven Nandikō dēvatā tathā ।
ētāh Saṃjñāh śubhatarā Vaishnavānāṃ tu sarvadā ।

The editor of Rāmapaṭala remarks in a footnote on p. 66 that the verses are rather in a distorted form and that it is impossible to restore them to a correct form for want of more light.

[4] P. 67

Yajurvede hiranyakēśī śākhāyām ūrdhva-puṇḍraṃ
Haripādākṛiti ātmanō nirdhārayati । *madhya-*
chchidram ūrdhva-puṇḍram yō dhārayati
sa parasya priyō bhavati sa puṇyavān bhavati
sa muktibhāg bhavati ।

(This is the first *saṃskāra*)

[5] P. 67.

Dhṛitōrdhvapuṇḍrodara chakradhārī-
Vishnuṃ paraṃ dhyāyati yō mahātmā ।
svarena mantreṇa sadā hṛidisthiṃ-
parātparam sa yāti mahatōmahīyān ।

(This is the second *saṃskāra*).

paśuputrādikān sarvān gṛihōpakaranānicha ।
ankaye chchankachakrābhyāṃ nāma kuryā-chcha Vaishnavaṃ ।
(This is the third *saṃskāra*).

Vishṇu; impressing on all the objects the marks of a conch and a disc and giving the name of Vishṇu to children; receiving the Mantra; and bearing the mark of a conch and a disc, putting on a garland of Tulasī beads and thereby becoming liberated even in this life. Moreover, there are three Dvāras of Vishṇusvāmī, *viz.*, Śri Karma Chandrajī, Srī Kālūnayañjī and Śrī Vana-Khandijī.[6]

The short account of the School of Vishṇusvāmī given above, when compared with that of the School of Vallabhāchārya, will at once show that there is hardly an agreement between them and is, therefore, quite sufficient to confirm the opinion that Vallabhāchārya was not at all influenced by the doctrines of Vishṇusvāmī.

The other evidence that has been put forth in support of the theory that Vallabhāchārya was the follower of the Vishṇusvāmī School, first appeared in one Vaishṇava Magazine some seven years ago.[7] It is said that Vallabhāchārya, when he visited Ujjain in the year 1490 A.D., saw one Brahmin named Narottama and recognized him as his Purōhita. This honour conferred by Vallabhāchārya on Narōttama has been recorded in a document written in Sanskrit in the Kanarese script by Vallabhāchārya himself wherein the latter describes himself as the follower of the doctrines of Vishṇusvāmī.[8] This document does not seem to be reliable. Firstly, it is

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mantrōpadēśah chaturthah saṃskārah ।
(This is the fourth *saṃskāra*).
śankha chakra dhārī vidvān mālāṃ tulasijām dhṛitaḥ sa jīvanmukta iti ।
(This is the fifth *saṃskāra.*)
puṇḍram mudrā tathā nāma mantrō yōgaś cha pañchamaḥ ।
amīhi-pañcha saṃskārāṇ-paramaikānta hētavah ।

Similar *saṃskāras* are mentioned by Baladeva in his Prameya-Ratnāvalī (English translation of Baladeva's Gavinda-Bhāshya, Appendix II pp. 45–47).

6 Rāmapaṭala p. 62.

7 Śuddhādvaita and Bhaktimārtāṇḍa III. 4, p. 121. (1927 A.D. Ahmedabad.)

8 Ibid.

very strange that Vallabhāchārya, whose mother-tongue was Telugu, should write a document in the Kanarese script. One would naturally expect the Āchārya to write it in the Devanāgarī Script which was intelligible to all learned persons in the whole of India, and which was no doubt employed by the descendants of Vallabhāchārya at different times later on. Moroever, in the other similar documents written by Gopīnāthajī, the eldest son of Vallabhāchārya, recently brought to our notice,[9] we do not get any reference to Vishṇusvāmi. It is quite probable that some one, who wanted to establish the antiquity of the school of Vallabhāchārya by connecting him with Vishṇusvāmī might have been the actual author of the document or it may be that some of the descendants of Narōttama at Ujjain, might have forged this document with a view to enjoying a high status in the society by describing his family as being once honoured by a personality no less than Vallabhāchārya. Unfortunately such cases are not rare in India. This piece of evidence, therefore, cannot disprove the hypothesis that Vallabhāchārya had nothing to do with Vishṇusvāmī.

It was conjectured in my last paper[10] on this subject that Bilvamaṅgala might have met Vallabhāchārya. Even this is not possible as the latter is removed from the former by a long period. Moroever, the traditional account that Bilvamaṅgala was the follower of the Vishṇu-

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The document written in Kanarese Script is translated into English by Mr. J. R. Wagle, Translator, High Court of Bombay. The translation runs as follows :—

"Vallabha, the follower of the Maryada *i.e.*, doctrines of Shrimad Vishnusvami honours (recognises) Narottam of Avantika (*i.e.*, Ujeni) as a purohit (*i.e.*, the family religious priest) The first day of Chaitra Shuddha of Samvat 1546 (22nd March 1490)."

[9] The two letters written by Gopinathaji were first published in the Bombay Weekly, called 'Gujarati' of 20-10-35-pp. 101-102.

[10] 'Vishṇusvāmī and Vallabhāchārya'—(Proceedings of the VII O. Conference, Baroda, 1933 p. 456.).

svāmī School and he passed on the doctrines of that School to Vallabhāchārya, is unreliable. Vallabhāchārya himself describes Bilvamaṅgala as the follower of the Māyāvāda School of Śaṅkarāchārya.[11] It is, therefore, quite unnatural that Vallabhāchārya should receive philosophical traditions from Bilvamaṅgala. The whole episode of Bilvamaṅgala and Vallabhāchārya does not, therefore, deserve any consideration.

Last year, Prof. Glasenapp of Germany discussed the question of Vishṇusvāmī and Vallabhāchārya in his article on the teaching of Vallabhāchārya[12] and kept it open with great caution.[13] When he examines the remarks of Vallabhāchārya that the followers of Vishnusvāmī were Tāmasa, he says[14] that according to Vallabhāchārya. the Tāmasa Bhaktas were superior to the Rājasa and the Sāttvika Bhaktas and then when Vallabhāchārya describes the followers of Vishṇusvāmī as Tāmasa he is giving them a compliment. Prof. Glasenapp is not happy in his interpretation of the term Tāmasa as applied to the followers of Vishnusvāmī, as he has confounded the technical terms Tāmasa, Rājasa and Sāttvika which are used by Vallabhāchārya in his commentary on the Bhāgavata, Skandha X, in connection with the different Gopīs and devotees. These terms have been fully explained by Viṭṭhalanāthajī in his gloss[15] on Vallabhāchārya's commentary on the Bhāgavata. The devotees are called Tāmasa as they are most obstinate like illiterate persons and consequently fixed their attention completoly on the object which they once happen to contemplate. From the standpoint of Bhakti such a strong attachment

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[11] Vallabhāchārya's Tattvārthadīpa—Nibandha p. 180. (Benares Edition); cf. Purushottamajī's gloss thereon

[12] Die lehre Vallabhacaryas Von Helmuth Von Glasenapp in Zeitschrift fur Indologie und Iranistik Band 9; Heft 3, Leipzig, 1934 pp. 268–330.

[13] Ibid p. 330.

[14] Ibid p. 327.

[15] cf. Viṭṭhalanāthajī's Ṭippaṇī, p. 23 (Bombay Edition, 1921).

to God is undoubtedly the best qualification and it is for this reason that the Tāmasa Bhaktas are described as superior to Rājasa and Sāttvika Bhaktas who are lacking in that strong devotion. The followers of Vishṇusvāmī are called Tāmasa by Vallabhāchārya, simply because the teaching of Vishṇusvāmī was out and out dualistic. Vallabhāchārya is thus criticising that School and not admiring it.

Finally, it is interesting to compare the attitude of some of the followers of Vallabhāchārya who try to show the antiquity of the Śuddhādvaita system by connecting it with Vishṇusvāmī and with that of Baladeva, the author of the Govinda Bhāshya in the Chaitanya School of Bengal. It is well known that the system of Chaitanya has much affinity with that of Nimbārka and Vallabha and is far removed in spirit from the system of Madhva. Still Baladeva[16] in his Bhāshya on the Brahmasūtras says that the Chaitanya School had a long tradition behind it. In fact, it started with Kṛishṇa, and passing through different stages came to Madhva from whom in course of time it came to Chaitanya. All such writers labour under the impression that the truth and importance of any system can be measured only by antiquity. But such a line of thinking is hardly critical and historical and it, therefore, fails to commend itself to modern critical scholars. Moreover, Indian theologians are of opinion[17] that the Mantras not belonging to any Sampradāya or School—and there are only four Sampradāyas *viz.*, Rāmānuja, Madhva. Vishṇusvāmī and Nimbārka—are

[16] Baladeva's Guruparampara in his Govinda-Bhāshya on the Brahma Sūtras

English translation of Baladeva's Govinda-Bhāshya (Panini Office Allahabad, 2nd edition 1934 pp. i—ii of the introduction) and also appendix II, p. 3

[17] See Baladeva's Govind-Bhāshya, p. iii introduction; cf. Baladeva's Prameya-Ratnāvali vv. 5–6 (English translation of Baladeva's Govinda-Bhāshya, appendix II, pp 2–3).

A similar attempt of connecting the Rāmānand School with the Srī-Sampradāya and with Rāma is made in Rāmapaṭala, p. 56,

considered as fruitless, and every effort is, therefore, made by such persons to connect any new system with one of the four above-mentioned Sampradâyas with a view to enjoying a better status. But all these hardly appeal to a critical mind. The connection between Vishṇusvāmī and Vallabhâchârya cannot, therefore, be accepted as historically and philosophically correct.

THE DIALECTIC OF PRĀMĀṆYA WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO NYĀYA AND MĪMĀMSĀ

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To the naive thinker belief comes naturally; the fact that something is known is synonymous for him, with its being true and the problem of knowledge does not arise. We have all of us passed through this stage of epistemological innocence. But there comes a time in our life when our animal faith fails us; there are moments of crisis in individual and collective life when our habitual beliefs are shaken to their foundations. Customary knowledge proves inadequate and we look for the guidance of inspired men and inspired books. Thus arises the distinction between ordinary knowledge which is liable to error and revelation which is above error. At a further stage, we find that the revelations of one inspired seer conflicts with those of another, the revelations of one group of men run counter to those of another. Such conflict renders reflection and criticism necessary. It gives rise to the antethesis between reason and revelation. The Chārvāka, the Bauddha, the Nyāya and Mīmāmsā systems of Indian philosophy, the sensationalist, intuitionist and rationalistic systems of European philosophy are precipitates of this antethesis. It is perhaps in this context of conflict between reason and revelation that the question of *svataḥprāmāṇya* and *parataḥprāmāṇya* arose in Indian philosophy. The problem which is first raised in respect of revelation (*śruti*) is, in time, extended to every form of knowledge. It thus comes to be a basic problem of Indian epistemology.

In its fully developed form it is stated as follows:—

(*a*) Are the validity and invalidity of a cognition dependent for their production on the very conditions that give rise to it or are they dependent upon factors other than those that give rise to it?

(*b*) Is the ascertainment of the validity or invalidity of a cognition intrinsic to it or extrinsic to it?

The problem as stated above has elicited antethetical solutions which may be presented dialectically as follows:—

	Thesis.	*Antethesis.*
1.	Validity and invalidity: both are intrinsic. (Sāmkhya).	Validity and invalidity are both extrinsic. (Nyāya.)
2.	Invalidity is intrinsic, validity is extrinsic. (Bauddha).	Validity is intrinsic, invalidity is extrinsic. (Mīmāmsa).

It is not possible within the compass of a short paper to discuss all the systems. I shall confine myself only to the dialectical arguments of the Naiyāyikas and Mīmāmsakās. Even when dealing with the Mīmāmsā arguments I limit myself only to those of Kumārila.

The Nyāya argument.—In maintaining that validity and invalidity are both extrinsic, the Naiyyāyika puts forward the following arguments.

(*i*) If the conditions that give rise to knowledge could also give rise to its validity, then all cognitions would have to be valid. But as a matter of fact we know that some cognitions are invalid. Those who argue that knowledge is intrinsically valid should either give up the distinction between truth and error or if they want to maintain the distinction, they should cease speaking of the very conditions that give rise to a cognition as giving rise also to its validity.[1]

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[1] Manameyodaya, Translated by S. Suryanarayana Sastry, p 142. "If validity should depend solely on the causes of the cognition for its production then there would be validity even in cases of invalid cognition, because even there the causes of cognition are present; should one argue that they are not present, the very production of cognition would be unintelligible Invalidity too does not depend on the cause of the cognition, for the same reason; there would have to be invalidity even in cases of valid cognition.

(*ii*) If the conditions that give rise to knowledge could by themselves give rise to validity, there would be no room for doubt. We doubt our cognitions because the conditions of their genesis fail to give us valid knowledge. To accept *svataḥprāmāṇya* is to court dogmatism and resisting it, is the first step in the realisation of truth.

(*iii*) It is only critical knowledge that has the claim to the title of knowledge. Science never relies on cognitions that have not been scrutinised. It subjects what is presented by one sense to the scrutiny of another sense and finally what is presented by the senses to the scrutiny of reasoning. Thus the ascertainment of validity and invalidity is also extrinsic. We cannot establish correspondence between knowledge and object directly, because the object is outside knowledge. The Naiyāyika therefore adopts the pragmatic proof. If the character is truly the character of the object, then action based upon it should prove successful. If, for example, the cognition: 'This is silver' should prove to be true, on weighing, it should have the specific gravity that silver is expected to have; offered for sale, it should fetch the price expected of silver. It should be noted however, that the Naiyāyika speaks of workability only as a test of truth and not as constitutive of the nature of truth.

The Mīmāmsā argument in refutation of extrinsic validity and in support of intrinsic validity.—

(*i*) If a cognition is not intrinsically valid, we have to appeal to a second cognition, to find out the validity of the first; we shall have to appeal to a third cognition in order to see that the second is valid, and so on *ad infinitum*. Thus we shall never be in a position to know whether any cognition is valid at all. If, instead, we stop at any particular stage and say that a particular cognition is valid, its validity would have to be intrinsic to it. If knowledge is not intrinsically valid there is no possibility of deriving it from external factors. If salt has no saltishness, there is nothing on earth wherewith it could be salted. Even so, if knowledge cannot be validated with

reference to the conditions intrinsic to it nothing else can validate it.

(*ii*) All knowledge has the inalienable attribute of necessity; in knowing we feel we are obliged to know thus and not otherwise. This necessity is characteristic of perception as well as of inference. It is in the nature of knowledge to be true just as it is in the nature of life to be healthy. This does not mean that every cognition is true. Some cognitions turn out to be false. Falsity is a privation of knowledge, not its negation. It is this fact that knowledge is open to error that makes us critical about knowledge. Criticism consists in analysing the conditions of knowledge and in scrutinising whether the conditions are free from defect. In order to elucidate the validity of a cognition, we may have recourse to every instrument of logic, but logic proves only what is already there. The proof of a proposition is only a reaffirmation of its validity; it does not introduce validity into the cognition. The function of proof is to show that the conditions that have given rise to knowledge are not defective. It eliminates invalidity but does not induce validity into it. If a cognition is not intrinsically valid neither correspondence nor coherence nor workability can produce it. The Mīmāmsaka recognises the importance of correspondence and coherence only as tests of truth and not as revelations of truth. They help us to find out that the cognition is not invalid. They function at best, as collateral securities.

(*iii*) The argument of the Naiyāyika that validity is ascertained by the test of workability is untenable. That a cognition tends to successful activity is no guarantee to its validity. Some cognitions have led to successful activity and yet they are invalid. For example, many of us have dreamed that a dear relative of ours is dead. This has led to profuse weeping and sheding of tears on our part. But the fact that we have shed tears does not prove that death has occurred. Wherever there has been true cognition, there has invariably been

successful activity, but the converse is not true. Validity and successful activity are not convertible. Truth is logically prior to verification. There is verification because the cognition is true not true because it is verified.

Review of the Nyāya and Mīmāmsa controversy.—The chief defect of the Nyāya argument is that it overlooks the noegenetic character of cognition. All cognition, that is cognition of something not hitherto known (*anadhigata*) and which has not been contradicted by later experience (*abādhita*) is self-valid. Knowledge by its very nature is true. The function of doubt and inquiry consists in assuring one that the true function of knowledge has not been deflected. The Naiyāyika does not realise that this is the function of doubt and criticism in the scheme of knowledge. Doubt presupposes knowledge and can only operate usefully when it acts with certainty as its centre and base. Cut it loose from this centre of certainty and allow it to drift, it will wreck itself and scepticism will be the result. The later Naiyāyikas realised this and as a result of it they admitted self-consciousness and internal and external perception of existence (*dharmijñāna*) as intrinsically valid.

Knowledge has two distinct but inseparable aspects; it is constructive and revelatory; as a logical construction knowledge mediates between the knower and the known and makes a progressive understanding of reality possible. As revelatory it gives us the sense of direct acquaintance with reality. Knowledge is both a tool as well as a light. As a tool it helps us to control reality; and as a light, it reveals it. To overlook any one of these two aspects is to miss the meaning of knowledge. Knowledge which is a mere logical construction and not a revelation of the object is like a blind man who can move but does not see where he is moving; knowledge which only reveals and is not constructive is like a cripple who can see but does not move. It is because knowledge is constructive that it enables us to progress in our knowledge of reality. If we relied merely on immediacy and did not know how to

extend the boundaries of immediacy by logical construction, we would be intellectual dwarfs. The Mimāmsaka does not understand the implications of the constructive aspect of knowledge. One important implication of the fact that knowledge is constructive is that it is guided by an ideal. Without the consciousness of an ideal, construction is impossible Though every act of knowledge reveals reality, it, at the same time, leaves us with a sense of dissatisfaction. We know reality and yet do not know it. It is this sense of incompleteness that inspires us to attempt new constructions Every new construction is an attempt to go from a less direct to a more direct knowledge of reality. Another important implication of constructiveness is that knowledge has different levels, each revealing reality in degrees more or less. There is the common sense level of knowledge, there is the scientific level of knowledge As distinct from these there are the poetic and religious views of reality. Each level of knowledge leaves us with a sense of more intimate or less intimate, wider or narrower acquaintance with reality. A third implication of constructiveness is that though constructiveness makes knowledge progressive, yet the goal of constructiveness is to eliminate itself. The impulse of mediacy is to overleap itself and to reach immediate and direct contact with reality. The goal is reached in absolute knowledge alone that can, strictly speaking, be considered to be (*svataḥprāmāṇya*) intrinsically valid. All other knowledge is valid partly intrinsically and partly extrinsically. It reveals and yet reveals not. It reveals reality and yet wants us to go beyond itself to find it. This constructive aspect of knowledge is overlooked by the Mīmāmsaka.

The importance of this controversy from the standpoint of contemporary western philosophy.—The controversy between the Naiyāyika and Mīmāmsaka over the question of validity is interesting not merely on its own account, it is interesting also from the point of view of comparative philosophy. Comparatively speaking the

discussion marks a high level of philosophical development. European philosophers did not go into the question of validity so elaborately till very recently. The arguments of the Naiyāyika and Mīmāmsaka find an echo in the controversies between the critical realists, neorealists and pragmatists.

Just to give one example: The theory of correspondence as maintained by western philosophers invariably involves some kind of copy theory. It is interesting to note that the correspondence view of truth as maintained by the Naiyāyika is free from such an association. He avoids the pitfall of the copy theory by adopting the pragmatistic method of establishing correspondence. The correspondence of knowledge with reality is established on the basis of the inference that action based upon it has led to expected results. This contrivance was very recently adopted by the critical realists and it has become famous as the pragmatistic proof of realism.

Another feature of interest to the contemporary philosopher is the Mīmāmsā doctrine of noegenesis which bears a close resemblance to Spearman's theory of cognition.

THE JĪVA IN ADVAITA

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Rival schools of Vedānta have been untiringly accusing the Advaitin of a great leaning towards nihilism which, in the early history of Indian thought, was systematically expounded by one school of Buddhists. In fact, they stigmatise him as a pseudo-Buddhist implying thereby that his system has no support in the sacred scriptures and hence lacks the "halo of orthodoxy." But a careful survey of the evolution of Indian thought cannot fail to reveal the alternative emphasis laid on the two tendencies, assertivistic and negativistic, during the several periods of its history. To the Vedic sages of the Samhitā and early Brāhmaṇa period life was real and earnest and everything about them had a value. This is the significance of the early Vedic anthropomorphism. This was followed by a period in which the sacerdotal religion with its polytheism gave place to a quest after a single deity who was vested with supreme control over the affairs of the world.

In the later Brāhmaṇa and Upaniṣadic periods the idea of a personal God who was shaping the events of the world was superseded by the idea of the impersonal Brahman.

Next came the epic period which may be characterised as one of transition because various strands of thought which signify a period of spiritual effervescence emerged to the surface. This was also the period in which the two chief Avaidika Darśanas, Buddhism and Jainism,

took their birth. Even on the Avaidika side we get the assertivistic and negativistic tendencies represented respectively by Jainism and Buddhism. Thus, the tendency which, in the Vedic period, accounted for the sublimation of a polytheistic religion may, in a sense, be said to have reached its culmination in Buddhistic nihilism whose sharp logic denied both the internal and external worlds--*Sarvaṃ śūnyaṃ*. This is the Sarvaśūnyavāda.

Such unqualified nihilism soon provoked a strong opposition from the assertivist camp. The Buddhistic house was divided against itself and the Yogācāra or Vijñānavāda slowly admitted the reality of Kṣaṇika Vijñānas or fleeting ideas thus conceding a metaphysical status to the mind-stuff. The two other schools of Buddhism, though differing from each other on the inferribility or perceptibility of the external universe, concurred with each other in assigning a reality to it. Thus, the assertivistic opposition took its full shape when the Sautrāntika and Vaibhāṣika included the inner and outer worlds in their scheme of metaphysics. This is the Sarvāstivāda.

This assertivistic opposition had its parallel on the orthodox side in the Pūrva Mīmāṃsā system which heroically undertook to vindicate the claims of the Vedic texts for an unqualified acceptance. Thus, it looked as though the wheel had completed a revolution and had started on the second. The Pūrva-Mīmāmsa system believes that things have throughout been the same—*na kadāchida nīdṛśaṃ jagat*. (Śāstradīpikā Tarkapāda p. 109 Nirnaya Sāgara Edition.)

Thus the old scheme reared its head with renewed vigour because the Sūtras of Jaimini and the Vārtikas of Kumārila forged dialectic weapons in support of it.

But metaphysical enquiry probably ceased to have a purely academic interest which consists in refuting the position of an opponent and did not take the form of Buddhistic nihilism. Level-headed thinkers like Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara felt that the claims of the Pūrva-

Mīmāṃsā were unwarranted and that the Buddhistic opposition contained a large measure of truth. Nevertheless they would not subscribe to the ultra-negativistic view of the Mādhyamika. They formulated a doctrine of reality which was as remorselessly cruel as that of the Buddhist in rejecting as spurious anything which failed to satisfy that sovereign test. But unlike the Mādhyamika who let his ship adrift in mid-ocean without a mast or a rudder they clung fast to the sheet-anchor of the Upaniṣadic Brahman.

With the rise of Viśiṣṭa-Advaita and Dvaita which erroneously equated Advaita with Buddhism and thus appeared as reactionaries on the assertivistic side the wheel may be described to have started on a third revolution.

Śaṅkara's doctrine of reality is itself a product of a close study of the several Upaniṣads. Passages apparently purporting to endorse the reality of any conceivable object could be found side by side with others which denied all kinds of reality and in evolving a system out of such chaos it was necessary to discriminate the view-points of the half-poetic mystics and this was possible only for a mastermind like Śankara's. His sattātraividhya, etc., are the logical corollaries of the Upaniṣadic texts. He held the balance evenly and would not accept as real anything which was found wanting even in the least. This is how even pet entities like the Jīva are dismissed as no better than shell-silver. The orthodox side probably felt nervous that it had an internal enemy in him: but the Buddhists could not be sure of having in him a warm friend because he admitted as unreal only things like the hare's horn and not the objects of the world. Several adhikaraṇas in the Tarkapāda (II-ii, 28-33) are direct polemics of Buddhism.

His doctrine of reality *yadviṣayā buddhir na vyabhicarati tat sat, yad viṣayā vyabhicarati tad asat.* (Gītā bhāṣyam II-16) which was later on expressed as trikālābādhyatvam denies reality to things which do not trace

back to an infinite past and project forth into an infinite future. Thus the demand is too heavy for anything ordinarily conceived as real to satisfy. This test brushes aside the whole range of phenomena as spurious, though not on a par with the barren woman's son. We could probably reconcile ourselves to the idea that the physical universe, the outer world, is unreal. But coming to ourselves we feel that there must be something radically defective with the criterion of reality because it is impossible for us even to imagine want of reality to ourselves. In the words of Vācaspati each of us is, with reference to himself, immediately perceptible though inferring other things, *anumimānōpyaparōkṣaḥ*, directly perceptible though recollecting *smarannapyānubhavikaḥ*, undoubted though doubting *sandihānōpyasandigdhaḥ*, undenied though denying *viparyasyannapyaviparyastaḥ* (cf. Bhamatī pp. 604 Nirnayasagara Edition) and *pramānam apramānam ca pramābhāsastathaiva ca, kurvantyeva pramām yatra tadasambhāvanā kutaḥ.* Madhusudanī pp. 63 (Nirnayasagara Edition). Hence we feel that we are fortified on all sides and that the greatest upheaval that may happen will leave us (the impervious and unsharable selves) untouched. But it is this formidable fortress of the Ego manifesting itself in the form of an infinite number of finite souls that Śaṅkara invades and levels to dust.

The same problem may be approached even from another point of view. Taking the etymology of the word Brahman (brih-to grow) with anantam in *satyam jñānam anantaṃ brahma* and the words *ēkam evādvitīyaṃ* we get at the idea of paricchedatrayaśūnyatvam as the lakṣaṇa of sat or Brahman. It means that which stands by its own strength, limitations from the temporal, spatial, or any other aspect being incompatible with it. Such a reality would be Brahman alone. "It is all one whether we make noncontradiction, wholeness or individuality our criterion of the ultimately real; we mean that which must stand, that which has nothing without to set against it, and which is pure self-maintenance

within." "There can only be one individual, and that, the individual, the Absolute." (Pp. 68 Bosanquet: The Principle of Individuality and Value.) Though we would fondly believe that we are unlimited with reference to time our spatial and other limitations would stare us in the face and exhibit our smallness in spite of ourselves. Thus the fact that we have no metaphysical status is brought home to us in another way. "We apply the term 'individuals' to human beings in a secondary sense" (pp. 69 Ibid). This is the quintessence of Advaitic thought which the Bhāṣyakāra established after meeting the objections levelled by his opponents and proving the untenability of their views.

After these general remarks on the Advaitic concept of reality we may now briefly review the several adhikaraṇas pertaining to Jīva in Śaṅkara's Sūtra-Bhāṣya. In the Carācara-vyapāśrayādhikaraṇa which starts the tvampadārthaśodhana an opponent urges that in view of the fact that in common parlance we say "X was born," or "X passed away," and that there are certain ceremonies prescribed on the birth of a person or on his death, it should be conceded that the Jīva has birth and death. The Siddhānta is that this reference to the birth and death of X or Y is only secondary because it is the appearance or dissolution of the physical body that we regard as the birth or death of a person. The Jīva *per se* is unborn and undestroyed. Moreover, death of Devadatta or Yajñadatta would mean a denial of all authority to śāstras enjoining certain rites as aids to the attainment of, svarga, etc. Unless we concede that a person subsists even after the dissolution of the physical frame the performance of Jyōtiṣṭōma and other rites would be meaningless. Texts like *jīvāpetaṃ Vāva kilēdaṃ mriyate, na jīvō mriyate* (Chand: VI. XI 3) deny destruction to Jīva. Hence common parlance associates by mistake the birth or death of the body with the Jīva.

It appears as if Śaṅkara is only playing himself into the hands of his opponents when he denies destruction to

Jīva and thus implicitly concedes a plurality of selves. But Vācaspati rightly remarks that here the Ācārya considerately admits the correctness of usage by saying that the birth and death of the body are transferred to Jīva because even in the Adhyāsabhāṣya he proved how common parlance on such matters is based on ignorance, *cf.* Bhamati: *ētacca laukikavyapadeśasya abhrāntimūlatvam abhyupētyādhikaraṇam* | *uktā tvadhyāsa bhāṣye'sya bhrāntimūlatā* (pp. 600, Nirnayasagara Edition).

In the following Adhikaraṇa (Ātmādhikaraṇa) the conflict between Śrutis which impute a birth to Jīva from Brahman on the analogy of fire and its sparks (*cf.* Bosanquet's phrase, 'a celestial spark of the divine') and those which speak of Brahman itself as "entering" the kāryas like Jīvātman is overcome. The Śrutis speak of the unmodified Brahman itself as appearing like Jīva. The Pūrvapakṣin has urged that the doctrine of ekavijñanena sarva-vijñāna necessitates the admission of Jīva's birth because unless the Jīvas were its kāryas a knowledge of Brahman would not help us to a knowledge of the Jīvas who are also comprehended by the word sarva. The above argument of Svarūpaikya gives the go-by to this contention. The concluding sentences of the Maitrēyi Brāhmaṇa (Bṛhadāraṇyaka II-i) from which the statement relating to the birth of Jīvas is excerpted wind up the argument by saying that there is no pretyasaṃjñā for the prajñānaghana. The Vikāra-vibhāga and lakṣaṇabhēda objections of the opponent are simultaneously answered by the fact that the upādhi Buddhi accounts for them.

Appayya Dīkṣita makes a valuable supplement to this adhikaraṇa. If, as the pūrvapakṣin desires, Jīvas should be treated as taking births like the sky, etc., at the beginning of each kalpa, it would lead us to either of two difficulties. There would be no principle to account for the difference of the bhogas of the infinite number of Jīvas and hence either Īśvara would have to be accused of Vaiṣamya and Nairghṛṇya, or if we should allow independence to the Jīvas so far as the first action is con-

cerned Īśvara would then have his powers clipped. (cf. Parimala pp. 603, Nirnayasagara Edition).

In the following six adhikaraṇas which run to the end of the pāda the Bhāṣyakāra scrutinises the arguments of the Naiyāyika and other Dārśanikas on the svarūpa, parimāṇa and other characteristics of Ātman as admitted by them. Śrutis like *eṣa hi draṣṭā* speak of Ātman as the substratum of jñāna. Moreover, while we are in deep sleep, swoon, etc., we never get any knowledge and if jñāna were the svarūpa of Ātman an absence of it in these states is unaccountable, because the svarūpa of an object never forsakes it. As a criticism of this view a host of Upaniṣadic passages which unequivocally refer to Ātman as jñānasvarūpa are adduced and it is pointed out how deep sleep and other states do not negate it because want of knowledge in them is explained by the Śruti itself as due to want of Viṣaya. Just as prakāśa is unmanifest for want of a prakāśya, similarly jñāna remains unmanifest in deep sleep and other states for want of jñēya.

The utkrāntyadhikaraṇa meets the arguments of a Pūrvapakṣin who draws attention to certain passages in which Ātman is described as aṇu. If he should be treated as vibhu (all-pervasive) then his passage from one place to another which is set forth in certain contexts would be inexplicable. He cannot be treated as middle-sized because it would make him anitya. Utkrānti, etc., can square with nityatva only if aṇutva is conceded. If the Siddhāntin should contend that utkrānti is only deprivation of ownership because, as Vācaspati puts it, the word is accepted in the sense of death which is only a deprivation of the Jīva's ownership of the body, the opponent would urge that the two latter gati and āgati imply actions which directly abide in the agent and that several parts of the body are noted as starting points of this passage.

Another objection is also foreseen by the Pūrvapakṣin when he says that statements like *ākāśavat sarva-*

gatas ca nityaḥ refer to the *para* and not to the *apara* and other statements like *sa vā ēṣa mahānaja ātmā yō'yam vijñānamayaḥ prāṇeṣu* are only from the point of view of ultimate reality. As Vācaspati puts it: *yathā hi garbhastha ēva Vāmadēvō jīvaḥ paramārtha-dṛṣṭyā " tmanō brahmatvaṃ pratipēde, ēvaṃ vikārāṇāṃ prakṛter vāstavādabhēdāt tatparimāṇatvavyāpadēśaḥ* ǁ pp. 606 (Nirnayasagara Edition).

Again *eṣō 'ṇurātmā cētasā vēditavyō yasmin prāṇaḥ pañcadhā saṃvivēśa* from Mundaka (III. i. 9) and *vālāgraśatabhāgasya* and *ārāgramātro hyavarō 'pi dṛṣṭaḥ* from Śvetaśvatara clearly speak of Ātman as *aṇu*.

But if it should be maintained that aṇutva would conflict with the experience of happiness, etc., all over the body the Pūrvapakṣin would point to the analogy of gandha which, though located in only a part of the body, imparts joy to the whole. He would also reinforce his argument by saying that Candana and Jīva are perfectly similar to each other because Ātman also is specifically referred to as residing in the hṛdaya. At this stage the Pūrvapakṣin anticipates an objection to the effect that the analogy between Gandha and Jīva is imperfect inasmuch as the candanabindu contains parts and thus can perform with its parts an action at a distance while Ātman being admittedly partless cannot do so. He offers an alternative explanation with *guṇād vā lōkavat.* Just as a lamp kept in a corner of a room brightens the whole room with its "quality" of lustre, similarly, the Jīva, though aṇu, can experience happiness, etc., all over the body with the assistance of the "quality" of caitanya. If he should be corrected by pointing out that a quality can never reside anywhere except in its substratum and that lustre is not a guṇa but only tejodravya whose parts are loose, he would fall back upon the previous analogy of gandha which, he thinks, can by no argument be proved to be a dravya. Qualities like gandha are observed to operate even in places far away

from their substrata. The fragrance of a flower is smelt by us even from a distance. This piece of perception incontrovertibly proves the soundness of the analogy. That Ātman performs actions at a distance with the assistance of the "*quality*" of caitanya is vouchsafed by statements like *ālomabhya ānakhāgrebhyaḥ* and the fact that prajnā is referred to as a karaṇa of Ātman the kartṛ. *Prajñayā śarīraṃ samāruhya.*

This long pūrvapakṣa is met by the Siddhāntasūtra *tadguṇa sāratvāt tu tadvyapadeśaḥ prājñavat* (II. iii. 29). Since it was proved in the previous adhikaraṇa how Parabrahman alone is Jīva his size cannot be different from that of the former. Brahman is Vibhu and Jīva is equally so. The other arguments of the Pūrvapakṣin trying to prove how Jīva, though aṇu, can perform actions at a distance on the analogy of gandha or prabhā are rebutted by pointing out that gandha would cease to be a guṇa if it should be admitted to pass beyond its āśraya and that prabhā, as the opponent has foreseen, is only a dravya and not a guṇa. Further if caitanya pervades the Jīva's whole body, he can never be described as aṇu because caitanya which is his svarūpa pervades the body which has a middle size. But middle size entailing anityatva is condemned. Hence Jīva must be Vibhu.

Statements from the Śruti which contain the word aṇu mean only something incomprehensible as the context in which they are found requires. Or they will have to be taken secondarily because of his association with the upādhi Buddhi which is the only form in which he is commonly known. Just as the prājñaparamātman is vested with aṇīyastva, etc., in accordance with the upādhi of a particular upāsana similarly Jīva is vested with the characteristics of Buddhi in his association with her. He who is ordinarily cognised by the aham-pratīti is not the Ātman divested of the upādhis. *Cf*: Bhāṣya and Bhāmatī. (610–11. Nirnaya Sagara Edition.)

The Pūrvapakṣin now feels that he has cornered the Siddhāntin and retorts that if there should be a

separation between Ātman and Buddhi (both being different, it is bound to happen some day) there will be no Jīva or he will be a mukta without any effort of his own. This contention is met by saying that the association between Ātman and Buddhi is coterminous with his samsāritva which disappears only at the time of sākṣātkāra. *Cf:* Bhāṣya (p. 611. Nirnaya Sagara Edition).

Here again the Pūrvapakṣin feels that he can raise a protest because, in his opinion, Ātman is free from a contact with Buddhi in deep sleep and pra]aya. The answer is that this contact persists even in those states because it appears soon after in jāgrat and sṛṣṭi and nothing comes into being afresh. The utmost that could be said is that it is unmanifest and the Siddhāntin allows it.

The last sūtra of the adhikaraṇa establishes the antaḥkaraṇa because if the caitanya should be ever active there will have to be incessant knowledge, or if the presence of all the factors does not assure cognition, there will have to be absence of knowledge at all times. It may be explained as due to a benumbing of the capacity of the Ātman or the indriyas neither of which is tenable. Hence a new factor antaḥkaraṇa whose attentiveness or inattentiveness regulates the appearance or non-appearance of cognition is tacitly admitted.

In the following adhikaraṇa the contention that since Jīva is not different from the para who is asaṅga he is equally asaṅga and that all agency except bhoktṛtva goes to Buddhi, is met. The association with the upādhi Buddhi entails the superimposition of some other dharmas in addition to aṇutva. Agency is as much a dharma of Jīva as aṇutva when he is a samsārin. The texts which speak of him as unattached are explained in the light of Mukti. That he is neither an agent nor an enjoyer from the point of view of ultimate reality being granted, if he should be ascribed bhoktṛtva from the vyāvahārika point of view, it is equally incumbent that he should be an

agent according to Jaimini's dictum—*Śāstra-phalaṃ prayōktari tallakṣaṇatvāt.*

To quote Vācaspati *yathā ca tadguṇasāratayā' syāvastusadapi bhōktṛtvaṃ sāṃ-vyavahārikaṃ ēvaṃ kartṛtvaṃ api sāṃ-vyavahārikaṃ na tu bhārikaṃ*

avidyāvadviṣayatvaṃ ca śāstrasyōpapāditam adhyāsa-bhāṣya iti sarvam avadātaṃ. Bhamati. Pp. 613.

The Upaniṣads speak of him as sporting at will in deep sleep and as selecting this or that indriya for certain purposes. Further, certain passages mention Vijñāna as kartṛ suggesting thereby that in those contexts the word should not be taken as synonymous with Buddhi' which could have only the instrumental case-termination attached to it. That agency, according to Pāṇini, implies independence which is unfortunately absent in the Jīva in view of the fact that things which he would detest under any circumstances befall him is no objection since it is not total independence that is meant and since the motley character of the effects is due to factors beyond his control.

In the succeeding adhikaraṇa it is pointed out how the agency and enjoyment which were procured for the Jīva are only shadowy because they are conferred on him by Avidyā. *Avidyāpratyupasthāpita.* Like the carpenter who is one only so long as he handles the chisel and other implements, Ātman is an agent only in association with *manas* and the indriyas. In reality he is not an agent inasmuch as he is not different from the immutable Brahman. The Vidhiśāstra only accepts Jīva's agency as a datum and proceeds to enjoin or prohibit certain actions.

In the parāyattādhikaraṇa the kind of agency which was attributed to Jīva is itself traced to Īśvara in such a manner as to preserve the independence of the Jīva without at the same time implicating Īśvara as partial or cruel. Of course, one might probably feel that this position countenances dualism. But the Brahma-vidyābharaṇam anticipates it and observes that when it is

proved how the agency of the Jīva is only ādhyāsika incidentally the conflict between texts which imply his independence and those which describe him as dependent on para occurs to the Ācārya and since this is the Avirodhādhyāya it also finds a place only in this context and thus dualism is not countenanced at all.[1]

In the last adhikaraṇa of the pāda the question whether the relation of "ruler and ruled" between Īśvara and Jīva is comparable to the relation between master and servant or that between fire and its sparks, is answered by saying that Jīva is an *amśa* of the para like the spark of the fire. The relation between master and servant would lend support to a split between them while the Śruti implies a bhedābheda. The Bhāṣyakāra cautiously observes: *aṃśa ivāṃśaḥ, na hi niravayavasya mukhyō'ṃśas sambhavati.* This position is further strengthened by quoting the authority of the Gītā. This is the source of what was later on called the avacchēdavāda.

It may be objected that we are dislodging Īśvara from his position of authority by referring to Jīva as his amśa because all the iniquities of the amśa like grief, etc., will attach to him and since he is the *amśin* of all the Jīvas he will be the abode of the whole mass of human griefs. Resorting to him would be as absurd as throwing oneself from the frying pan into the fire because we would be visited with the griefs of all others in addition to our own.

This objection from the side of religion is overcome by saying that grief, etc., are all caused by abhimāna and being devoid of abhimāna the cause Īśvara is free from the effect grief. *Cf*: Bhāṣya, p. 623 N. S. Edition. The homely example under *prakāśādivannaivaṃ paraḥ* (II. iii. 46) is fully corroborative of the fact that grief is caused by Avidyā or Abhimāna.

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1. Brahma-Vidyābharaṇam, pp. 552-3 (Kumbhakonam Edition).

If it should be objected that a total identity between Jīva and Para would set at naught the hosts of commandments and prohibitions with which the Karmakāṇḍa and life are replete the answer is that contact with the body, *i.e.*, a false abhimāna in the body, etc., is enough to justify their existence because for the man who has realised his identity with the para they have no value. The Ratnaprabhā makes a significant observtion in this context. *na vayaṃ bhēdasyāsatvaṃ naraśṛṅgavad brūmaḥ kintu mithyātvam vadāmaḥ*.

We do not negate difference in the sense in which we would deny reality to the horn of a man. We say that, though a fact, it is inadmissible as ultimately real. This meets even the other objection relating to a promiscuity of the effects of actions. The Jīva is only an ābhāsa or image of the para and the changes that may happen to the images as a result of the changes in the surfaces on which the para is reflected do not attach to him and the changes that may happen to one image do not get mixed up with those of another. On this sūtra and on texts like *rūpaṃ rūpaṃ pratirūpo'babhūva* (Kath: II. ii-9) is based the view which was later on described as the Bimbapratibimba-Vāda.

Towards the close of the adhikarana the Bhāṣyakāra subjects to a searching criticism the views of the Sāṅkhya and the Naiyāyika, the ancient compeers of the modern dualists and pluralists. The Bhāṣya explains how the Sāṅkhyas who believe in an infinite number of Puruṣas with Prakṛti as the one means of attaining their ends cannot account for the distinctness of the bhoga of each Puruṣa because to Prakṛti the insentient cannot be conceded the honour of discriminating between the ends of one person and those of another. Similarly the Kāṇādas who say that a contact between Ātman and the mind brings about in Ātman the nine attributes, happiness, etc., would find it difficult to account for the distinctness of the bhogas because the factors which, in their opinion, explain such differences are common to all.

Neither adṛṣṭa-viśeṣa nor pradeśabhēda can satisfactorily account for the motley character of the bhogas of men.

In the course of this very rapid survey (because we have in all cases suppressed the view of the Ekadeśins and because only the chief arguments of the Pūrvapakṣin could be reviewed without considering the details implied) of the Bhāṣya and some of its commentaries on nearly three-fourths of a pāda we have noticed how Jīva is only an aupādhika entity and cannot stand the test of ultimate reality; we have also seen how the objections that could be levelled against this position as ignoring the claims of Ethics, Religion and Psychology, are satisfactorily met and how others who believe in a plurality of real souls will themselves find it difficult to meet such objections. The tvampadārtha-nirṇaya in Siddhāntabindu (pp. 8-44 in Gaekwad's Oriental Series) the ahamarthā-nātmatva-prakaraṇa in Advaitasiddhi with Laghuchandrika (pp. 595-606, Nirnaya Sāgara Edition) and the Guruçandrika thereon (a manuscript in the Oriental Library, Mysore), establish dialectically the soundness of this position in the light of the attacks of modern dualists and pluralists. The opponents of the Advaitin try to make religion, ethics and metaphysics reconcile themselves to one another forgetting that a truce among these subjects can only be an "armed" one.

The unshakable bedrock of the Advaitin is that Jīva is aupādhika and that the plurality of Jīvas required to meet the demands of ethics, psychology and religion is furnished by any of the kaleidoscopic Jīva-Vādas which Appayya Dīkṣita reviews under the names of Prakaṭārtha-Vivaraṇa, Tattva-Viveka, Sankṣepa-śaiīraka, Chitradīpa, Vivaraṇa, etc. (Siddhāntaleśa—Sangraha I—Pariçcheda). Any of these views or any other view which would not conflict with the fundamental tenet of a complete identity between Jīva and Para is acceptable. The prince brought up by a hunter comes to think of himself as a hunter till he is informed of his real identity. Similarly, any prakriya which will enable the Jīva to realise his complete identity

with the *para* at all times and climes would be agreeable to the Advaitin. *Cf*: Sureśvara (Bṛh. Up.: Bhāṣya Vārtika: I iv 402) and *Ibid.* Sambandha Vartika, Sl: 233 (latter half) and 234 (former half).

It is curious how closely a modern western philosopher B. Bosanquet agrees with the Advaitin, in his views on "the value and destiny of the individual." Individuality or self-completeness in the sense of having nothing set over against oneself within or without, can characterise only *the* individual, the Absolute. That the finite self has "hazards and hardships," "claims and counter-claims" in its relation with Nature, God and other souls corresponds to Śaṅkara's attempt to account for the plurality of selves, nonpromiscuity of bhogas, etc. "That the ultimate reality of persons . . . . . . is in the Absolute . . . . is a conclusion which seems inevitable from the idea of completeness or perfection." (Pp. 257, The Value and Destiny of the Individual.) Most of the passages in those monumental Gifford Lectures (The Principle of Individuality and Value and The Value and Destiny of the Individual) can be taken as almost verbatim translations of certain passages of the Advaitic classics. "The finite self . . . . is now and here beyond escape an element in the Absolute." (pp. 258 Ibid). He adds a valuable footnote which runs as follows: "I do not say 'a member' of the Absolute. Such an expression might imply that it is, separately and with relative independence, a standing differentiation of the Absolute." "We are here and now participants in it."

It is to be regretted how we feel thoroughly disappointed in not having scope to point out within such a short compass the close resemblances between the Advaitin and the modern Philosopher. Non-contradiction or wholeness which is the criterion of Individuality is not applicable to what is ordinarily called the finite self. In the words of Ritchie, "The individual assumed by the psychologist and the ordinay political and ethical theories

is a half-way abstraction of the ordinary understanding, a bastard product of bad metaphysics and bad science" (pp. 251, Philosophical studies). In seeking for a new background for itself in the light of its recent discoveries, modern science has alighted upon idealism which, it is to be hoped, will be monistic in view of its attitude to formulate general principles to comprehend the particulars, a process whose logical consummation will have to be monism. "Present-day science is favourable to idealism" (pp. 298-Jeans. The New Background of Science). That the peak of Advaita is high and that the ascent is steep are undeniable. A "timid withdrawal" which characterises "an uncriticised reliance on the 'solid fact,' 'the sense of living' and 'the unsharable self'" is not the right attitude. Though it is best to see, and rise to the peak, still

> It is better to have seen and missed
> Than never to have seen at all.

THE GAUḌAPĀDAKĀRIKĀS AND BUDDHISM

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I. *Ajātivāda or the Doctrine of No-origination.*

Unique place of the Gauḍapādakārikās in Indian philosophy.—The *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda on the *Māṇḍukya Upanishad* hold a unique place in the history of Indian philosophy, both by reason of the interest they have evoked in connection with their antecedents and of the influence they have exercised on the development of the Advaita Vedānta. Their greatest contribution to philosophy in general and to absolute idealism in particular, is their Ajātivāda or the Doctrine of No-origination.

Ajāti, the highest truth; its two aspects: positive and negative.—*Ajāti* represents, according to Gauḍapāda, the highest truth of philosophy. The word has a twofold denotation in the *Kārikās*—negative and positive. The former consists in an uncompromising denial of creation and, hence, of the existence as such of the empirical world and experience, subjective as well as objective. The latter denotation is an equally uncompromising assertion of the ever-unborn (*ajāti aja*) as the absolute reality, variously designated as *Ātman*, *Brahman* and *Vijñāna*. Stated dogmatically, the highest truth (*paramārtha*), in its negative aspect, is that "there is neither extinction nor origination; there is none in bondage; there is none aspiring and none wishing to be released; there is none released" (II, 32). "Nothing that presents itself as becoming all round, is born" (III, 2). "Hence, neither the mind (*chitta*) nor its phenomena are born; those who see

their birth, see footprints in the sky" (II, 28). "Thus, mind is not born, thus, things are known to be unborn; those who realise the truth thus, and thus alone, fall not in error" (IV, 46). "All entities (*dharmas*) are, by nature, similar to *ākāśa*—without a beginning; they do not at all admit plurality in any form" (IV, 91). "Nothing is born from itself or from another; nothing, be it being, non-being or being-non-being, is born" (IV, 20). "No living soul is born, he is not created (*sambhava*); the highest truth is that, which admits no origination whatever" (IV, 71). The same truth, in its positive aspect, is "the ever-unborn (*ajāti*), which is ever-the-same (*samatām gatam*) and unconditioned (*akārpaṇyam*)" (III, 2). "The unborn is pure (*viśārada*) and ever-the-same" (IV, 93). It is realised in abstract meditation. "In that state, there is neither apprehension (*graha*), nor avoidance (*utsarga*), nor thinking (*chintā*); knowledge, then, becomes one with *Ātman*, the unborn and ever-the-same" (III, 38). "Those who would be quite determined in respect of the unborn and ever-the-same, which the lay world cannot fathom, would, alone, be endowed with the great enlightenment" (IV, 95). As a matter of fact, not only the word *ajāti*, but the verbal forms of the root *jan* also are often used in our work, as in the Upanishads, with a *double entendre*, sometimes denoting, sometimes implying, both the transitive and the intransitive meanings (see III, 24, 27, 1). *Ajāti*, thus, means both 'non-origination' (Tatpurusha) and 'Unborn' (Bahuvrīhi). Both are *prakṛiti* and, so, admit no change in their original state in any form, the non-creation cannot become creation, the unborn cannot evolve itself into what is born (IV, 29). As the highest truth, *ajāti* can, thus, be predicated both of the phenomena and the noumenon at the same time. As a philosophical doctrine, it is at once the negation of creation and assertion of the absolute reality. From the viewpoint of the Vedāntin, as Gauḍapāda certainly was, the negation is but the logical corollary of the positive ultimate principle, taught by the Upanishads.

And this doctrine of *ajāti* is, in the opinion of Gauḍapāda, forced upon us by the Upanishadic testimony, by the nature of empirical experience and by reasoning, and its truth becomes capable of verification and realization in moments of intuition and abstract meditation.

Upanishadic Testimony.—Gauḍapāda examines the Upanishadic testimony in the first and the third chapters of his work. The Upanishad, he expounds, and other Upanishads as well are at one in their attempts to demonstrate that the ultimate reality is transcendent and absolute. Thus, the *Māṇḍukya Upanishad* represents *Ātman*, who is at once the psychological and the metaphysical ultimate, as beyond all means of knowledge, beyond all language and empirical determinations, untouched by phenomenal extension (*prapañchopaśama*), non-dual, immutable (*śānta*) and blissful. The *Taittirīya Upanishad* regards *Ātman* as the innermost fact of all existence (III, 11). In the Madhuvidyā of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad*, *Ātman* is the ultimate fact of being, *param Brahman*, both in the macrocosm and the microcosm (III, 12). Other texts speak of *Ātman* as unborn (III, 24). If such be the truth *par excellence*, it precludes all possibility of discrimination and definition. Distinctions in the sphere of sentient and non-sentient existence must, from the view point of such truth, be fictitious. And this, according to Gauḍapāda, is exactly the gist of Upanishadic teaching. This universe is regarded as a dream, an illusion, a Gandharva-city in the Vedāntas (II, 31). "This unborn principle becomes divided on account of delusion (*māyā*) and of nothing else; the immortal would become mortal, were it to be divided in reality (*tattvataḥ*)" (III, 19).

Hypothesis of Māyā.—This leads us to the consideration of Gauḍapāda's conception of *māyā*. The plurality of subjects and objects is, according to him, not created, in the ordinary sense of the word, but falsely imagined (*vikalpita*) by the *Ātman* in himself owing to his own *māyā* (II, 12, 19), which is as beginningless as himself (I, 16). In other words, as a result of his association

with the coeval *māyā*; the *Ātman* imagines himself first as subjects or individual souls and then as manifold objects, internal and external (II, 16, 13), the extent and intensity of this particularisation being determined, in each case, by previous individual experience and memory (II, 16). The case is one of erroneous supposition (*vikalpa*), similar to mistaking a rope for a snake, streak of water, etc., in the dark, till it is finally determined to be a rope (II, 18, 19). The word *māyā* is freely used by Gauḍapāda in the sense of illusion as of a magic show. As associated with, and belonging to *Ātman*, *māyā* is, in the *Kārikās*, a principle of self-delusion of the *Ātman* (II, 19 *Māyaiṣā tasya devasya yayā sammohitaḥ svayam*). It is positive in a sense; it is a factor—and one whose origin is lost in eternity—to be counted, if empirical experience is to have even a shadow of significance. It is also negative in a sense; it is unsubstantial, a figment of imagination, a contradiction of reality (III, 19) capable of being removed (I, 16) and, so, as unreal as the illusion it sets up in the *Ātman*. The question of *māyā* thus reduces itself to a paradox; *māyā* both is and is not.

The hypothesis of *māyā* is, in the *Gauḍapādakārikās*, a philosophical offshoot and explanation of *ajāti*, sanctioned by such Upanishadic texts as: *Indro māyābhiḥ pururūpa īyate*; *ajāyamāno bahudhā vijāyate*—the word *vijāyate* in the last being interpreted by Gauḍapāda as *māyayā jāyate* (III, 24). The universe is a mystery. It is nothing but what we know of it. It is, because we are aware of it, and it is what we think it to be. Without the thinking subject, it is naught. Each thinker has his own notion of the universe. Universe is, in other words, an act of his ideation. The thinking subject, the fund of his experience and his memory are responsible for the exuberance or poverty and the depth or faintness of the colouring of his ideation. Different thinkers have different notions of the universe, and these cannot be all correct at the same time. The appearance of the universe has therefore no substantiality of its own. It is not ultimately true. It is

deceptive, unreal like a magic show. And if the world-appearance is unreal, the subject, who ideates it and is its necessary correlate, must also be unreal as subject, because the one is true so long as the other is true. All distinctions, or causes of distinctions, being thus unreal, what remains is just a positive something, in which they all proceed. This cannot be nothing, because even unreal appearance must have a substratum. "A son of a barren woman," says Gauḍapāda, "cannot have birth, real or unreal" (III, 28). This something is *Ātman*, who, though truly above all predication, may, in the conventional language, be called the un-originated and the un-originating *ajāti* or *aja* (IV, 74). This is the truth *par excellence* reached retrospectively. Prospectively, we have to start with the postulate of *māyā*. Universe may be unreal. But even as unreal, it does proceed in the real. This real itself cannot be the cause of the unreal. The effect must have the elements of its potentiality in the cause. If therefore the effect be unreal, the cause must contain within itself the potentiality of the unreal. This potentiality is *māyā*, the principle of self-delusion, coeval with *Ātman*. *Māyā* is thus both the cause and the effect of the universe. The postulate of beginningless *māyā* does not go against *ajātivāda*, because *māyā* is unsubstantial, a shadow, an illusion, an erroneous notion. Such seems to be the line of reasoning, which led Gauḍapāda to adopt the hpyothesis as an explanation of *ajātivāda*. Gauḍapāda does not subject the postulate of *māyā* to further scrutiny as his followers did. For him, *māyā* is an illusion, pure and simple, and hence, though without a beginning (*anādi*), it does not affect the non-duality of the *Ātman*. Further investigation into the nature of *māyā* would have involved the recognition of some sort of *sattā* or existence for *māyā* and of inconsistency in the coeval co-existence of *māyā* and *Ātman*, but this would have been fatal to his uncompromising stand on *ajāti*. It was left to Śaṅkara, his spiritual grandson, to push the issue of *māyā* to its logical conclusion and formulate a definite theory *anirvachanīyatā*

or unaccountability, which is clearly hinted at in the *Kārikās* (III, 34; IV, 52, 67).

All plurality is thus reduced to *māyā*. Gauḍapāda explains this, in the case of individual souls, by comparing *Ātman* to *ākāśa*, *jīvas* to *ghaṭākāśas*, and *saṃghātas* physical and mental aggregates—to *ghatas* (III 3-10). That the *Ātman* is, like *ākāśa* one, immutable, indivisible, untouched and untainted by his mental and physical conditions, is supported by the gist of the Sheath-theory of the *Taittirīya* and the Honey-theory of the *Bṛihadāraṇyaka* Upanishads (III, 11-12). *Jīvas* or individual souls are all *Ātman* in his pristine purity in all states (III, 9), only conditioned. Take away the conditions, and they are one with *Ātman* (III, 4). At no time are they either modified effects (*vikāras*) or constituent or segregated parts (*avayavas*) of *Ātman*, just as *ghaṭākāśas* are at no time modifications or parts of the *ākāśa* proper (III, 7). The analogies of earth, gold and sparks, given in the Upanishads, do not countenance distinction. They are intended to bring the incomprehensible within the grasp of the mind through the imperfect medium of language and should not, therefore, be stretched too far (III, 15). The relation of individual souls with *Ātman* is that of identity, as is clear from the Vedānta texts which praise non-distinction (*ananyatva*) between the two and condemn distinction and plurality (III, 13). Texts countenancing distinction, even before creation, by representing *Ātman* as urged by desire, are of secondary value and refer to what was to be in future; if they were principal, texts describing reality as one and secondless would not be accounted for (III, 14). The analogy of *ākāśa* and *ghaṭākāśas* again explains how individual selves might differ from one another in their forms, names, functions (*kārya*), and in their experience and equipment as a result of association with *rajas*, *tamas*, etc., in different proportions, and in their mutually exclusive nature, without in the least compromising the unity and purity of the *Ātman* (III, 5-6). The *saṃghātas* or aggregates are, like *ghaṭās* in the case of

ākāśa, conditions, unreal like dreams, set forth by self-delusion (*ātma-māyā*); there is no logical clue to decide whether they are all alike or graded (III, 10). Thus, creation, if it means anything, means, in the Vedāntas, the apprehension of the unconditioned as conditioned, so far as the individual selves are concerned (III, 3 ff).

This last point is made more clear by the Upanishadic position towards phenomena, subjective and objective. These are, one and all, sheer illusion—*māyāmātra* (I, 17-18). If reality is essentially (*svabhāvena*) absolute, it must ever remain absolute. If origination and death be the essence of the being (*svabhāva*) of reality, the reality ceases to be essentially absolute (III, 19, 22). All creationists agree in regarding the first cause to be essentially unborn and undying, but if that be so, it would be absurd to think that it can admit division or modification, as this would make the first cause mortal (III, 20). Mortality and immortality are mutually exclusive. All phenomena must therefore be a chimera. The texts speaking of *māyā* as the basic ground of manyness bear out this point (III, 24). Nay, the text *nēha nānāsti kiñchana* denies the existence of distinctions altogether; *andhaṃ tamaḥ praviśanti yē sambhūtim upāsate* denies creation by condemning it; *kōnvenaṃ janabhet* refuses to admit any efficient cause for it (III, 25); and *sa ēsha neti neti* gainsays every phenomenon and reveals the unborn as the only reality, by not admitting possibility of empirical determination in it (III, 26). Thus, the attitude of the Śrutis to creation, whatever its source, real *Ātman* or unreal *māyā*, is the same: creation is just what it is determined to be by the Vedānta and demonstrated by reasoning, *i.e.*, unreal (III, 23).

Testimony of Empirical Experience.—The nature of empirical experience also leads to the same conclusion. This can be demonstrated by comparing the experiences of the waking and the dream states, which together make up the totality of our knowledge of distinctions. Both are false. Both annul each other (II, 4). Dream

experience is unreal, because it does not answer to the peculiar temporal and spatial needs of the waking experience. It is inward, confined within the body (II, 1; IV, 33), and so, from the viewpoint of the waking experience, precludes the reality of such dream activities as journeys to far off countries (II, 2; IV, 34), talk with friends, holding and the like (IV, 35), and of sights of chariots, etc., (II, 3), which are concerned with the world outside the body. The supposition of the dream-subject, going out of the body and apprehending all these things, is ruled out by the shortness of the duration of dream, particularly in case of long journeys (II, 2; IV, 34). Besides, the truth of the dream experience is gainsaid in point of time, place and things, seen or done, the moment we wake up (II, 2-3; IV, 34-35). What is true of the dream experience from the viewpoint of the waking experience, is also true of the waking experience from the viewpoint of the dream experience (II, 4), for the dream experience is as much real, while it lasts, as the waking experience. Both experiences are, again, similar as far as the diversity of subject and objects is concerned (II, 5). The reality of both is provisional: it endures as long as their respective states endure. As states, the two are mutually exclusive: we either wake or dream as far as our experience of diversity is concerned. Thus, each state is preceded and followed by some other state, which contradicts its experience. It does not, therefore, exist before and after its own duration. Its duration is, thus, limited both ways, and so unreal, even though apprehended as not unreal (II, 6). The difference between the two, if any, is apparent. Thus, the practical utility *saprayojanata* generally brought forward as a distinguishing feature of the waking experience, constituting the pragmatic test of its truth, is gainsaid in the dream state. To illustrate after the commentator, even after a sumptuous feast in the waking state, a man may well dream that he has been starving for days. The extraordinary character of some dreams is but a result of the peculiar condition of the

dream-subject. The objects witnessed in dreams are the ordinary objects of the waking life; they are only witnessed in combinations, unusual in mundane life. The denizens of heaven see differently than us. There is a lot of difference in the perception of the same thing by an educated and an uneducated man (II, 8). Nor does the awareness of distinction between true and untrue, that is, the awareness that mental vagaries are untrue as they exist but subjectively, whereas material objects are true as they are apprehended externally, constitute the distinctive feature of waking experience, because the same kind of experience holds good in the dream state also. If therefore the dream awareness of the true and the untrue is false, as it ought to be from the standpoint of the waking state (*drishta*), equally so must be the waking awareness of the true and the untrue (II, 9-10).

Gauḍapāda does not overlook some fundamental distinctions between the two sets of experiences. He admits that the dream is more or less a reproduction, or rather a reconstruction by the mind of the waking experience, intensely undergone (IV, 39). The latter is, thus, the basis of dreams. The two are related as cause and effect. As capable of producing an effect, *i.e.*, dream, waking experience has a greater claim to reality. And real or unreal, it is the waking experience which admits of repetition in dream and not *vice versa* (IV, 39). But he argues that this reality is conditional. Waking experience is real in relation to dream experience only (IV, 37). And the unreality of dreams is patent: the dream-body must be unreal, as the real—tangible—body exists differently from it even in sleep; so too must everything mentally visualised in the dream (IV, 36). But this only proves the unreality of the waking experience; it is the cause of unreality, and as such cannot be real (IV, 38). Dream-world is again on a par with the subjective world of the waking state; both are mental. Their stuff (*bhāva*) is inward, indistinct and coeval with awareness (*chittakāla*) as against the objective stuff which is external, distinct and

related to two times, *i.e.*, (i) duration of awareness and (ii) either past or future. But even these distinctions, Gaudapāda explains as being due to the distinction of perceiving sense organs (II, 15) and to ideation, and to nothing else (II, 14). Both, the objective world on the one hand and subjective and the dream world on the other, are nothing but figments of imagination (II, 14).

To sum up, in waking as certainly as in dream, duality is, in the first place, an act of non-dual mind and, in the second place, nothing but appearance (*ābhāsa*) (III, 29-30; IV, 61-62). The appearance of duality ceases to present itself, the moment this mind ceases to function, ceases to be mind (III, 31). Again, in both, the numerous living creatures perceived by their respective subjects, moving about in all quarters, are not different from the perceiving minds of the two, and these minds themselves, in turn, are perceptible to their respective subjects alone (IV, 63-66). To elucidate, in both sets of experience, the subject and the mind (from which things perceived by it are not different) are alone the test of each other's veracity. It is thus impossible to determine the nature of their truth by applying any other test (IV, 67). Birth and death, existence and non-existence of living beings in empirical life are like birth and death, existence and non-existence of apparently living beings set up by dreams, or projected by magic illusion, or mechanically contrived (IV, 68-70). The nature of empirical experience thus leads us to the same truth, namely, that nothing truly originates (IV, 71).

Reasoning supports Ajāti.—Reality of creation does not stand to reason. No theory of creation is satisfactory. This becomes evident from the great disagreement that prevails among the creationists themselves, whose conceptions of truth are more a matter of individual whims than of regard for the whole truth. Gaudapāda enumerates as many as thirty-five of such conceptions (II, 20-28), which, in fact, are but partial and erroneous notions about the self-same, single reality, the *Ātman* (II, 29-30). The creationists are, again, not agreed regarding the nature of the first

cause, as to whether it is existent or non-existent (I, 7); regarding the form of creation, as to whether it is a modification or evolution, or illusion or merely an act of the simple will of God (I, 8); and finally regarding the object of creation, as to whether it is fruition of past deeds (*bhōga*), or diversion (*krīḍā*), or mere nature (*svabhāva*) of the Lord (I, 9). This disagreement, nay, the mutual disputes and refutations of creationists supply Gauḍapāda with an argument against creationists themselves and a basis to build his own theory of *Ajāti* upon (IV, 3). He steers clear of the same argument being used against himself on account of his doctrinal disagreement with all creationists by neatly pointing out that his doctrine, though different, does not clash with the doctrines of the creationist dualists, because while it advocates non-duality as the highest truth, it also admits duality as its aspect (*bhēda*), of course lower and unreal. For the creationists, on the other hand, duality is both the highest and the conventional truth, and hence their highest truth turns out to be as unreal as their conventional truth (III, 17-18).

To start with, Gauḍapāda takes up the question of causality on the physical plan. The very idea of creation is based on the assumption of the First Cause, which, according to some is *sat* or existent and, according to others, *asat* or non-existent. The two views disprove each other: what is *sat* cannot be born, *i.e.*, in the form of the effect; much less what is *asat* (IV, 4). Further, the First Cause, whether *sat* or *asat*, may be unborn or born. If unborn, it must be immortal too, for the absence of birth implies absence of change and mortality in the original condition. If immortality, therefore, constitutes the very nature (*prakṛiti*) or self-essence (*svabhāva*) of the First Cause, it will not admit any change in itself, because the true nature of a thing, whether it be the result of acquired perfection (*samsiddhi*), or of its condition (*svabhāva*), or of birth (*sahaja*) or of the absence of foreign influence (*akrita*), is to remain what it is (IV, 6-9). If the cause becomes the effect, it subjects itself to produc-

tion in a new form. It thus ceases to be unborn. It becomes partite (*bhinna*) and hence non-eternal (IV, 11). To avoid this contingency, if the effect were supposed to be non-distinct (*ananya*) from the cause, it would be unborn itself. But to speak of the unborn effect is to commit a contradiction in terms. Or, arguing from the effect to the cause, the supposition of non-distinction will render the cause as much liable to birth as the effect itself (IV, 12). Finally, the whole argument of the universe being produced from the unborn, if stated syllegistically, would be found wanting in corroborative instance, as the whole universe is the subject (IV, 13a, b). Thus the unborn cannot logically be the First Cause.

The case becomes worse, if the (First) Cause is assumed to be born. A born cause is nothing but an effect. As such, every so-called cause will argue its own cause *ad infinitum* (IV, 13c, d). Again, both cause and effect being produced, the assumption that the first cause is beginningless (*anādi*) falls to the ground (IV, 14). Further, cause and effect are correlated. Their relation is based on the sequence in time. If this sequence is not assumed, that is, if both cause and effect are produced simultaneously, they will not be related to each other as cause and effect, like the two horns of a bull (IV, 16). If, on the other hand, the sequence is assumed, it may be regulated or unregulated as regards priority or posteriority. If unregulated, it may lead to the absurd state of cause being produced from the effect, like that of the father being born of the son! (IV, 15). Regulated it cannot be. A cause which is produced is itself an effect, and so cannot be accepted as a cause, at least not as the First Cause and, as such, existing prior to creation, because it would itself be creation. And what cannot be accepted as *the* cause, cannot also be held competent to produce an effect (IV, 17). The universe would thus be either eternal in its present form or not created at all. One who argues that the relation of cause and effect is determined, one by the other, has to answer the question: Which of the two is to be accepted as

existing prior to the other, to serve as the basis of determining the relative position of the other—the cause or the effect? (IV, 18). The question is unanswerable. The answer is beyond human knowledge. If essayed, it leads to the confusion of the order of succession, as already shown (IV, 19). The illustration of the seed and the sprout cannot be admitted, for the law of valid reasoning does not allow a reason (*hētu*), which is hypothetical, in proving a hypothesis (IV, 20). Thus our ignorance of sequence in time between the cause and the effect strikes at the very root of the creationist view, for, if the universe were really created, its antecedent must needs have been known (IV, 21). It follows that nothing can be created either from itself or from what it is not (IV, 22). Cause does not undergo production, because to be produced means to have a beginning, that is, to be an effect, which is foreign to the very essence of cause. Nor does effect undergo production, because by the very condition of its being (*svabhāva*), it is already produced and does not require to be produced. And what has no production, must have no beginning, *i.e.*, must be eternal (IV, 23).

Advocacy of causation on the mental plane is equally baseless. Impossibility of the origination of the physical world, as proved above, argues the impossibility of the origination of the mental world. It does not, as some subjective idealists (*vijñānavādins*) assume, argue the independent existence of mental phenomena. The mental phenomena, if real, can be real only in relation to objects which cause them (*paratantra*). This becomes evident if we analyse subjective consciousness (*prajñapti*). We notice that it is as varied as the objective world outside. We also notice that every act of consciousness refers to an object: we are always conscious of something, which is other than consciousness itself. In other words, consciousness presupposes a dual distinction of subject and object (*dvaya*). This distinction will vanish, if consciousness alone existed. The emotional reaction of pleasure and pain in presence of certain objects also proves that

conscious experience must have an objective basis (*nimitta*). Existence of external world to serve as basis of the variety of conscious experience is thus a logical necessity. But the facts of the case show that this requisite basis, the external world, is no basis at all (*animittatva*). It is in the first place already shown to be unproduced, and, in the second, it is denied altogether by the subjective idealist. The mind therefore can at no time—past, present or future—come in contact with the objects, as these do not exist. Nor can it apprehend their appearance, the impressions left by them, because there can be no impressions in the absence of objects (IV, 25, 26). Thus, both objective and subjective basis being impossible, the diversified mental phenomena (*viparyāsa*) cannot be accounted for (IV, 27). It follows that neither the mind nor its phenomena suffer origination. The subjective idealists who see origination (*jāti*) see footprints in the sky (IV, 28).

The unjustifiability of the position of creationists, realists as well as idealists, corroborates the doctrine of *ajāti* or no-origination and the Unborn, which being the original state of ultimate reality, can suffer no change (IV, 29). Origination, movement and materiality are but appearances of the absolute consciousness (*vignāna*), which is unoriginated, un-moving and non-material (IV, 45). This absolute consciousness and its phenomenal forms of subject and object can be compared to the fire-brand (*alāta*) and the straight and circular phenomenal forms it gives rise to. In both appearances cannot be assumed to originate and merge back anywhere but in their respective substratums. Yet they cannot be called the product (*nirgata*) of the substratums. because they lack the generic characteristics of the substratums, namely, substantiality (*dravyatva*). Their appearance and disappearance are dependent on the stir (*spandita*) and its absence in the substratums. Thus, in both, the causal relation between the substratum and its phenomenal forms remains incomprehensible, as it is not reasonably possible to determine

whether the phenomenal forms are substance or otherwise (IV, 47-53). Thus, as it cannot be determined whether, as subjective idealists held, phenomena originate from the mind, that is, are mere mental projections, or, as realists maintain, the mental world originates from (external) phenomena, the wise are led to the doctrine of re-origination of both cause and effect (IV, 54). Things appear to originate, but do not originate in fact (*tattvataḥ*). Their origination is illusion-like, which does not exist at all (IV, 58). The case of phenomena is like that of a magic plant, which grows up from a magic seed and, having no substantial existence, cannot be called either eternal or uneternal (IV, 59).

Testimony of Mystic Intuition.—Truth of *Ajāti*, thus attested by all accepted means of knowledge—verbal testimony of the Upanishads, nature of day-to-day direct experience and logical reasoning—is vouchsafed also by mystic experience and thus rendered capable of realisation to the aspirant. The necessary qualifications for such realisation are enlightenment and self-discipline. The former consists in the knowledge of the truth (*tattva*), psychological (*ādhyātmika*) and metaphysical (*bāhya*) (II, 38)—that *Ātman* alone is true (III, 32); that he is *Brahman*, the unborn and eternal, not distinct from the unborn and unimagining consciousness (*jñāna* or *vijñāna* (II, 33); that this consciousness is above the four-cornered prediction of 'is,' 'is not,' 'is and is not,' and 'neither is nor is not' (IV, 83-84), above the realism of the waking state (*laukika dvaya*), pure idealism of the dream and subjective states (*laukaika śuddha*) and ultra-empirical state of deep sleep (*lōkottara*), and above the ethical categories of things to be avoided, known, acquired and perfected (*heya-jñeya-āpya-pākya*) (IV, 90); that the consciousness in turn is the same as the objectless, eternal, and contactless mind (IV, 72), free from activity and phenomenal forms (III, 46), from attachment to cause and effect (IV, 55-57) and to unreality (IV, 79); and finally that all phenomenal appearances are like ākāśa, over the

same and emancipated from the first (IV, 91-93). The second qualification, self-discipline, is just the qualification of a true Brahmana. It consists of mental peace (*śama*) and self-control *dama*, (IV, 86), of freedom from passion (*rāga*), fear and anger (II, 35), of a life of asceticism (*yati*), care-free and insensitive to worldly concerns (*jaḍayāt*). Given these qualifications, the aspirant may prolong his moments of self-realisation by the practical method of Yoga, by concentrating the mind on the mystic syllable *Om*, by abstracting it from all notions of duality (II, 36) and relativity (IV, 56-57, 77-78), withdrawing it from all contacts, by remembering how they result in pain (III, 43-44), by waking it up whenever it passes into oblivion (*laya*) (III, 44, 34, 35), till the aspirant reaches the stage of *Asparśayoga*, in which the mind ceases to be mind and becomes identical with reality, which, though above words, may in conventional terms be described as Unborn, ever-the-same and pure—the truth absolute (*nirvikalpa*), realised by sages well-versed in the Vedas (II, 35).

Place of Realism in Gauḍapāda's Philosophy.—However free and blithe like a sky-lark an idealist might be in the skyey regions of speculation, he has to climb down to the work-a-day earthly existence and dash his head against things, which painfully convince him of their own importance in the scheme of the universe. The vast majority of his fellow-men do not possess his powerful wings of enlightenment, and not a few of those who ever essay a flight soon get frightened of the giddy depths of the blue of universal life, almost verging on nothingness, perhaps of everything, certainly of individuality (III, 39). They therefore prefer to tread the *terra firma* of earthly or heavenly bliss. Things as they appear to be have a greater hold on their minds than things as they are. Realism after all is not such a magic illusion as can be blown up by the charmed breath of idealism. Things of the universe have their own pragmatic individuality, function nd purpose. For Gauḍapāda, there is an additional

consideration of some scriptural texts. These texts assume the distinction of the teacher and the taught (I, 18), take for granted the universe as it appears to the lay man (III, 15), and enjoin religious duties and discipline (III, 1, 16). He, therefore, like others of his fold, concedes a provisional reality to worldly life and religious duties for those who cannot rise to the intellectual level of the enlightened (IV, 42; III, 16). Reality, as the one, all-encompassing totality of existence (I. 26-29), may suffer this as its aspect (*bheda*) (III, 18), how-so-ever illusive, in the interest of the lay men. It may, nay, it does, a lot of good to them without doing much harm (IV, 43). Partial insight may not straightway lead to the *summum bonum*, but it does vouchsafe a partial good which is better than no good (II, 29). Faith in partial truth is certainly to be preferred to scepticism and agnosticism which lead to nothing. The error does not lie in accepting life as it is and conscientiously endeavouring to make the best of it according to the light derived from scriptural, but in accepting it, and the scriptural injunctions connected with it, as final; in other words, in forgetting that these texts play but a second fiddle in the epistemology of the Vedānta (III, 14, 15), that the world of distinctions is but the lower (*apara*) aspect of Brahman (I. 26), as it presupposes the origination of the unoriginated and the unoriginating Brahman (III, 1), and as its reality is relative and conventional and therefore non-permanent (IV, 57). The realists' notions of worldly existence (*saṁsāra*) and liberation are unlogical figments; the former being beginningless, cannot have an end; the latter having a beginning, cannot be endless (IV, 30). For Gauḍapāda, realism, and all it means to religion and life, is a poor substitute for the grand truth of *Ajāti* (III, 1-2), to be tolerated out of sympathy for the incompetent, deluded souls, frightened at the very idea of No-origination (IV, 43).

II. THE GAUḌAPĀDAKĀRIKĀS AND BUDDHISM.

Charge of crypto-Buddhism.—It would be interesting to touch upon the question of the influence of Buddhism, particularly the Yogāchāra and Mādhyamika schools, on the Gauḍapādakārikas. The charge of crypto-Buddhism on Advaitism is an old one, and was long understood to imply, in a general way, a hostile sneer at the apparent doctrinal affinity of Advaitism to heretical Buddhism, or rather at the tendency of Advaita philosophy to verge on the philosophical position of Buddhist nihilism. Applied to Gauḍapāda, however, the charge amounts to much more than this. According to some critics, "Gauḍapāda gives a Vedāntic adaptation of the Buddhist Śūnyavāda."[1] Principal Das Gupta goes a step further, when he says that "there is sufficient evidence in his Kārikās for thinking that he was possibly himself a Buddhist, and considered that the teachings of the Upanishads tallied with those of Buddha."[2] Both criticisms assume that Gauḍapāda accepted the Buddhist philosophy and interpreted the Upanishads in its light. Their grounds for such assumption are broadly three:—1) Similarity of Gauḍapāda's philosophy to the Vijñānavāda of Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and more particularly to the Śūnyavāda of Nāgārjuna; (2) Use by Gauḍapāda of Buddhist terminology and dialectics; and (3) References to Buddha in Chapter IV. Let us briefly examine these one by one.

Comparison of Buddhist and Gauḍapāda's philosophies.—So long as the tenets of the Buddhist schools were studied through non-Buddhist manuals of Indian philosophy, it was not hard to distinguish Advaita philosophy from Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda. Vijñānavāda was just subjectivist idealism, and Śūnyavāda pure nihilism, unworthy of the notice of the great Śankara on account of

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[1] See 'Indian Philosophy' by S. Radhakrishnan, Vol. II.

[2] See 'A History of Indian Philosophy,' Vol. I, p. 423.

its opposition to all known means of knowledge.[1] Closer study of Buddism, however, through original texts during recent years, has revealed that these doctrines were not, after all, purely negative, but had a positive counterpart. The *vijñāna*, or rather *ālayavijñāna*, was not merely a continuously changing stream of consciousness in each individual being; it was also cosmic consciousness, even the absolute background of all phenomena, technically designated as *tathatā* or suchness. Similarly, the *śūnyatā* of the Mādhyamika did not merely mean self-essenceless (*niḥ-svabhāva*), ever-changing state of phenomenal world, but also the absolute essence of things, stripped of all attributes and designations. Thus, like Gauḍapāda, reality for both Buddhist schools is two-fold: one which refers to the phenomenal world, and is relative (*para-tantra*) and conventional (*samvṛiti*); the other which refers to the noumenon and is absolute (*parinishpanna* or *paramārtha*). In both the Buddhist schools again, as in Gauḍapāda, the former is nonpermanent, unreal and illusion-like, while the latter is permanent, real and transcendent.

Striking as this resemblance may appear, difference is not less so. The fundamental distinction between the Buddist schools and Gauḍapāda is, of course, that while for Gauḍapāda permanent *Ātman* is the ultimate reality and basic fact of absolute as well as empirical existence, it is neither the one nor the other for the Buddhist philosophers. According to them, self is nothing but an uninterrupted series of momentary mental states. Permanent self is, according to Nāgārjuna, a daring and dogmatic postulate[2]. If Buddha taught *Ātman*, it was to save people from falling into the heresy of nihilism.[3] The Vijñānavādin, no doubt, rises to the conception of *vijñāna* as universal subject, but only as the cause and

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[1] Bhāshya on B. S. II, ii, 31.

[2] See Rādhākrishnan, *Ibid*, p. 653.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 389 ff.

end of phenomena. To quote S. Radhakrishnan, "The Yogāchāra does not carefully discriminate between the individual and the universal consciousness . . . he tacitly admits the reality of an absolute consciousness, though the subjective tendency makes itself heard quite frequently."[1] Again, "the philosophical impulse led the Yogāchāras to the Upanishadic theory while their Buddhist presuppositions made them halting in their acceptance of it."[2] Besides, though the highest truth in both the Buddhist schools be positive, it is reached negatively. It is the unaccountability of the everchanging phenomena, which forces upon them the postulate of an absolute principle. In Gauḍapāda, on the other hand, it is the *Ajāti* or non-origination of the self-evident, non-dual, ultimate *Brahman*, which primarily necessitates the assumption of the unreality of the universe. The goal to be reached through abstract meditation is different in Gauḍapāda and the Buddhist schools: with the latter, *amanībhāva* or *nirodha* of mind is an end in intself; with Gaudapāda, it is a means to self-realization (III, 32-33). Coming to the world of relations, we find that the *jīva* of Gaudapāda, as already indicated, is not recognised by either Buddhist school. Gauḍapāda, again, distinguishes himself from the Vijñānavādin by rejecting the latter's subjectivist idealism (IV, 24-28); if any reality is to be admitted for phenomena, then, for Gauḍapāda, the objective phenomena is as much real as the subjective. He classes subjectivist idealism (II, 25), and possibly nihilism also (II, 28), among the thirty-five views which fail to grasp the truth about the *Ātman* (II, 30). If he does not refute Śūnyavāda in the *Kārikās*, as he refutes Vijñānavāda, it is perhaps because, like others of his age,[3] *e.g.*, the author of the *Brahmasūtra*, who preceded him, and Śaṅkara, who followed him, and like not a few of the

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 696-7.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 635.
[3] B. S. II, ii, 32. *Cf.* M. Hiriyanna, 'Outlines of Indian Philosophy,' pp. 221-2.

present day,[1] he really believed Śūnyavāda to be a nihilist doctrine, which, while it gave cogent arguments against other schools of thought, had but little to say for itself. As regards the root cause of phenomena, it is *māyā* according to Gauḍapāda and *avidyā* according to Buddhists. We may not stress any subtle distinction between the two, but needs must notice a fundamental difference. Gaudapāda's *māyā* is both a cosmic and an individual principle of self-delusion (II, 12 and 16); the Buddhist *avidyā* is not cosmic, but individual. *Māyā*, again, is what causes delusion in the true nature of the Self; *avidyā* is the ignorance of the four noble truths taught by Gotama Buddha.[2]

The difference it vital. Affinity, though apparent, is stressed on two uncertain assumptions. One is chronological, the other negative. Nāgārjuna (c. 200 A.D.) and Asaṅga (c. 400 A.D.) preceded Gauḍapāda (c. 800 A.D.) and their works were known to him; and Gauḍapāda's Advaita philosophy does not seem to have had any antecedents but the Upanishads and the Buddhist Śūnya and Vijñāna doctrines. The two are pieced together, and a case made up for Gauḍapāda's indebtedness to Buddhism. Let us take the negative assumption first. In the first place, it loses much of its force by being negative. In the second place, labours of scholars during recent years have brought to light the fact that it is possible not only to find earlier traces but also to reconstruct doctrines of many later schools of Vedānta from the extant philosophical literature. Śankara's commentaries on the Upanishads and Brahmasūtra refer to some of these.[3] It would be a strange irony of fate, therefore, if, during the long centuries that separated Gauḍapāda from the Upanishadic period, the Advaita philosophy, which of all other Vedānta philosophies embodies the most direct conclusions and

[1] S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

[2] See Hiriyanna, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

[3] See M. Hiriyanna, I. A., Vol. LIII, pp. 77 ff. Also Śaṅkara's Com. on B. S., II, i, 4, 6, 14, etc,

implications of the Upanishads,[1] had not caught the fancy of any Brahmanical thinker. That the case could not have been so, is quite clearly indicated by references to Advaita views prior to Gauḍapāda both in the sacred and profane literature. The view of Kāśakritsna cited in *Brahmasūtra* I, iv, 22 is Advaitic. Whatever may be accepted as the final teaching of the *Bhagavadgītā*, its recognition of māyāvāda in some part at least (see VII, 13-14) is undeniable. For references to Advaitic Pantheistic view-point bordering on Māyāvāda in Sanskrit literature, I would refer the curious student to Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's 'Vedanta Philosophy' Part I, pp. 185-6, where he has very impartially and ably proved not only the existence but also the diffusion of Advaita philosophy before the time of Gauḍapāda. Thus, the negative evidence to prove Gauḍapāda's indebtedness to Buddhist tenets being untenable, the chronological evidence loses its probative force. Gauḍapāda's acquaintance and use of Buddhist arguments cannot prove his acceptance of their philosophy. This would be more clear, if we examine the question of Buddhist terminology and dialectics in the *Gauḍapādakārikās*.

Use by Gauḍapāda of Buddhist Terminology and Dialectics.—The *Gauḍapādakārikās* contain Buddhist words, like *dharma* (entity or thing), *samghāta* (aggregate or body), *adhvan* (time), *samvṛiti* (conventional truth), and *paratantra* (relative truth), and Buddhist analogies of *alāta* or firebrand and *māyāhastin* or counterfeit elephant. Poussin has cited some verbal similarities between the *Gauḍapādakārikās* and Buddhist works, and they show that Gauḍapāda had not only used the phraseology of Nāgārjuna but imitated him in style and mannerisms also. The title of our work itself looks like an imitation of Nāgārjuna's title for his work, the *Madhyamikakārikā*. Gauḍapāda, further mentions and utilises the Buddhist *chatushkoṭi* or four-cornered dialectics (IV, 83-84) and

[1] Cp. Thibaut, S. B. E, XLV, p. cxxiv; also Poussin, J. R. A. S. LXII (1910), pp. 129 ff.

the arguments of Yogāchāras and Mādhyamikas are laid under contribution in refuting the reality of external objects (IV, 3-23), of subjectivist idealism (IV, 24-28) of causation in general and in tracing the empirical world to *māyā*, or, in Buddhist terminology, *samvṛiti* (IV, 57-74).

Now, taking the use of Buddhist dialectics first, we may attribute it to Gauḍapāda's deliberate practice of refuting one view by setting it against another, opposed to it, and building his own thesis on the ruins of mutually warring theories. Thus, the mutual opposition among the dualists is made the basis of the truth of his own non-dualism (III, 17) and the dispute between the Sat-kāryavādin and Asat-kāryavādin creationists is used to establish the reality of *Ajāti* (IV, 4-5). In the same way, Gauḍapāda accepts the arguments of the Vijñānavādin to demolish the Sarvāstitvavāda or Realism, and the arguments of the Sarvāstitvavādin and Śūnyavādin to demolish the Vijñānavāda (IV, 24-28). The use of Nāgārjuna's arguments to disprove causality and to trace empirical existence to *samvṛiti* or *māyā* is also to be ascribed to a similar object of allowing a powerful controversialist to disprove an undesirable view-point, only taking care that his own position is not compromised but strengthened thereby. The argument based on the Buddhist words and phrases is not conclusive enough. In the first place, almost all the words are more or less common to other systems of thought also. In the second place, mutual loans of words, which express common or similar ideas, is unavoidable in systems of thought, which grow up side by side; Buddhism itself shows a number of words, which were earlier common or later confined to other schools of philosophy: *e.g.*, the Upanishadic words—*nāmarūpa*, *avidyā*, *upādāna*, *arhat*, *śramaṇa*, *buddha*, *nirvāṇa*, *prakṛiti*, *ātman* and *nivṛitti*[1] and the Jain words *śrāvaka*,[2] *jina*, etc. Lastly Gauḍapāda's was a time when

[1] S. Radhakrishnan, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

[2] Yamakakami Sogen, 'Systems of Buddhistic Thought.,

Brahmanism was engaged in a vigorous onslaught on Buddhism, and so the knowledge and use of the technical terms and subtleties of the opponent was often necessary to meet him on his own ground. Coming to the analogies, it may be pointed out that the simile of the fire-brand occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upanishad* (IV, 24), while the phrase *alātaśānti* has not been traced in Buddhist books.[1] Nor was the analogy of *māyā-hastin* a sole property of the Buddhists, as it was drawn from a well-known historical episode in the life of king Udayana, whose romantic love is twice dramatised by Bhāsa and whose popularity as subject of folk-tale is corroborated by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* (I, 31-34). Although Poussin draws attention to verbal similarities between the *Gauḍapādakārikās* and Buddhist works, he does not contribute to the view of Prof. Jacobi and Mr. A. V. Sukthankar that Advaita Vēdānta was indebted to Buddhism. On the other hand, he believes that autonomous—if not absolutely independent—developments of both are admissible. Some of these verses in the *Kārikās*, if read in their proper context, show that Gauḍapāda borrows not the thought but language only of the Buddhist prototypes, or, when he borrows thought also, he does so because he finds in it a handy tool to serve his own purpose. Such conscious or unconscious loans are not confined to Buddhist works only. The reader of the Kārikās catches in them, equally frequently, the familiar ring of ideas and phraseology of the *Bhagavadgītā* as well. Let the critic of the *Gauḍapādakārikās*, before he jumps at any conclusion about indebtedness, compare what Gauḍapāda says about meditation on the mystic syllable *Om* in I, 24-29 with Bh. G., VIII, 12-13, 16; about mind-control and Yoga in III, 31-47 with Bh. G., VI, 10, 25, 27, 34, etc.; and about the enlightened man in I, 28-29, II, 35-38, and IV, 84 ff. with similar descriptions in Bh. G. II,

[1] Poussin, J. R. A. S., LXII, p. 130.

65-71, V, 29, etc. Let him particularly compare the following:—

Gauḍapādakārikās		*Bhagavadgītā.*
(1) II, 12; II, 19	....	VI, 6; VII, 12, 13.
(2) III, 21=IV, 7	....	III, 33.
(3) IV, 85	....	VI, 28; VI, 22.
(4) II, 6=IV, 31	....	II, 28.
(5) II, 7=IV, 32	....	V, 22; II, 14.
(6) IV, 93=III, 2, 38, etc.		IV, 19.
(7) II, 29; also IV, 43	....	IV, 14; also VII, 20-23, IX, 25.
(8) II, 35	...	II, 56, IV, 10.
(9) III, 21=IV, 7	....	II, 16.
(10) IV, 92	....	II, 15.

A constituent part of the Gauḍapādakārikās.—Attempts have been made to show that Chapter IV of the *Gauḍapādakārikās* is a distinct work, possibly from the pen of an author other than the author of the first three chapters. The arguments for this supposition are (1) that the chapter is replete with Buddhist dialectics, (2) that it contains direct or indirect references to Buddha or Buddhas, (3) that, unlike the previous chapters, it opens and ends with salutations which have a Buddhistic tinge, and (4) that *asparśayoga*, whose teacher is saluted, was taught by Buddha. Now, we have already disposed of the first argument. As to the second, it may be pointed out that the sense of the word *buddha* in all cases where it is found is ambiguous. Neither the context nor the trend of argument restricts it to Gotama Buddha; neither, again, suffers by taking it to be 'enlightened' or 'wise' (see *manīshiṇaḥ*—IV, 54), who may be Advaitins. Ambiguity cannot prove the case. The question of salutations, raised by the third argument, is inadmissible. The salutation at the close does not stand in need of justification, and the explanation for salutation at the beginning, if at all necessary, must be sought in what Gauḍapāda has accomplished in the previous chapters.

In these, he has proved his doctrine of Ajāti mainly on the strength of the Vedānta texts. Before starting to prove the same by logical reasoning, he may well express his reverence to one who first taught or promulgated it, or, better, to whom-so-ever has realized or realizes its truth (*sambuddhaḥ*) in life in the manner stated at the close of the third chapter. And such a man, dead or living, would be a right object of reverence—the best among men—to a man like Gauḍapāda who valued self-realisation as the be-all and end-all of existence. That the phrase *dvipadām vara* is used in Buddhist literature for the founder of that religion, does not preclude the possibility of its use by others. Ignorance is no proof. Nor is there anything in the substance of the opening and closing verses to compel us to restrict the word to Buddha. The last verse is only a salutation to reality as Gauḍapāda conceived it, *i.e.*, *Ajāti*, pure and simple (*Ajam sāmyam viśāradam*). The first verse, which is similar in sense to IV, 99, represents complete identity and absence of distinction between *jñāna* and *jñeya*, consciousness and its object, during enlightenment or self-realisation, when both become merged into the Absolute, as pure and attributeless as Ākāśa. They merely summarise the idea already expressed in III, 31-33 and 3-10 taken together, where *jñāna*, the unborn and unconceiving (*akalpaka*), is said to become one with its object, *jñeya*, *i.e.*, *Brahman*, also unborn and eternal, and both are again said to be one with *Ātman*, the truth. There is hardly anything Buddhistic in the first verse.

The last argument, based on the name and meaning of *Asparśayoga*, becomes untenable in view of the fact that the Buddhist literature does not know the word. The term which is used to express the sense of *Asparśayoga*, there, namely, the ninth stage of abstract meditation is *Sañjñāvedayitanirodha*. The only Buddhist work which mentions the two constituents of the word, *asparśa* and *yoga*, in close proximity is the *Chatuḥśatikā* of Āryadeva but on the critic's own showing, the passage means

that there can be no contact between a tangible and an intangible thing. Thus the sense of the passage has "nothing to do with *Asparśayoga* which is a *samādhi*, as described in III, 37, 39." The name being untraceable in Buddhist literature, refuge is sought in the sense. But here too, the argument hangs on a very slender, rather imaginary, thread of Gaudapāda's description of *Asparśa-yoga* as one of which Yogins are afraid. This fear of the Yogins is connected by the critic with the fear of Ānanda, a disciple of Buddha, who had thought that Buddha, when he had entered this state of *samādhi*, had passed away, and did actually pass away after some time. The connection is, on the face of it, far-fetched. The Yogins of Gaudapāda would be afraid not so much of physical as of spiritual death, of the mind's plunge into the deep of nothingness instead of the ocean of universal life, or, as the commentator puts it, of annihilation of the Self. The Upanishads utter a word of warning against mistaking the Absolute for nothing, or pure consciousness for complete unconsciousness. The Indra-Virochana myth in the *Chāndogya Upanishad* (VIII, vii-xii), is a good instance of this. The reference to fear of Yogins need not, therefore, lead us to the conclusion that *Asparśayoga* was first taught by Buddha. Its very name suggests a Brahmanic origin. It is Yoga, union, and presupposes the object with which the mind, freed from all contacts, is to unite itself. The forms of Buddhist meditation, at least in its earlier history, are negative. The end of samādhi is *nirodha* or extinction, of course, of desires, as the name for the ninth stage of Buddhist meditation distinctly suggests. Whatever be the source of the word, whether it was coined by Gauḍapāda himself—and this is not improbable, considering his partiality for Yoga—or whether he got it ready-made from some work or oral tradition, Gauḍapāda could not have adopted it, if he had any Buddhist leanings. Even if we may not stress the positive implication of the word *Asparśayoga*, though Gauḍapāda has done so in quite clear terms, we need not

go to Buddha for its negative implication of extinction of thinking process, for it is the same as *Asamprajñāta-samādhi* of Patañjali's *Yogasūtra*, which how-so-ever late (between 200 A.D. and 500 A.D.) was certainly prior to Gauḍapāda. It is again similar to one taught in the *Gīta* and can be traced back to the *Kāṭhaka Upanishad* (II, 3-10 ff).

There is thus hardly anything which can demonstrate a distinct Buddhist bias for the fourth chapter of the *Guḍapādakārikās*. On the other hand, it can be easily shown that it is a necessary compliment of the first three chapters and comes from the same pen. The thesis that Ajāti is the final reality, the style, the mannerisms and the general trend of thought are all the same. The fourth chapter repeats the ideas (cp. IV, 1, 99 III, 31-33; IV, 3-4 III, 23; IV, 5 III, 24; IV, 10, 30, II, 32; IV, 42 III, 16; IV, 43 II, 29; and IV, 71, III, 48), and whole verses and arguments of, (cp. IV, 6-8, 29 III, 20-22; IV, 31-32, II, 6-7; IV, 33-35, II, 1-4; and IV, 81, III, 36, also I, 16) and refers to, (cp. IV, 2 III, 37-39; IV, 91 III, 3-12; IV, 92 I, 16; IV, 94 III, 17) matters dealt with in the first three chapters. The so-called Buddhist words and ideas are found in the second and third chapters also; e.g., *samghāta* in III, 3, 10; *samvṛiti* (with some change in sense) in II, 1, 4; *dharma* in III, 1; *nirvāṇa* in III, 47; also compare, II, 32 to *Mādhyamikakārikā* I, 1. That *Ajāti* taught in the fourth chapter is the same Upanishadic *Ajāti* of the previous chapters can be seen from what is said about it in IV, 71 (III, 48), 74, 77 (III, 2). It is the goal, free from grief, desire and fear—the same as ascribed to the *munis*, well-versed in the Vedas in II, 35. It is *ajam sāmyam advayam*, the object of the Buddhas in IV, 80, and described in IV, 81 in terms found in III, 36 and I, 16. If any doubt is left, it is dispelled by the goal being called, in IV, 85, the non-dual state of Brahman (*Brāhmaṇyam padam*), which leaves nothing more to be desired, and, in IV, 86, the end of the culture of the *Vipras*, the pristine quietude (*śama*). The separation of

the fourth chapter from the *Gauḍapādakārikās* and assigning it to another author are hardly warranted. As a matter of fact, without the fourth chapter, the philosophy of the *Gauḍapādakārikās* would have been dogmatic and incomplete, lacking in the rational support of logic.

Conclusion.—It is clear that the grounds on which the critics assume Gauḍapāda's indebtedness to Buddhism are not sound enough. That Gauḍapāda wrote a commentary on the *Mādhyamikakārikā* of Nāgārjuna[1] is an assumption which requires to be substantiated by facts.[2] For aught we know from the *Gauḍapādakārikās*, Gauḍapāda was certainly not a Buddhist, not even a Vedāntin with Buddhist predilections, but an Advaita Vedāntin with a bent for asceticism and Yoga. The facts that he chose an Upanishad for the basis of his thesis, supported the latter by a close analysis and synthesis of the texts of the main Upanishads and repeatedly asserted that his doctrines were the final teaching of the Vedāntas (*vedānta-niśchaya*), taken together with the Vedāntic conception of an enlightened Muni or Yogin, the Vedāntic goal of the *Brāhmaṇya pada* for the aspirant and the Bhagavadgīta phraseology and ideas, must be conclusive enough in this matter. The straight meaning of the words, *naitad Buddhena bhāṣitam*, in I, 99 would be that Buddha never taught that the Absolute was the final reality, though such a teaching verging on Advita conception of the absolute *Brahman* or *Ātman*, is ascribed to him by the different Mahāyāna schools of Buddhism.

The solution of the contact between the philosophic positions of Vijñānavāda and Śūnyavāda on the one hand and Advaita Vedānta on the other is to be sought in the historical evolution of Buddhism, rather than in the indebtedness of Advaitism to Buddhism. From the time of its inception, Buddhism has evinced its predilections for Upanishadic teaching. To quote S. Radhakrishnan again: "Buddhism is only a later phase of the general movement

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1 Das Gupta, *op. cit.*, I.

2 Belvalkar, Vedanta Philosophy.

of thought of which the Upanishads were the earlier. "Many of the doctrines of the Upanishads are no doubt pure Buddhism (says Max Muller), or rather Buddhism is on many points the consistent carrying out of the principle laid down in the Upanishads.' Buddha did not look upon himself as an innovator, but only a restorer of the ancient way, *i.e.*, the way of the Upanishads."[1] Buddhism came to be outlawed as heretical not so much for its ethical and philosophical views as for its revolt against Brahmanical ritualism and social order. Whatever was the attitude of Gautama Buddha towards the Ātman theory of the Upanishads, he has nowhere repudiated the Upanishadic teaching, even though almost all other philosophical theories of the day received from him a word of disapprobation. If we add to this, the facts that most of the Buddhist controversialists, who followed Buddha's teaching and were responsible for the later development of Buddhism, were Brahmana converts, and that about the beginning of the Christian era, it was Buddhism which saw the necessity of adopting itself to popular emotions and tastes in religious and philosophical matters to capture the imagination of the masses, it becomes easy to see how the original, implicit Upanishadic tendencies could have led the Buddhist philosophers to doctrinal positions analogous to Advaitic philosophy, so much so that in two of the latest developments of Buddhism in China, the Tien Tai and the Avatamsaka schools, which are "regarded as the two most beautiful flowers in the garden of the Buddhistic thought,"[2] the Vedantic Brahman and Ātman once more assert themselves side by side with their conception of *Tathatā*. The Mahāyāna Buddhism is no less accused of being crypto-Advaitism than is Advaitism of being crypto-Buddhism.[1] While, thus, some sort of philosophical affinity between Advaitism and Buddhism was inevitable, scrupulous care was taken by both Advaitins and Buddhists to stress their differences. Both are overinfluenced by

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[1] *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 470.

[2] Yamakami Sogen : 'Systems of Buddhistic Thought,' p. 287.

their religious pre-suppositions. Gauḍapāda never forgets that he is maintaining a Vedāntic position, just as, already pointed out, the Buddhist, even when his philosophic impulse drags him on to the Vedāntic conception of reality, never disentangles himself from his religious pre-conceptions. It is necessary to bear in mind this deliberate and religiously attempted mutual exclusiveness to correctly evaluate the two great systems of Indian philosophy. The similarity and dissimilarity between Advaitism and Buddhism are thus both fundamental and have a historical significance. They are the necessary result of the early outlawing of Buddhism from the pale of Brahmanism and of the long conflict that ensued between the two religions, making it impossible for Vedānta to accept any heterodox doctrines of Buddhism.

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[1] Poussin, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Also Yamakami Sogen : *op. cit.*

THE SĀNKHYA THEORY OF EVOLUTION IN THE LIGHT OF MODERN THOUGHT

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I

1. The term 'evolution' in modern sense means change. It is not a blind and chartless change. It is a change in describable and definable directions. It is evident in the growth of an organic life. Such growth consists in the descent of the more complex from the simple with increasing diversity in, and interdependence of, parts.

2. 'Evolution' thus defined can be applied only to particular aspects of Sānkhya Philosophy. The Sānkhya term for evolution is *parināma. Parināma* is change. It is either a change of an entity into itself or into a complex entity or a change of a complex entity into a more complex entity. Sānkhya traces all change finally to what he calls *prakṛiti. Prakṛiti* is the name given to three factors—*satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*. Prakṛiti at a stage changes into itself. This is the state of equilibrium (samyāvasthā). At another stage her state of equilibrium is disturbed by the presence of *purusha*, the spiritual principle and now she changes into a complex entity. And in the continuation of the changing process, she changes from the less complex to the more complex. At the stage of equilibrium the three factors change into themselves—*satva* changing into *satva*, *rajas* into *rajas* and *tamas* into *tamas*. If this state is disturbed by the presence of *purusha*, then the three factors mix with one another and

give rise to a complex entity. In the continuation of the changing process, there is more of mixing and more complex entities appear. It is only to the second and the third aspects of change, namely, the change consisting in the appearance of the complex from the simple and of the more complex from the less complex that the term evolution in its modern sense can be applied.

3. To prepare the ground for our study of comparative importance, I may very briefly indicate the Sānkhya position in its main aspects.

To start with, Sānkhya points to the complex and diverse behaviours and dispositions of both organisms and material objects. He observes three aspects in an entity—(1) that which exhibits the characters of illumination and lightness; (2) that which exhibits the characters of activity and strain; and (3) that which exhibits the characters of dulness, heaviness and darkness. He calls the first *satva*, the second *rajas* and the third *tamas*. He applies this idea to the whole world and reduces it to the three factors. He explains the complexity or diversity of the objects by the complex and diverse mixing of the three factors with one another. Perhaps to indicate the mixing character of the three factors, he calls them *guṇas*.

Satva, *rajas* and *tamas*, in one word *prakṛiti* is the matter from which the complex entities appear. In accounting for the relation between prakriti and the products evolving from her, he points to the fact that a particular product, say oil, comes only from a particular matter, say oil seed, and from no other matter, say sand, and concludes on the basis of this idea that the product is implicitly present in the matter out of which it is produced. He applies this idea to prakṛiti and her products and holds that all products are latent in her. To signify this he calls her *avyakta*, the latent product. What is latent becomes patent owing to the operation of other conditions, such as the operation of a machine in the case of oil. To present this idea he calls his position Satkārya vāda—the existent-product-theory.

The introduction of the idea of the operation of other conditions as causing change in a matter into another entity, may give us the notion that change itself is freshly introduced to matter which is, without such introduction, motionless. Sānkhya warns us against any such notion. He makes his position clear by setting a limit to such operation. If prakriti were really changeless, then no condition can introduce change into it. The fact that prakṛiti is the matter of all is meaningless, unless change is taken to be her very essence. If so, she must be changing, even in the absence of the operation of other conditions. Such disposition is exhibited in her state of equilibrium. But her change into a state where her equilibrium is disturbed must be the result of the operation of a condition external to it. Though change is prakṛiti herself, her change in complex directions requires the operation of something external.

Which is the external principle which would operate on her equilibrium? A relevant answer would be that which is opposed to her. She is change and consists of three factors. So, that which is opposed to her must be devoid of change and factors. As the ground of all that is material she is material. Therefore the opposite one must be spiritual. To imply these ideas, the other principle is given the name *purusha*. So far the position is that purusha, the spirit, disturbs prakṛiti in her equilibrium and the result is her change into diverse forms.

In saying that purusha disturbs prakṛiti are we attributing a change of mode in him? No, to attribute any change to him is inconsistent with the original position that purusha is changeless. If he does not change how can he disturb prakṛiti? Sānkhya adopts a device to meet this difficulty. He holds that it is not actually purusha that disturbs prakṛiti; but it is his presence. Purusha is ever passive. In the presence of purusha prakṛiti is disturbed in her equilibrium, her constituents mix with one another, and consequently there is the appearance of complex entities.

Is this activity of prakṛiti consisting in new change purposeless? No, says Sānkhya. Purposeless activity is chartless. If all that is is really purposeless, then a living being's enjoying the facts of its experience whould be meaningless and in fact there would be no enjoyment at all. All conscious activity is conditioned by some purpose consisting in at least obtaining casual satisfaction. Enjoyment is not consistent with a material thing as prakṛiti. It necessarily points to a spiritual entity to which it can be attributed.

Enjoyment is an expression of change. Purusha is changeless. Without an enjoyer enjoyment is impossible. From this it follows that enjoyment is the result of prakṛiti's disposition under the influence of purusha's presence. Purusha is thus ultimately the passive source of enjoyment. On the basis of this idea, it is possible to hold, though in a very restricted sense, that the new change in the prakṛiti has a purpose and the purpose is no other than the enjoyment of purusha.

The actual enjoyer is, in a sense, a product of prakṛiti and purusha. To say that he is a product of both is to hold that both are confused in him. His essence consists in attributing the character of purusha to prakṛiti and the character of prakṛiti to purusha. So enjoyment consists in the confusion of both. Sānkhya calls this confusion *avivekakhyāti*—nondiscrimination between prakṛiti and purusha.

The fact that nondiscrimination is responsible for enjoyment necessarily leads to the idea that discrimination between prakṛiti and purusha brings about the cessation of prakṛiti's change into new forms. Discrimination is called *viveka-khyāti*. It results in keeping prakṛiti and purusha aloof each from the other With the attainment of aloofness, prakṛiti is prakṛiti and purusha is purusha. Each has nothing to do with the other. It may be remembered that purusha is ever aloof, because he is ever passive. Just as he is said to have enjoyment from the standpoint of prakṛiti's disposition, he is said to have

aloofness from the same point of view. So there is much propriety in holding that it is prakriti that has enjoyment and aloofness. Sānkhya recognises this. He talks of them as belonging to purusha only from the point of view that the new change in prakriti is finally traced to purusha through his presence. His names for enjoyment and aloofness are respectively *bhoga* and *apavarga*. He says that prakṛiti changes for the attainment of purusha's *bhoga* and *apavarga*.

The Sānkhya idea of prakriti's evolution in the form of the world is based on two fundamental ideas—(1) If an entity has diverse dispositions, then there must be the corresponding dispositions in the matter out of which it comes. If an entity consists in *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, then the matter from which it comes must consist in the same factors. The idea is that a complex entity cannot come out of a simple entity. If prakriti consists of only one factor, then the resultant product cannot exhibit diverse characters. If prakriti constitutes of different factors, then only the mixing together of the factors may give rise to complex entities. We have also noted that the complexity of the new entities is already implicit in their matter. And (2) If the appearance of the complex things is due to the complex intermixing of the original constituents, then there is the need for the interference of an external principle. Such need is more felt with reference to the appearance of conscious activities in prakṛiti which is by itself insensient. So, unless there is the influence of spirit, there can appear nothing that has spiritual value.

What is the nature of the process of evolution? The Sānkhya works simply enumerate the stages of the course of evolution. Why there are those stages only in a particular order is not explicitly answered. Yet on the strength of certain expressions,[1] it seems to me that it is possible to account for the order of the stages. The

[1] *Vāchaspati.*—Vṛittau satyām Buddhau tamōbhibhavē sati yāḥ satva samudekaḥ saḥ adhyavasāyaḥ = buddhi.

characters of the constituents of prakṛiti themselves give us a clue to the nature of the process of evolution. Of the three factors, satva being of the character of illumination must respond more readily to the presence of spirit. So the intermixing of the factors at the first stage must be characterised by more of satva. With this idea Sānkhya holds that the first entity that evolves is the principle of life and intellect. To indicate this idea he calls this entity *buddhi*. In the further intermixing, *rajas* has a chance to be more dominant. The entity that results is given the name *ahamkāra*. It evolves from buddhi. At this stage in giving a chance to the domination of tamas, Sānkhya distinguishes between two aspects of ahamkāra—(1) Ahamkāra that is further determined by *satva*; and (2) Ahamkāra that is determined by more of *tamas*.

The resultants of the former aspect are the eleven sense organs.. And the resultants of the latter aspect are the essences of the five bhūtas called *tanmātras*. From these essences the five gross elements appear. So far, the process is characterised by a definite order. The entities that determine this order are given the name *tattvas*. The further changes have no definite order. They are only products that are gross and sensible and they are not *tattvas* as they are not different from earth, etc.

The tattvas are most manifest in the human organism. Each organism has its own experience. On the basis of this fact, Sānkhya deduces that each organism belongs to a particular purusha. This means that purushas are many.

Though purushas are many, they are distinguished by the same character, the character of spirituality. This

This indicates the satva character of buddhi. To identify adhyavasāya with it suggests the fact that it readily responds to the presence of purusha

mattō nānyōtrādhi kṛitaḥ śaktaḥ khalvahamatra..............yo abhimānaḥ saḥ asādhāraṇavyāpāratvat ahamkāraḥ. This is the expression of the pravartaka character of rajas. He holds that buddhyādi is revealed by āptavachana.

means that experience in all organisms must be similar. But it is not the case. What is it due to? To answer this, Sānkhya has recourse to another principle, the principle of *karma*. Each purusha has his own karma. For this reason he has experience peculiar to him. What is the difference in karma due to? Sānkhya does not recognise the propriety of this question at all. He holds that the process of evolution is timeless. Time is only a fiction. The notion of it is due to the observation of the succession of change. Question about the origin of karma presupposes the reality of time. Therefore it is irrelevant. Our tracing the process of evolution to prakriti and purusha has only logical importance, not the temporal.

Though prakṛiti's evolution in the case of each purusha is different, we talk of a common world, because such a world is made possible by the karma common to many or all purushas. With the attainment of discrimination in the case of a purusha, prakṛiti ceases to evolve for him. Yet her activity continues for the sake of the bhoga and apavarga of other purushas.

So far the Sânkhya position with regard to the doctrine of evolution is briefly indicated. The principal ideas that form the basis of his treatment are the following: (1) The process of evolution points to two ultimate principles, the material and the spiritual and change must be the essence of the material. (2) The original matter must be diverse. (3) The whole process of evolution must be implicitly present in the original matter. (4) The process of evolution must necessarily involve purpose. (5) There must be a determining principle of the process such as karma. (6) The process of evolution must be timeless.

II.

We may now compare the Sānkhya position with the modern ideas. The history of modern thought presents several theories of evolution. Three stages in it may be distinguished :

(1) At the first stage scientists and philosophers after the Greek atomists favoured a machanistic view of the world. They made matter the ultimate principle of all including life. To this class belong Galileo, Newton, Descartes and others. They made no distinction between living and non-living matter. They explained the apparent differences of the qualities and behaviours of things by the differences in degree of complication in the numbers and configurations of material particles in motion that constitute living organisms. Against their views we may note that they have very little to be compared with Sānkhya. Sānkhya is very definite that the mechanistic view does not explain the appearance of the world consisting in the distinction between living and non-living matter and spiritual and non-spiritual values.

The next stage consists in entertaining a biological view of evolution. After Heracitus with his view 'All things flow' Lamark and Darwin subordinated everything in the world to evolution. Lamark pointed out that the process of striving and the consequent modification of organs has been going on in all domains of life and the results of the process have been inherited by the species. Darwin pointed to the fact that breeders selected the qualities which they wanted and they interbred those individuals that had these qualities and thus developed new species. He applied this idea to nature and held that in her natural selection in the struggle for existence takes the place of the breeder. The position was subsequently followed by detailed discussions with regard to organic transformation and the question of inheritance. Against this position we may note the following points. The whole position is only concerned with showing the manner of evolution. The best that can be said in favour of this position is that natural selection operates on chance variations that take place in the 'Genes' and their combinations. But this leaves no scope for the ascent through modification of use and disuse of the parental organs. The word chance is only a name of ignorance.

Subsequently it was realised that the notions of evolution so far are only the expressions of machanistic view of life and that the machanical rearrangement of material particles does not offer a satisfactory account of the appearance of novelties, new qualities, relations, new powers and behaviours and new levels of existence in the process of evolution. Fresh theories were propounded under the head emergent evolution. Margan, S. Alexander and others are the formulators of new theories.

Margan starts his scheme of evolution with electromagnetic energies. He denies that the higher forms are present either implicitly or explicitly in the earlier stages of the process. Yet all the higher forms emerge from the lower simpler individuals. He holds that within ourselves the activity existent at a higher level is caused by the urge of the ideal. He says that it is to acknowledge a really existent ideal independent of emergent ideas.

Against this position we may note the following: To hold that the higher is not implicit in the lower is to take away all necessary relation between the two. In this case anything may emerge from anything. The spirit of the conception of the urge of the ideal as causing the higher emergent is not consistent with the idea of emergent evolution, because it means that before the realisation of the ideal there it is as an implicit fact. So his conclusion that there is a really existent ideal is unwarranted.

S. Alexander starts his scheme of evolution from space-time. Space-time is the matrix or the stuff of reality. Everything that has an emperical existence is a specific configuration, contour or complication of space-time. Every new level emerges from a complication which is a new simplification of the level next below it. The relation between these two levels resembles that between body and mind. The higher emergent is based on a complexity of the lower existants. Thus life is a complex of material bodies and minds of living ones. At each stage of quality the complexity gathers itself together and is expressed in

a new simplicity and becomes the starting point for fresh advances.

In the process of evolution matter is the first emergent, life is the next and mind the last. The process is self-sufficient and there is no perfect energising source. The nisus the straining or labouring of space-time does it. It is God. For any level of existence the next higher emperical quality is the deity. To creatures upon the level of life mind is deity. We, men, have attained the level of mind and for us deity is, we can but say, deity. God is infinite actual god, only in the sense of straining towards deity. As being the whole universe he is creative. But his distinct character of deity is created. Space-time is the creator and he is only a creature.

(2) Against this position we may make the following remarks. It is not possible to understand how the simple space-time can by itself give rise to the rich variety of the universe. If every new thing is emergent, then the idea of ascent is not explained. The sudden appearance of mind in the process of evolution is left without any basis. If it has any spiritual basis, then space-time cannot be the basis of all and matter cannot be the first emergent. If an external energising source is denied, then the source must be attributed to space-time. In this case how the dead or inert space-time has the energising power is not explained. Finally the whole process of evolution is without any purpose to fulfil. The whole position is only a restatement of the mechanistic view with the addition of the possibility of disorder.

(3) The Sānkhya position is free from many of the difficulties found in the modern theories. His prakṛiti and purusha as the ultimate origin make the account of living and the non-living things possible. His conception of prakṛiti as ever active presents an energising source of evolution. His idea of prakṛiti as *satva, rajas* and *tamas* makes variation in the process of evolution possible. His theory that the product is implicit in its matter makes ascent possible. His position that prakṛiti in evolution

has a definite end to fulfil, gives a meaning to the evolutionary process and makes life worth living. Karma as determining the course of evolution leaves no room for chance work, which may result in much that is wasteful and meaningless. His idea of timeless universe gives colour to his conception of karma, active prakṛiti and passive purusha, since it relieves him from the burden of explaining the beginning of the process.

From our comparative study, we learn that we may more successfully carry on our investigations into the nature of evolution by making use of at least the spirit of Sānkhya speculations. Another point may be noted in this connection. I may briefly mention it in a dogmatic way. The present treatment does by no means imply that the position of Sānkhya is final. No doubt, it has influenced the subsequent Indian thinkers in many directions. Its passive purusha may in a sense be said to have laid the foundation for the conception of Nirguṇa Brahman in Advaita. Its Satkāryavāda has much influence on the Viśishṭādvaita view of the world. Its implied distinction between the implicit and the explicit has given rise to the Sadasatkāryavāda in Dvaita. Though the later thinkers improved on many aspects of Sānkhya, they have ultimately retained the spirit of the same in different directions.

A FEW STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE TATTVA-KAUMUDĪ OF VĀCHASPATI MIŚRA I

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In the course of my studies of Sāṅkhyakārikā and its commentaries, the Tattvakaumudī of Vāchaspati Miśra I has presented certain difficulties which I put forth before the assembly of learned scholars for consideration.

Under Kārikā 2, the author tells us that by the true knowledge of *vyakta* (manifested), *avyakta* (unmanifested) and *jña* (consciousness) the three kinds of pain are radically cured. About *vyakta*, we are told here by Vāchaspati that the true knowledge of *vyakta* leads to the knowledge of *avyakta* which is the cause of the former.[1] Then, under Kārikā 6, he says: "Thus have been defined the three means of right cognition for the purpose of proving the existence of the objects of knowledge (*prameya*), such as, *vyakta*, *avyakta* and *jña*. Of these, the *vyakta*—earth, etc., are directly cognised in their true form even by an ordinary ploughman. Under such circumstances, if a system of thought explains this (that is, *vyakta*), it loses its importance. Hence a philosophical system should only attempt to explain such things as are difficult for an ordinary person to know." [2]

Here also Vāchaspati seems to understand by *vyakta* earth and similar other gross forms of matter as is indica-

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[1] *Vyaktajñānapūrvakamavyaktasya tat kāraṇasya jñānam*—Tattvakaumudī, p. 62 (Nirṇayasagar edition, along with Bālarāma Udāsīn's Comm.)

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 134-135

ted by the use of the term *adi* in the compound *prithivyadi*, for these alone can be easily apprehended by a layman. This is exactly what Bālarāma Udāsin, one of the best commentators of the Tattvakaumudī, has explained.[1] Accordingly, this treatise of Sāṅkhya should not deal with any *vyakta*, as it would then belittle its importance. And so it is. In other words, according to Vāchaspati, it is only because of this reason that there is no treatment of *vyakta*, that is, earth, etc., in this book.

This asumption of the enquirer is further supported by what he (Vāchaspati) says a little later that the knowledge of *Pradhāna*, *Purusha* and the rest (*Pradhānapurushādīnām*) which are all supersensuous,[2] is possible through the form of inference known as *Sāmānyatodrishṭa*. Now, at this point it is to be decided what does Vāchaspati mean by the term *ādīnāṃ* in the compound *Pradhānapurushādīnāṃ*? The first two, namely, *Pradhānā* and *Purusha*, are undoubtedly supersensuous and hence, inferential. But then for whom the plural number has been used here? If *Pradhāna* and *Purusha* were only meant here, then dual would have been used and not plural. With a view to justify perhaps, the use of plural in the text, Vāchaspati seems to have added *Mahat*, etc., to the list of supersensuous objects; so that, what he seems to mean is that as *vyakta*, *viz*., earth, etc., are directly cognisable (*pratyakshagochara*), it does not require any treatment here, while *Pradhāna*, *Purusha* and added *Mahat*, etc., being supersensuous and not capable of being easily cognised by ordinary persons, have been dealt with here. So says Bālarāma also: '*ādinā mahattattvādayo grāhyāh*'.[3] Thus, according to Vāchaspati, the *tattvas* which are not capable of being easily apprehended (*duradhigama*), namely, *Pradhāna*, *Purusha*, *Mahat* (perhaps up to the five *tanmātrāṇi*) and are only inferentials have been treated in this system, while those which are

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[1] Bālarāma on Tattvakaumudī, pp. 134-135.

[2] Tattvakaumudi under Kā. 6, p. 136.

[3] Bālarāma on *Ibid.* p., 136, Ft. Note.

cognisable through the external sense-organs of a layman namely, earth, etc., do not find any space in it.

We dare not say that Vāchaspati did not include *Mahat*, etc., under *vyakta*. Under *Kārikās* 10 and 11 there are several references which clearly show that *Mahat*, etc., like *prithivī* etc., are *vyaktas* and as such, different from *avyakta*, namely, *Pradhāna.*[1] But Bālarāma seems to be quite definite that *Mahat* is not a *vyakta.*[2] Now, considering all these points, the enquirer concludes that, perhaps, according to Vāchaspati, *vyakta* is of two kinds—one, which is cognisable through the external sense-organs, such as, earth, etc., and the other *Mahat*, etc., which are only inferential, as these latter are said to be supersensuous like *Pradhāna* and *Purusha*. This assumption of the enquirer is supported by Vāchaspati's own words While introducing Kārikā 8, he says "Which of the above mentioned causes of non-perception is applicable in the case of *Pradhāna* and others (*katamat punareteshukāraṇampradhānādīnāmanupalabdhau*)" ? What does he mean, again, by the plural number here (*Pradhānādīnām*)? Undoubtedly, the old expression *Pradhānādīnām* used under Kārikā 6, meaning *Pradhāna*, *Purusha* and *Mahat*, is still present in his mind.

This is further supported by his interpretation of the meaning of *Pratyaksha* (means of direct cognition). According to him, the object of direct cognition (*prameya*) must come in contact with its respective sense-organ (*arthasannikrishṭam indriyaṃ*).[3] That is, the objects of our knowledge, namely, earth, etc., and pleasure, etc., and also the five *tanmātrāṇi*, through the contact of their respective sense-organs modify the *Buddhi* (*Mahat*) which, in its turn, assumes the form of that object after suppressing the *Tamas*.[4] This is known as *Pratyaksha*. Here, he recognises two sorts of objects of direct cogni-

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[1] Tattvakaumudī, pp 172-178

[2] *Vide* his Com. on Kārikā 6 given above.

[3] Tattva. on kā. 5, p. 82 ; also cf. Bālarāma on *Ibid*, pp. 82-83.

[4] Tattva on kā. 5, p. 83, also cf. Bālarāma on *Ibid*.

tion—one, objects of human cognition, namely, earth, etc., from the external side and pleasure etc., from the internal side, and the other, objects of cognition for *ūrdhvasrotas* and *yogins*, namely, the five *tanmātrāṇi.*[1] This is almost the same as the Nyāya-Vaiśeshika view of *Pratyaksha* where also the sense-organ and object contact is essential, and the objects of cognition also is, likewise, gross, such as, earth, etc., and pleasure, etc., and subtler, such as *paramāṇus* which only yogins can perceive.

Such being the case, Vāchaspati is quite consistent in holding *pṛithivi*, etc, to be the objects of our direct cognition and not *Mahat*, etc., with which the external sense-organs cannot come in contact.

Again, as Vāchaspati considers that *pṛithivī*, etc., being objects of our direct cognition do not deserve any treatment here, and consequently, there being no object for our direct perception, he does not deal with direct perception and its objects when the respective scope of the various means of right cognitions accepted by Sāṅkhya are enquired under kārikā 6 where he says that the existence of supersensuous *tattvas*, namely, *Pradhāna-purushādayaḥ* (*Pradhāna*, *Purusha* and others, namely *Mahat*, etc., as interpreted by Bālarāma[2]) is to be inferred through the *Sāmānyatodṛishṭa* form of inference and those, which cannot be proved through it can be cognised through the reliable authority (*śabdapramāṇa*).

Having thus analysed the view point of Vāchaspati, let us now, turn towards the Sāṅkhyakārikā and also the system itself. Īśvarakṛishṇa tells us that there are three kinds of objects of cognition, namely, *vyakta*, *avyakta* and *jña*, the right knowledge of which leads to the desired end.[3] With a view to know all these objects there are three means, namely, *pratyaksha*, *anumāna* and *āptāgama*.[4]

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[1] Tattva. on kā. 5, p. 82.

[2] Tattva on kā. 6, p. 135. Bālarāma on *Ibid*, p. 136, Ft. Note *Pratītih* etc., Tattva on kā 6, pp 135-36.

[3] Sāṅkhyakā 2.

[4] *Ibid* 4.

Both the *tattvas* and their means of cognition are equally important and indispensable for the true knowledge of the system; otherwise, there was no need of their being mentioned here. And accordingly, the author of the Kārikās, while pointing out the different scope of each of the three means of right cognition, says that *sāmānyas*, meaning ordinary objects, such as *vyaktas*, namely, *buddhi*, *ahankāra*, the five *tanmātrāṇi*, the eleven sense-organs and the five *bhūtas*, are to be known through the direct means of right cognition (*drishṭa*), the supersensuous objects, namely, *Pradhāna* and the several *Purushas* are to be cognised through inference,[1] while other things not capable of being proved by any one of these two means, such as, the existence of Indra, Devarāja, Kurus, etc., are to be cognised through reliable authority (*āptāgama*)[2]. Nowhere, either in this treatise or any other standard work on the system, are found the two divisions of *vyakta* as is perhaps in the mind of Vāchaspati Miśra. *Vyaktas* are *vyaktas* for all purposes, and they are all cognised through a single means of right cognition, namely, *pratyksha*.[3]

Even when we consider the process of *pratyaksha* according to Sāṅkhya we find that all the *vyaktas* are equally perceived through the direct means of cognition (*pratyaksha*). The process is that the *buddhivṛitti* or *chitta* through its gate (*dvāra*)[4], namely, the external sense-organs, goes out and there comes in contact with its required object of cognition and thereafter assumes the form of that object, like the water of a tank going out of a hole which is its gate and assuming the form of the field with which it comes in contact[5]. If, for instance,

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[1] Nārāyaṇa Tīrtha on Sāṅkhya kārikā 6, p. 8 (Chowkhamba Benares old edition).

[2] Gauḍapāda on *Ibid*. The plural number may be due to there being plurality of *Purusha*.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Kā. 35.

[5] Sāṅkhya Bhāshya, I. 87, Bālarāma on Tattva, kā. 5, p. 84; Yo. vār, I. 7: Yo. Bhā., I. 7.

the *buddhi-vṛitti* has to cognise a colour, it will go out through the ocular organ and assume the form of that colour. This assumption of the form is known as the *pratyaksha-pramāṇa*. Hence, the external sense-organs are merely the gates for the *vṛitti*, and of course, the *vritti* does come in contact with the external sense-organs.[1]

Again, that the *tattvas* beginning with *Mahat* up to *tanmātrāṇi* are cognised through *pratyaksha* is known from the fact that no effort is made to prove their existence in this treatise as has been done in the case of *Pradhāna and Purusha*[2], and it is found perhaps without any exception that the existence of a *tattva* has to be proved if that *tattva* happened to be supersensuous, as a sort of reply to the general convention—*pratyakshena yo' rtho nopalabhyate sa sarvathā nāstīti matam*.

Again, if there was no need of the *drishṭa*, meaning, the direct perception, why does then the author mention *trividham pramāṇamishṭam*.[3] At least no equal treatment should have been given to all these means of right cognition. This alone proves the utility of Kārikā 6.

Considering all these points, both, for and against, it sometimes leads one to think that perhaps, Vāchaspati Miśra did not think that all the *tattvas* of Sānkhya are quite different from those of Nyāya and Vaiśeshika. But is there no vast difference between the two? Are not the *tattvas* of the former far subtler than those of the latter? We know that the ultimate matter in Nyāya-Vaiśeshika is *paramāṇu* having certain qualities. But what about the Sāṅkhya? The five *bhūtas* which are the first grosser modifications of the five *tanmātrāṇi* (*aviçeshas*,) are something like the *paramāṇus* of Nyāya-Vaiśeshika as they (the Sāṅkhya-*bhūtas*) are also substances plus qualities (saviśeshas)[4] in the terms of Nyāya-Vaiśeshika, while

[1] Yo. vā, 1-7.
[2] Māṭhara vṛitti on Kā 6
[3] Sāṅkhyakārikā 4.
[4] *Ibid*. 38.

the future modifications are gradually grosser and grosser. No simultaneous big jumpings are possible. Again, towards the subtler side also there is a gradual dissolution of the *tattvas* till we come to the last *vyakta*, *i.e.*, *Mahat* which, in fact, although a subtler form of matter, resembles the *Ātman* of Nyāya-Vaiśeshika. This shows that all the *tattvas* of Sāṅkhya are subtler than those of Nyāya-Vaiśeshika and cannot be cognised through our external sense-organs as it is in the other two systems. A layman cannot even cognise the grossest *tattva* of Sāṅkhya. It is, therefore, that there is no need of having two types of *tattvas*—*laukika* and *alaukika*, or two divisions of the *pratyaksha-pramāna*: *laukika* and *ārsha*, as perhaps is thought of by Vāchaspati Misra.[1]

If this assumption of the enquirer be valid, then it will have to assert that there is a fundamental difference between the traditional Sānkhya view and that which is upheld by Vāchaspati.

This is all that I have to place before this conference of the learned at present.

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[1] **Tattva kaumudī** on Kā. 4, pp. 76-77 and Kā. 5, p. 82.

CHRISTIAN SACRAMENTS, HINDU SAMSKÂRÂS AND THE RATIONALE OF RITUALISM

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The latin word ' Sacramentum ' originally meant any bodily or sensible thing, or an action, or a form of words solemnly endowed with a meaning and purpose which in itself it has not (Encyclopædia Britannica). In the Anglican Catechism, Christian Sacrament is definied as " An outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace." Baptism is a sacrament or religious ceremony common to all sects of Christianity administered to an individual at stated priods of his life.[1] Baptism is intended for the first time to give a spiritual direction or outlook to his life. Its object is to confer a *New Birth* or *Dvijatva*; a change which shall gradually ripen into the heart set to love matters which are spiritual in preference to those which are material. The Hindu ritual corresponding to Baptism is the *Upanayana*. It is the leading of the soul to the presence of God, giving the soul a Godward direction: or giving it the start for salvation. *Upanayana*

[1] Regarding the number and variety of Sacraments, radical differences are noticeable between the main bodies of Christian doctrine, the protestant and the catholic. The article on " Sacraments " in the Encyclopædia Britannica sums up the differing viewpoints thus "The Anglicans recognise baptism and the Eucharist alone, under the impression that Christ ordained these and none other. The Latin doctors by arguments as good as those usually put forth in such controversion have no difficulty in proving that Christ instituted all Seven."

(baptism) is one of the many sacraments administered to persons, belonging to the Brāhāmaṇa, Kshatriya and Vaiśya castes. The outward ceremony is to be symbolic of a certain inward change which is intended to be produced. They are all links in a chain, intended to effect a conversion in the man for spiritual ideals and ambitions. Conversion is a conscious change of heart compelling a sinner to amend his evil ways and begin to live a regenerated life. By sin, he is degenerate, by grace he is to become regenerate, or conducted (*Nayana*) to nearness (*Upa*) of spirit. This is the New Birth which Baptism is intended to initiate.

All peoples and religions from the savage to the civilised have instituted Sacraments. They have assumed diverse forms. The spirit underlies the symbol. As St. Augustine says (*Sermons* cclxxi . 'They are therefore called Sacraments because in them one thing is seen, another understood.' Sacraments are symbolic of the sacred bonds (*Sambandha*) existing betweed God and man. Religion in the abstract is this sacred bond (*Re, ligo* to bind). The Trinity of Alphabets A, U, M, in the unit sound Aum, is often interpreted as inculcating this fundamental bond. 'A' represents God, 'M' represents the soul (man) and 'U', the inalienable bond existing between them. *Upanayana* or regenerative symbolic ceremony is to keep the consciousness awake to this mighty vital truth Till the soul is aroused to its apprehension, it is asleep and as good as dead. So says the Upanishad. He is 'a sanneva' *i.e*, as good as non-existent, but when divine awareness dawns, it becomes 'Santam', existent; from nonentity from the spiritual view point, the soul is transmitted into entity. In the *Upanayana* sacrament (equivalent to Christian Baptism) the great Vedic *Mantra*, the *Gāyatri* is imparted. The meaning of it consists in the prayer for light of wisdom being granted by the great luminary, the Sun, recognised by the Hindu, as the visible symbol of God. The significance of such sacraments is found embodied in diverse

manners of performing a ritual. What is ideally in the mind and heart of man is translated into the concrete symbolic expression of the ritual. Sacraments are regarded as extremely important events in the individual man's spiritual history.

The subject of sacraments is vast. The purpose of this paper is to adduce a few examples to illustrate the ritual unity of religions in general and Hinduism and Christianity in particular. There are in one Hindu scheme sixteen (*shodaśa*) sacraments (*Samskāras*); there are others, sometimes lengthened, sometimes shortened. So is the case in Christianity. For example: there are three sacraments Baptism, Eucharist and extreme unction; and there are seven including those by the addition of confirmation, penance, holy orders and matrimony. Whatever they are, and however long or short, all sacraments have this one motive that the visible outward act has an inner spiritual significance for the partner. They are believed to be efficacious in conferring divine grace on the recipient. In any case faith seems to be a *sine qua non* for the efficacy of the act; so is *Upanayana* accompanied by *Brahmōpadēśā*, and the *pañcha-Samskāras* or the five sacraments which the Bhāgavata system installed as constituting *Vishṇu-dīskha* or Vaishṇavic sacraments. Baptism is by water, sprinkling and immersion corresponding to *Prokshaṇa* and *Snâna*. The *Snâtaka* is one who is given a holy bath before sacraments are administered. Baptism comes from Greek *bapto* to dip in water. Another rite which is preliminary to the offering of sacraments is tonsure. The hair-cutting ceremony has had historical vicissitudes and controversies.

In India, particularly in the South, controversy raged between tuft in the front, tuft in the back, and tuft on the crown of the head, and complete shaving. Correspondingly, 'The Eastern clergy shaved the entire front of the head. The Celtic clergy together with the British drew a line over top of the head from ear to ear, and shaved the *hair* in front of it. The Italians adopted what

they termed the shorn crown and was supposed to symbolize the crown of thorns. The question of the shape of tonsure caused one of the most burning disputes between the Celtic and Roman churches in England' (Nelson's Encyclopædia). This illustrates how rites undergo changes, how they are symbolical of certain inward beliefs and how they degenerate into the mere letter that killeth, the spirit forgotten and faith shaken.

Then there is the baptism of fire: 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire' (Math. 3. 11.). The parallel to this is the *Tâpa* sacrament, which is the impressing of the symbols of *Chakra* and *Śankha*, the symbols of Vishṇu by means of heated metal on the shoulders of Vaishṇavas. We read again: 'And He causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads' (Rev. 13. 16). The parallel to this may be recognised in the Puṇḍra Sacrament, or mark worn on the forehead according to the Bhāgavata system of sacraments. And we have again 'Converts' to be baptized into the name of the Trinity; into the name of Jesus (or Christ). (Acts. 2-38; 8. 16). We have the parallel to this in the Vaishṇavic *Nâma* sacrament which consists in giving a name to the novitiate indicative of God, to remind him of his transformation from a worldly man to a pious person put on the path of spirituality, renunciation and peace. Then this name-rite is symbolic of the man having dedicated himself to God, *i.e.*, become a *Prapanna* or *Śishya* or one offered to the unconditional disposal of God, which is exactly the Christian interpretation. The usuage 'Into the Name' expressed the intimate *nexus* between the Deity and the individual initiated into the holy mysteries.

Then comes the *Mantra*-Sacrament, which is held to possess a unique importance and efficacy in India. The *mantras* are essential and fixed formulæ employed in

all ritualistic observances, the Yajñas, and all the Sacramental ministrations beginning from before birth (*Garbha-Samskāra*) and going beyond one's demise (*aurdha-dehika*), marriage ceremonies coming between. Matrimony is one of the seven Christian sacraments as already mentioned. Now, parallel to the *Mantras* there is the Christian formulary which consists of set texts to be used for belief or ritual. Freemasonry would seem to furnish much symbological material in these directions. Particular mantras are imparted to initiates secretly and solemnly for practice of meditation. The sound itself, apart from the sense, is said to carry efficacy. The Moslems and Zoroastrians have similar notions. 'Hold fast the form of sound words' of 2 Peter 1. 13, would seem to have a bearing on this matter. Such sacraments as these have accompanied humanity in all its journey in history. The doctrine of fasting may be said to be a universal religious practice. In India, it is dignified with the name *Upavāsa*, which carries the implication that the fasting day is a day when we are 'Living near God.' The *Tirtha* (Holy water) and *Prasāda* (Holy food) find their counterpart in the blood and body of Christ being so considered (The Eucharist). According to St. Augustine, the participation of these was sometimes preceded by fasting and sometimes without. 'It seemed good that the Lord's body and blood should enter the Christian's mouth before other food.' These were considered so sacred as none of it should fall on the ground. *Wine* and *blood* represented the blood and body of Christ; but they actually were supposed to undergo transubstantiation. The Christian belief is that the very presence of Christ is in the bread and wine administered in the Eucharist. The bread becomes Christ's flesh and the wine his blood. And the holy water in the baptismal service is accompanied with the prayer, 'Sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin.' So the water undergoes a spiritual transubstantiation. This idea is present for the Hindu in the holy images, holy water, and holy *prasādas* of his temples. The material

images become imbued with the Immortal spirit by means of scriptural texts employed to invoke the presence of the deity. (*Prāṇa-Pratishṭha.*)

On the subject of Christian Sacraments, it has been shown by rationalistic writers that: 'There is not a doctrine, sacrament or rite of Christianity which has not substantially formed part of earlier religions; and not a single phase of supernatural history of the Christ, from his miraculous conception, birth and incarnation to his death, resurrection and ascension which has not had its counterpart in earlier mythologies.' (P. 908, Supernatural Religion.) In the religions of the world old orders have changed to give place to new ones. In the ancient Bhāgavata system, much ritualism was replaced by a few simple ceremonies, the symbolism of which was significant and understandable.

Although continuous efforts have been made to reform religion of its ritualistic complications, which have well-nigh choked the spirit of one religion, rituals are ever with us like the poor. Buddhism aimed at purging religion in India of its elaborate ritualism and ended in elaborating its own ritualism which travelled far, far away, from the simplicity of the teachings of Buddha himself The explanation for this may be gathered from what, Monier Williams says in his Buddhism (P. 304). 'In point of fact the Buddha in promulgating his creed did not take into account the impossibility of eradicating certain deep-seated cravings inherent in human nature which every religion aiming at general acceptance must reckon with and satisfy: for example the craving for the visible, for the audible, and for the tangible, the craving for some concrete impersonation of infinite goodness and power; the craving for freedom from personal responsibility and for its transference to a priestood; the craving for deliverance from the pains and penalties of sin; the craving for infallible guide in all matters of faith and doctrine.' 'Later, Buddhism on the other hand, set itself to satisfy these longings—these ineradicable yearnings of the human

heart. It felt that it could not establish itself on a firm foundation without hierarchical organization, and it could not maintain these without external form, ceremonies and ritual observances.'

The tendency of the present age is to look upon the Sacraments in general as superstition, spiritless and irrational. Sir Arthur Conan Doyle said of baptism, 'Have the bishops not learned that there are millions who revere the memory of Christ, whether they look upon him as God or man, but who think that baptism is a senseless survival of heathendom, like so many of our religious observances? The idea that the Being who made the milky way can be either placated or incensed by pouring a splash of water over child or adult is an offence to reason and a slur upon the divinity.' (Pp. 46-47, The *Wanderings of a Spiritualist.*) In India such protests have been recorded from time to time. Within Hinduism itself these progressive tendencies made themselves felt, for instance in the Bhagavadgīta. 'Give up all outward ritual, lacking spiritual import, and retire into God in the secret' is the import of the famous verse 'Sarva Dharmān parityajya' of the XVIIIth Chapter of the Gita. This does not however indicate that all sacraments can be swept away at one stroke; neither does it signify that no sacraments are of significance for spiritual life. As Sir Oliver Lodge says, 'Nor should any one deny the benefit of Sacraments, in spite of occasional exaggerations concering them.' (*Man and the Universe.*)

C. E. Josey in his *Psychology of Religion* (pp. 219-220) states that the only explanation of such sacraments as baptism and Eucharist that appeals to the modern mind is to lay bare its rationale. Regarding Eucharist he says, 'This ceremony sharpened the edge of remembrance concerning the sacrificial suffering of Christ and is intended to be a means of expressing desire to sacrifice self for Him.' Certainly this graphic way of representing the passion of Christ should serve to strengthen the aspiration of all the participients to live as Christ taught them to live. Its

appeal is to their sense of gratitude and to their admiration for the great self-sacrificing love of Christ. As a service it is admirably suited to quicken the spiritual life of its observers.' On Baptism, he says: 'It is difficult to see how the ceremony of baptism can have any direct influence upon an infant. Perhaps when he is older the appeal that can be made to him as a member of the church or as a baptized Christian will get more results. But the baptism of an infant exerts its chief influence on him directly though the influence it exercises over parents and sponsors. For the solemn, public pledge of the parents to rear the child in the ideals of the church is an impressive way of proclaiming the importance attached by the group to the obligation of parenthood. The religious sentiment and the sentiment of parenthood join hands and both are strengthened by the partnership. In the degree that it deepens the consecration of the parents, no question but that the religious development of the child is materially aided. (Pp. 220-221 Ibid.) A similar rational interpretation is called for regarding Hindu Sacraments and an intelligent understanding of the spirit of Hindu Sacraments will be rendered possible by the study of the efforts made by Hindu Philosophers themselves in inquiring into the rationale of rituals.

The very scriptures by which people swear when they perform their rituals warn the votaries of the futility of such practices when the corresponding inward purity of motive and strength of faith are wanting. The Bhagavad-Gīta says that 'whatever oblation is offered, whatever is given, whatever penance is performed and whatever is done, without faith, that, O son of Pritha! is called *Asat* and that is naught, both after death and here.'

In *Isaiah* I we find the following: 'To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices unto me,' cries the Lord; 'bring no more vain oblations; incense is an abomination unto me. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth. Wash you, make you clean;

cease to do evil; learn to do well; relieve the oppressed; judge the fatherless; plead for the widow.'

Islam warns the Muslim not to pray when drunk and enjoins on him to know what he is saying if his prayer is to be of value.

The Zoroastrian scriptures consider it as absolutely essential in the observance of religious rites for one to have sincerity, true reverence and a pure heart.

G. M. Stratton in his *Psychology of the Religious Life* quotes a Chinese statement which runs as follows: 'I heard the Master say that in the rites of mourning, exceeding grief with deficient rites is better than little demonstration of grief with superabounding rites; and that in those of sacrifice exceeding reverence with deficient rites is better than an excess of rites with but little reverence.'

The foregoing quotations from religious literature point to the fact that ritual would prove to be of inestimable blessing to man's religious life only when the outward form is a manifestation of the richness and depth of the inner life.



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VI. PRAKRITS SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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I.

It gives me great pleasure to meet and welcome the workers in the field of the Prākrits and Pāḷi, and the religious literature embodied in these languages. I request the brother-delegates to give me the full co-operation in narrating to their fellow-workers an account of the work that they have done during the last two years or are doing in their respective fields.

Before proceeding to the regular work of the Section, I should like to make reference to the loss that the oriental scholarship has sustained by the death of some well-known scholars, and pay my humble tributes to their memory. The late *Rai Bahadur* Dr. Hiralal, ex-President of the Conference at Patna will be long remembered for his manifold activities and particularly for his catalogue of Mss. in C. P. & Berar which has given great impetus to scholars, particularly in the field of Prākṛits and Jainism. He was with us at Baroda, and passed away soon after the session. I pay my tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Jarl Charpentier of Upsala University, Sweden. Dr. Charpentier was a versatile worker. His edition of the Uttarādhyayanasūtra is well-known to us and his studies in Indian Folk-lore inspiring. M. Sylvain Lèvi was an orientalist of world-wide repute. His work and activities embraced every phase of oriental scholarship in the widest possible sense of the term. He made two

visits to India and the Orient, and recovered from oblivion a vast number of Mss. from Nepal, and was busy to the last day in working on them. Those who came in contact with him as his pupils—and almost all the oriental scholars of France to-day are his direct or indirect pupils—will for ever cherish his memory with gratitude and reverence.

Among the notable contributions in the field of Prākrits and Jainism, I mention first the work of Dr. Walther Schubring "Die Lehre der Jainas nach den alten Quellen dargestelt" in the "Grundriss." It is a very valuable publication, particularly as a book of reference. Mr. A. N. Upadhye's edition of Pravachanasāra and its Introduction will long remain as a solid study of Kundakundāchārya and his Philosophy. It is a model of patient industry and balanced judgment and is thus a work of lasting importance. The Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, has seriously commenced issuing descriptive catalogues of Mss. and Prof. H. R. Kapadia's section of Jain Mss. is being issued in parts. The importance of such catalogues can never be overestimated to scholars old and new alike. The Karanja Jain Series published two Apabhraṃśa works of Pushpadanta, the Jasaharacariu edited by myself and the Nāyakumaracariu edited by Prof. Hiralal Jain of Amraoti. The third work of Pushpadanta, known as Mahāpurāṇa edited by myself, is in the Press, and the first volume containing the Ādipurāṇa, will soon see the light of day. It is expected that this gigantic work, which will cover over 2,000 pages of the text, will be the longest work in Apabhraṃśa ever published. The value of works in Apabhraṃśa is twofold. They will in the first place be depositories of Jain culture and secondly help us to understand the history of Northern Indian vernaculars. There are several works in this dialect awaiting the hand of critical scholars. Studies of Jain Culture by provinces is also engaging the attention of scholars and works like the South Indian Jainism and Northern Indian Jainism are worth notice.

In this connection I should like to stress the immediate needs of this branch of oriental learning. Although works of the canon of the Śvetāmbara Jainas have been published two or three times, wholesale or piecemeal, they require systematic, careful and scientific editing on a uniform plan. The younger generation of scholars find it difficult to get access to the canon even in notably big libraries; and the work of editing was not at all done scientifically and was positively slipshod. The Jain Community is notable for its liberality and guards the interests of its culture with scrupulous care. It devotes however more attention to the preservation of temples and ignores the claim of the sacred canon which is the real depository of Jain Culture. A Society on the lines of the Paḷī Text Society will have soon to be formed for this purpose and the Jain Community should assure the Society that they will help it financially. In the meanwhile I propose to issue a sample edition of the Āchārāṅga-Sūtra, based entirely on the material available to me at the Bhandarkar Institute. Whatever I have said above of the canon of the Śvetāmbaras has to be repeated with greater force with reference to the standard works of the Digambaras. I do not know when the keepers of Mudbidri math will hand over their precious treasures to scholars. If they do not soon realise their responsibility of preserving their treasures in the latest style by throwing them open to scholars for study and publication, I am afraid time will work havoc, the treasure would become extinct, and the world will blame the keepers more than it has blamed the Sultans of the past.

Turning to our activities in the field of Buddhistic scholarship, I must make a grateful mention of the work of scholars like B. C. Law, Narendra Nath Law, Nalināksha Dutt and a host of others, both in the sphere of textual scholarship and scholarship in the field of interpretation of Buddhistic thought.

The Mahābodhi Sabhā of Saranath is launching a a huge project in this branch under the leadership of

Bhikkhu Rāhula Saṅkiccāyana. In recent years the Sabha has brought volumes of Hindi translation of a portion of the Pāḷi canon. I would however humbly suggest to the promoters of the Sabha to pause and consider the scholastic value of the work that they have turned out. It is no use telling the world that the translator finished his work of translating a volume of the canon in 68, 38 or 27 days and then asking the indulgence of the reader for its drawbacks. I feel that the translations that they have published will at the most be intelligible to scholars and not to the general public, and hence the Sabha should hasten slowly.

In connection with this topic, I emphasise the importance of the study of Tibetan and Chinese and languages of Central Asia. There are a few scholars like Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhattāchārya, young men like P. C. Bagchi and the energetic secretary of this section, but their number is very small and they require encouragement to pursue their work. We are miles and yojanas behind the European scholars in this field.

I now pass on to the main part of my address "A missing chapter in the history of the Rāshṭrakūṭas."

II.

A Missing Chapter in the History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.

In his "Rāshṭrakūṭas and Their Times" Poona, 1934, page 412, Dr. Altekar says "It is interesting to note that there is hardly any output of Prākrit or Marāṭhi literature during our period." I do not concern myself here about Marāṭhi literature of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, but would say only about Prākṛit literature, and I feel that we have now ample proof to say that the above assertion is not correct. The performance in Prākṛit of Pushpadanta of this period is voluminous and important. Pushpadanta wrote three works, all in Apabhramśa, the *Mahāpurāṇa*, the *Jasaharacariu*, and the *Nāyakumāracariu*. Of these works the last two are already published, one edited by

myself in 1931 and the other by Prof. Hiralal Jain in 1933. The Mahāpurāṇa edited by myself is in the Press, and one-fourth of it, covering over 400 pages is already printed. All these works were written at Malkhed or Manyakheta, the capital of the later Rāshṭrakūṭas, during 959 and 969 A.D. Kṛishṇa III ruled from 940 to 968, and his younger brother Khoṭṭigadeva from 968 to 972. Pushpadanta refers to the victory of Kṛishṇa III over the Chōḷas (circa 943-949) in the body of his Mahāpurāṇa (I. 3. 2), and to the plunder of Mānyakheṭa by Śri Harsha of Dhāra in 972 A.D. in one of the introductory stanzas found in some Mss. at the beginning of Saṃdhi 50 of this same work. He was patronised by Bharata, one of the ministers of Kṛishṇa III and after his death by his son Ṇaṇṇa who also was the minister of the same king. Pushpadanta dedicated his Mahāpurāṇa to Bharata as the colophon shows: *iya mahāpurāṇe tisaṭṭhi mahāpurisaguṇā-laṃkāre mahaka-i Pupphayanta vira ie mahābhavva Bharahāṇu bhāṇṇi e mahākante* and his Jasaharacariu and Nāyakumāracariu to Ṇaṇṇa: *iya Jasahara mahārāyachari e Ṇaṇṇa Kaṇṇābharaṇe* and *iya Ṇāyakumārachāru chari e Ṇaṇṇaṇāmamki e.*

I propose in this paper to deal with an account of Bharata, the poet's patron. The sources for this account are to be found (*a*) in the body of the Mahāpurāṇa, (*b*) in the introductory stanzas in Sanskrit or Prākṛit found at the beginning of some of the Samdhis of the same work and (*c*) the Praśasti at the end of Nāyakumāracariu (page 112). Of these sources the passages included in the Mahāpurāṇa and in the Praśasti Nayakumara are found in all Mss. But the stanzas at the beginning of Samdhis are found to exist in two different recensions. The shorter of these versions has 16 stanzas scattered over almost an equal number of Saṃdhis, while the longer one contains some 25 stanzas more.

Bharata seems to have inherited the office of minister from his ancestors, although there were breaks in the continuity, and Bharata, by his virtues, regained this office

by devotion to his master. Pushpadanta mentions Annayyā or Aṇṇaiyā as the name of his grandfather. His father's name is given as Aiyaṇa or Airāṇa and his mother's name as Devī or Deviyavvā. His wife was named Kundavvā. He had seven sons: Devalla, Bhogalla, Ṇaṇṇa, Sohaṇa, Guṇavamma, Dangaiyā and Santaiyā. All these were living in 964-65 A.D. as they are so mentioned in MPC ii. 13. We do not know when the first two sons died, or if they were living, why Ṇaṇṇa the third son succeeded to the office of his father about 967-68 A.D. during the reign of Kṛishṇa III for Naṇṇa is mentioned as the minister of Suhatuṅga *alias* Tuḍiga *alias* Kṛishṇa III in the praśasti of Nāyakumāracariu which may have been thus written before 969 A.D.

From Pushpadanta's stanzas we learn that Bharata had a fine personality, pleasing appearance, and gentle manners. His complexion is mentioned as dark *śyāmaruchiḥ*; *śyāmapradhānaḥ*. He was himself a man of learning and a great patron of poets, and gave shelter to poets in his house. His office in the royal household seems to be that of a minister of charities and he was himself charitably disposed. His personal character was pure and above suspicion. He was a Jain by conviction and practice, but references to his being at one time at any rate, a devotee of Ambikā and Chaṇḍiśa are also found. Probably he was so at the beginning of his career, as Pushpadanta also was through his parents, although all of them turned Jains later.

The circumstances under which Pushpadanta came to Bharata are interesting and throw considerable light on his gentleness and liberality. Pushpadanta was at one time in the court of Vīrarāja, but being insulted there he left it. He came, in the course of his wanderings, to Mānyakheṭa, the Modern Malkhed in H. E. H. Nizam's territory, and rested in a grove outside the city, exhausted and soiled with dust as a result of his long journey. There came two residents of Mānyakheṭa, Ammaiyā and Indrāya, probably friends of Bharata, to whose ears the fame of

Pushpadanta had already reached, and asked Puspadanta to visit the city rather than pass his days in the lonely grove. At first he declined because of the bitter experiences of court life, but being assured by the gentlemen mentioned above that he would be well-received by Bharata, he entered the city and visited the house of Bharata. Pushpadanta got there a good reception, and after some time Bharata requested him to compose the Mahāpurāṇa and to accept his patronage for this work. Pushpadanta composed this work in Bharata's house and read it, probably from day to day, to Bharata, who got copies made out of the work for distribution. The Ādipurāṇa, *i.e.* the first 37 Saṃdhis of the Mahāpurāṇa was completed in this manner.

The poet however left his work on Mahāpurāṇa aside for some time because of some unpleasant happenings to which he makes reference in XXXVIII, 2, but which he does not describè. But one day the Goddess of Learning appeared to him, perhaps in a dream, and asked him to resume his work. His patron, Bharata also came to him and asked him to forgive him if he had offended him in any way and pursuaded him to resume his work. From the statement of the poet, Bharata was not in any way responsible for the poet's despondent mood. Pushpadanta finished this work in 965 A.D. Bharata perhaps died soon after this event and Naṇṇa succeeded him in his office. At his request the poet wrote two other works, much smaller in extent. It was in the year 972 A.D. that Mānyakheṭa was plundered by the King Harshadeva of Dhārā, the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty collapsed completely and Pushpadanta lost the patronage of Naṇṇa. In the copy of his Mahāpurāṇa that he had still with him he wrote :—

dīnānāthadhanaṃ sadā bahujanaṃ prōtphulla vallīvanaṃ.

Mānyākhēṭapuraṃ puraṃdarapurī līlāharaṃ sundaraṃ ।

Dhārānātha narēndra kōpa śikhinā dagdhaṃ vidagdhapriyaṃ.

Kvēdānīṃ vasatiṃ karishyati punaḥ śrī Pushpadantaḥ Kaviḥ ।

From this account it will be seen that the period of the Rāshṭrakūṭa dynasty has contributed largely to the growth of Prakrit literature, particularly the literature in Apabhraṃśa. The total volume in pages of royal octavo size of the work of Pushpadanta alone will come to over 2,000 pages. The literary value of these pages is equally great, much greater than that of Mahāpurāṇa of Jinasena and Guṇabhadra, written in Sanskrit under the patronage of Amoghavarsha I in 783 A.D. For, the first is a mahākāvya and possesses all the excellences of good poetry, while the second is a purāṇa.

It appears that Dr. Altekar's attention was not drawn to the publication of the catalogue of Mss. in C. P. and Berar published in 1926 or to any edition of Jasaharacariu, 1931 or to Prof. Jain's edition of Nāyakumāracariu, 1933, and hence he made the statement quoted at the top of this note.

SOME THEORIES OF BUDDHIST LOGIC IN THE KĀVYĀLANKĀRA OF BHĀMAHA

By H. R. Rangaswamy Iyengar. M.A., M.R.A.S.,

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In his Kāvyālaṅkāra, Bhāmaha, having enumerated the guṇās or merits of a composition begins to describe the faults or doshas in chapter IV. One of these doshas, is stated to be *pratijñā hetu drishṭānta hīnam.* This has been described in detail in the next chapter. It is here that Bhāmaha has occasion to allude to several logical theories. If they are properly indentified, we shall have ample internal evidence for determining the date of Bhāmaha. An attempt is made in this paper to describe in brief, and to trace to their original sources, some of the logical theories.

Pramāṇas,--their number and nature.[1]

Every system of Indian Philosophy has its own theory on the number of the sources of knowledge, their function and their characteristics. The materialists admit no other source of knowledge than sense-perception. The intellect, for them, being nothing but a product of matter, is not different from sensibility. All the other systems admit at least two Pramāṇas: The Vaiśeshikās and the Buddhists are content with only two. The Sāṅkhyas accept verbal testimony as an additional source of knowledge; the Nyāya school admits the four Pramāṇas: Pratyaksha, Anumāna, Upamāna and Śabda; while the Prabhākara school of the Mimāmsa recognises Arthā-

[1] *Cf.* Kavya, IV b2, pratijñāhetudrishṭāntahīnam drishṭam cha nēshyate,

patti or implication as a separate source in addition to the usual four; the Bhāṭṭa school admits Abhāva and Arthāpatti as two additional sources of knowledge. But the point for consideration is to whose doctrine Bhāmaha here alludes. It goes without saying that the reference here is either to the theory of the Buddhists or of the Vaiseshikas. For Bhāmaha states that Pramāṇas are only two, Pratyaksha or Perception and Anumāna or Inference (cf. *satvādayaḥ pramāṇābhyāṃ pratyaksham anumā cha te*).[1] But it is clear from the context that Bhāmaha is stating the Buddhist view, strictly speaking, the view of Diṅnāga. The line, *asādhārana sāmanya vishayatvaṃ tayōḥ kila*[2] makes the position quite clear. For it was Diṅnāga who affirmed and established that there are only two sources of knowledge, Perception and Inference, and that the two have settled and clear limits, the one never acting in the sphere of another. Each Pramāṇa has its own vishaya or object; and the object of one cannot be cognised by another. The object of Pratyakṣa is *asādhārana*, *i.e.*, *svalakshaṇam* the thing-in-itself, the thing as it is, unsullied by the intellect. The object of Anumāna is *sāmānya* or Universal. The Svalakshana cannot be the object of Anumāna, nor Sāmānya of Pratyaksha. Between these two the entire universe of the objects of knowledge is exhausted. Hence there can be no other Pramāṇa. It is on this fundamental principle of 'Vishayavyavastha' that the whole theory of Diṅnāga stands. That is why he declares in his masterpiece, Pramāṇa Samucchaya[3]:—

"*pratyaksham anumānam cha pramāṇam hi dvilakshaṇam* |

prameyaṃ tatra siddhatvāt na pramānāntaraṃ bhavet |

If we now proceed to examine the definitions of Pratyaksha referred to by Bhāmaha, we find that the

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[1] *Cf.* Kāvya, V 5a.

[2] *Cf.* Kāvya, V 5b.

[3] *Cf.* P.S., I, 2.

definition of Dinnāga and his teacher Vasubandhu are criticised. According to Dinnāga, *pratyaksham* is *Kalpanāpōḍham*; Perception is non-constructive, *i.e.*, free from all construction. The object of Pratyaksha is the 'svalakshaṇa' which is nothing but a point instant or Kshaṇa in Reality. This real object being efficient and real *arthakriyākāri* produces a stimulus upon the senses. Following the stimulus the intellect constructs the image of the object whose presence has thus been reported. Hence, perception is non-construction. But it is followed by the construction of the image.

If Pratyaksha is defined as non-constructive, what is Kalpana? Bhāmaha goes on to say that it is declared as *nāmajātyādiyojanā*.[1] This exactly is the position of Diṅnāga.[2] It is this very view that is criticised by Udyotakara in his Vārtika and Vāchaspatimisra comments that the author of the Vārtika is reviewing the position of Diṅnāga. To support the view, we have the statement of Kamalaśīla—*yadi tarhi jātyādi yōjanā kalpanā na yuktaiva, tatkatham lakshaṇakārēṇoktam, nāmajātyādi yōjanā kālpanēti.*[3] It is clear from the discussions that the *lakshaṇakāra* is no less a person than Achārya Diṅnāga.

Another feature of the definition which marks it out as of Diṅnāga is the absence of the term *abhrāntam*. Asaṅga, probably following the author of the Nyāya Sūtras, first mentioned it in his definition. Diṅnāga, finding it superfluous, dropped it altogether. But it was introduced by Dharmakīrti. The reason why Diṅnāga dropped it is based on the fundamental theory, *viz.*, sense-perception qua sense-perception, being non-constructive, does not contain any judgment. If sense-perception is non-constructive it is non-illusive too. Hence the term "Abhrāntam" is superfluous.[4]

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[1] Kavya V kalpanām nāmajātyādi yojanām pratijānate.

[2] *Cf.* PS. I. pratyaksham kalpanāpōḍham nāmajātyādyasamyutam.

[3] *Cf.* Tsp. pp. 368-72.

[4] *Cf.* Tsp. 394.

The other definition of Pratyaksha mentioned by Bhāmaha as *tatō ' rthāditi kechana* is that given by Vasubandhu in one of his minor works, Vādavidhi.[1] This definition, *viz.*, that sense-perception is that cognition which is produced by that object itself is severally criticised by Diṅnāga and Udyotakara. Bhāmaha also does not accept it.

After critically reviewing the definitions of sense-perception according to Diṅnāga and Vasubandhu, Bhāmaha goes on to consider two definitions of Anumāna.[2] Fortunately the two definitions happen to be of the same teachers. The first of them is the definition of Svārthānumana or inference for oneself, according to Diṅnāga. The other is, according to Vasubandhu as stated in his work, Vādavidhi. In opening the second chapter of his book, Pramāṇasamucchaya, Diṅnāga divides inference or Anumāna as Svārtha and Parārtha, and defines the former as *svārthaṃ trirūpālliṅgat'ōrthadṛik.*[3] It is this very definition that is stated by Bhāmaha.

The other definition of Anumāna is from the Vādavidhi of Vasubandhu. It has been noticed and criticised by Udyotakara in his Vārtika and by Diṅnāga in the 2nd chapter of his work. The definition of Vasubandhu lays stress on the inseparable connection. "Inference is a consequence or an application of an inseparable connection between two facts by a man who has previously noticed that connection."[4] This is not materially different from that of Diṅnāga, but the phrasing of it has been

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[1] Kavya V 6a PSV. *don.* de las. skyes rnam par śes pa. mṅon sum yin zhes bya ba'o.

[2] Ibid V 10.

[3] PS, II 1 *anumānam dvidhā svārtham triruūpālliṅgatō'rthadṛk*; cf. also Ts. p 404.

[4] *Cf.* PSV. II 25 "rtsod. pa sgrub pa nas ni med na mi byuṅ ba'i don mthoṅ ba de reg pa rjes su dpag pa'o zes brjod do" [illegible]o PSV. II 25 ff. and my articles on 'Vādavidhi' [illegible] O R S XII, IV 587-91; and Vādavidhi and Vasubandhu, M H Q 1928, 221; 1929, 81).

considered to be misleading and therefore criticised by Dinnāga.

The theory that the *Hetu* or reason has three lakshaṇas or characteristics was well-known even before Dinnāga. For we find the acceptance of this theory by the Vaiśeshikas beginning from Kaṇāda. The theory has been very well summarised in the famous couplet of Kaśyapa,[1] who has been identified by later writers to be Kaṇāda. The three-fold aspect of the Hetu according to the theory is that the Hetu should be (1) present in the subject of the inference; (2) and present in similar instances, but (3) absent in the dissimilar.[2] This theory had been attacked by teachers like Pātrasvamin[3] who were content with a single aspect or *ēkalakshaṇaṁ*. It was Dinnāga who withstood the attacks and established this theory.

Two definitions of Drishtānta are stated by Bhāmaha in his work. The first of them, namely, *sādhya sādhana dharmābhyāṁ siddhōdrishṭāntaḥ* (Kāvya V 26 a) is quoted and criticised by Udyotakara in his Vārtika (pp. 136-7.) But it is not clear to whose view Bhāmaha refers. The other is the definition given by Dinnāga in his work. This definition *viz.*, *sādhyēna liṅgānugatistadabhāvēchanāstitā*[4] (Kavya V 27 a) is quoted and rejected by Udyotakara. It may therefore, be said that here also Bhāmaha is alluding to the view of Dinnāga.

In the concluding chapter of his work, Bhāmaha after reviewing the Sphoṭa theory begins to express his opinion on the Apoha theory of the Buddhists. His view is that the words cow, etc., mean the objects cow, etc., and never the negation of the opposite. A word expresses only one meaning. It has not the power to express two different cognitions, *viz.*, the object and the negation of its opposite.

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[1] P. B. p. 582. (*Chowkamba* edition).

[2] PS. II 5. *Cf.* also Nyāyavārtika, pp. 128-29.

[3] *Cf.* TSP., p. 405.

[4] PS. IV 2 gtau tshigs. bsgrub byai rjes. gro | ba bsgrub bya med. la med pa ñid |

Hence Apoha cannot be the meaning of the word.[1] It means that he is opposed to the theory of nominalism of Diṅnāga, expounded in detail in Chapter V of the Pramāṇa Samucchaya.[2] If one were to ask, what is the function of language in our cognition, Diṅnāga would reply that it is indirect. Verbal testimony cannot be a direct source of knowledge; for the Svalakshaṇa cannot be expressed in words. If Svalakshaṇa is ultimate reality and not expressed in words, verbal testimony is an indirect source of knowledge like the inference. Words like 'white' express their meaning through the repudiation of their opposite. It is this theory of Diṇnāga that has been criticised by Bhāmaha.

The Svalakshaṇa, or 'the thing-in-itself,' according to Diṅnāga is inexpressible. Being shorn of all relation and construction there is nothing in it to be expressed. It is only the concept coming out of it that is expressed. Hence words express what is constructed. While all classify words according to the objects they express into four classes, Diṅnāga classified them into five. To him the words express only names and not things. *Vikalpa-yōnayaḥ śabdāḥ vikalpāśabda yōnayaḥ.*[3] Apart from words expressing dravya or substance, guṇa or quality, kriya or motion and jāti or universal, there exist words which possess as such no meaning, but denote something. The word Dittha for instance is meaningless, but denotes the name of a person. Hence according to Diṅnāga such words have their own individuality and have to be classed separately. *Cf.* Tsp. P 371 and Kāvya VI 21b.

From this study of the last two chapters of the Kāvyālaṅkāra of Bhāmaha we can safely conclude that he is reviewing mostly the logical theory advanced by Vasu-bandhu and Diṅnāga.

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[1] Kavya VI, 16-19.

[2] *Cf.* TSP p. 441. *Cf.* Ps V 1 sgra las byuṅ ba rjes dpag. las tshad ma gz'an min de ltar de
byas sogs bz'in du raṅ don la
gz'an sil bas ni brjod. par byed.

[3] *Cf.* TSP. 369; and P.S.V. I.

PADMAPRABHA AND HIS COMMENTARY ON NIYAMASĀRA

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Niyamasāra[1] is one of the important works of Kundakunda, the celebrated authority on Jaina dogmatics. It is composed in Prākrit verses, the dialect being Jaina Śaurasenī. Somehow this work has not attracted the attention of commentators like Amṛitachandra, Jayasena, Bālachandra, etc., who have written commentaries on the other works of Kundakunda. The only known commentary on *Niyamasāra* is that of Padmaprabha; and this paper presents a critical study about Padmaprabha and his Sanskrit commentary (*Tātparyavritti*) *on Niyamasāra.*[2]

Besides this commentary, no other work of Padmaprabha has come to light; so it is necessary to glean out all available information about him from this commentary alone. The early Indian authors, especially the Jaina monks, were reluctant to give any personal information. It is at times that they give bits of information about their spiritual ancestry. Padmaprabha styled himself as Padmaprabha Maladhārideva; he calls himself as the sun (also friend) to the lotus like poets; he had subdued his five senses; and his paraphernalia was limited to his limbs

[1] On *Niyamasāra* see pp. 40 ff. of my Introduction to *Pravachanasāra*, Rāyachandra Jaina Śāstramālā, Bombay 1935.

[2] Prākrit Text, Padmaprabha's Sanskrit commentary and Br. Shitalaprasadaji's Hindi rendering, published by Jaina Grantha-Ratnākara Kāryālaya, Bombay 1916. The references are to the pages of this edition.

alone: this is all that we learn from his colophon.[1] This indicates that he was a Digambara monk and a renowned poet. It is necessary to see whether Padmaprabha says anything about his teachers. In one of the opening verses (No. 3) he offers salutation to the great religious philosopher Siddhasena, to the logician Bhaṭṭākalaṅka, to the grammarian Pūjyapāda and to the learned saint Vīranandi.[2] Once more, at the close of the fifth section, he offers salutation to Vīranandi;[3] the way in which he describes Vīranandi indicates that he was an ascetic pupil of Vīranandi. Then once quite incidentally he salutes Mādhavasenasūri;[4] and the adjective *vineya-pankeruha-vikāsa-bhānave* possibly indicates that Padmaprabha had received some scriptural lessons from Mādhavasena. Further in course of his definition of the word āchārya he salutes to the mind of Chandrakīrti-muni.[5] It is very difficult to say whether Chandrakīrti might have been the preceptor of Padmaprabha. This much appears to be clear that at some time or other Vīranandi, Mādhavasena, Chandrakīrti and Padmaprabha were contemporaries; and Padmaprabha looked on them as his revered elders in the ascetic community. In all probability Chandrakīrti appears to be his *pravrajyā-dāyaka-guru*, Mādhavasena his *vidyā-guru* and Vīranadi his *niryāpaka-guru*[6] and they appear to have obliged him in his ascetic practices at the various stages of his life.

Padmaprabha has written this commentary for the final beatitude of Bhavyas and for the purification of his spirit.[7] Word-to-word explanation is not the aim of his commentary, though he cannot avoid it altogether. He wants to set forth a lucid and free exposition of the ideas contained in the gāthās of Kundakunda, and this

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[1] The colophon.

[2] P. 1.

[3] Pp. 76-77.

[4] For Mādhavasena being saluted see p. 63.

[5] Chandrakīrti is reverentially mentioned, see p. 61.

[6] See *Pravachanasāra*, III, 10.

[7] The verse occurs on p. 1.

gives him an opportunity to serve the readers with many nice ideas by way of gloss on the implications of Kundakunda's utterances. The whole Text he has divided into twelve śrutaskandhas, but, as I have remarked elsewhere,[1] this division has not been a successful one; it has rather obscured the current of contents. Like Jayasena he does not give the topical analysis of the sections, but goes on propounding the contents of the gāthās oftentimes in a pretty heavy style[2] beyond the limitations of the original text. Usually first he sets forth the contents of the gāthās, but it is rarely that he literally follows the text. Then he winds off the explanation of the gāthā by[3] some verses (at times only one verse)[4] which are either quotations from earlier authors or composed by himself; in case they are quotations, he adds after them with the introductory phrase *tathā hi* his own compositions closely following, but very often amplifying,[5] the contents of the quotations. Sometimes such verses are found in a bunch,[6] and not closely connected with the central idea of the Prākṛit text. It is these verses, which are spiritually refreshing, that attract and have a charming effect on the reader. Liberation (*Mukti*) is often compared with a beautiful lady; and this is a pet simile of Padmaprabha at times expressed in full details: thus he serves ascetic preparations in romantic dishes.[7] In his manner of exposition, in adding nice verses and in not giving verbal explanations he has before him the model of Amṛitachandra and his commentary on *Samayasāra* which also bristles with nicely phrased verses composed by Amṛitachandra himself. From Amṛitachandra Padmaprabha has drawn most of his quotations. It it not in vain that Padmaprabha has tried to follow the

[1] See p. 42 of my Intro. to *Pravachanasāra*.

[2] See for instance pp. 8, 15, 91, 159, etc.

[3] See the commentary on gāthās 9, 10, etc.

[4] See for instance pp. 4, 5, 52, 56, 57, etc.

[5] See for instance the commentary on gāthās 82, 102, etc.

[6] See for instance pp. 39, 51, 59, 125, etc.

[7] See pp. 127, 137, 138, 150, etc.

footsteps of Amṛitachandra; he has some poetic genius which flashes forth into melodious verses some of which are spiritual lullabies;[1] and he will be remembered, but second to his model Amṛitachandra, as a spiritual poet (adhyātma-kavi). After a close study of the whole commentary, Padmaprabha does not impress us as a helpful commentator, but he attracts us as a poet more charmed by and charming others by sound than by sense. His mission as a commentator has been only an excuse for the expression of his poetic talents.

Padmaprabha's commentary has another aspect of historical interest. Most of his quotations, both Sanskrit and Prākṛit, he introduces either by mentioning the name of the author or the name of the work. They have been listed in a tabular form: in the first column all the quotations are alphabetically arranged with a serial number behind and page number before; in the second Padmaprabha's information is added; and in the third I have supplied the additional information as far as I could gather it. (This list will be published in extenso elsewhere).

Padmaprabha quotes one gāthā (No. 47) attributed to Kundakunda, and it is traced to *Pravachansāra* I, 68*3. It should be noted that this gāthā is absent in Amṛitachandra's recension, but accepted as genuine by Jayasena and others. So Padmaprabha did attribute this gāthā to Kundakunda, following Jayasena's recension. Then three quotations (Nos. 20, 59, and 81) are said to have been drawn from *Pañchāstikāya*, seven (Nos. 33, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, and 82) from *Pravachanasāra*, and six (Nos. 32, 42, 45, 55, 66 and 85) from *Samayasāra*. The gāthā *puḍhavī jalaṃ cha*, etc., (No. 59) quoted from *Pañchāstikāya* is found only in the recension of Jayasena, but not in that of Amṛitachandra. Of the six gāthās which Padmaprabha says to have quoted from Samayasāra, *jassa aṇesaṇam appa*, etc., (No. 32) is found in *Pravachanasāra* and not traced in the present text of *Samayasāra*; and *ṇāṇaṃ*

[1] See pp. 105, 126, etc.

satthe, etc., (No. 42) and *ṇokamma-kammāhāro*, etc., (No. 45) are not at all found in *Samayasāra*.

Three quotations (Nos. 2, 6 and 88) are attributed to Samantabhadra; and they are traced to *Ratnakaraṇḍa* 42 and *Svāyambhū-stotra* 119 and 114 respectively. There is one quotation (No. 12) from *Upāsakādhyayana*, which is another name for *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* 125.

There are two quotations (Nos. 21 and 72) attributed to Pūjyapāda, and they are found in his *Samādhiśataka* 17 and 20.

Two Sanskrit quotations (Nos. 68 and 73) are attributed to Yogīndra, but the second alone is traced to *Amṛitāśīti* 64.[1] The verse *muktyaṅganālima*, etc., (No. 68) though attributed to Yogīndra in the Sk. commentary, is not found in *Amṛitāśīti*. Br. Sitalaprasadaji says in his Hindī translation of the commentary that *muktvā'lasatva*, etc., (*Amṛitāśīti* 21) is quoted. The implication would be that the quotation *Muktvā 'lasatva* etc., is dropped through oversight in the Sk. commentary; and, in that case, *muktyaṅganā*, etc., will have to be attributed to Padmaprabha himself, because it is introduced with the usual phrase *tathā hi*. Then there are three verses (Nos. 26, 37 and 91) quoted from *Amṛitāśīti* of Yogīndra 59, 58 and 57 respectively.

There are eight quotations (Nos. 27, 29, 35, 63, 65, 74, 76 and 83) attributed to Guṇabhadra; all these excepting No 35, are traced to *Ātmānuśāsana* 215, 216, 238, 225, 223, and 262, respectively; but the verse *Jñānaṃ tāvad bhavati* (No. 35) may be traced in the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Guṇabhadra.

There is one quotation (No. 3) from Vidyānanda; and the verse in question, as I understand it in that particular context, appears like a quotation in *Ślokavārtika*, p. 2.

Not less than seventeen verses are quoted in the name of Amṛitachandra (Nos. 4, 5, 9, 13, 15, 18, 22, 34, 52, 53, 61, 64, 69, 78, 80, 86 and 92): thus the works of Amṛita-

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[1] *Amṛitāśīti* is published in Mānikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. 21, pp. 85-101.

chandra, in fact, have proved a milch-cow for Padmaprabha. Of these verses Nos. 9, 15 and 34 are traced to his commentary on *Pravachanasāra* and the rest to his *Samayasāra-kalaśa*,[1] or to put more accurately, to his commentary on *Samayasāra*. Besides he quotes two verses (Nos. 16 and 49) from Amṛitachandra's commentary on *Pravachanasāra* and three (Nos. 1, 60 and 70) from that on *Samayasāra*.

One quotation (No. 19) stands in the name of Somadeva, which is found in his *Yaśastilaka-champū* 2, 262.

In the name of Mahāsena there are two quotations (Nos. 36 and 71) which are traced to his *Svarūpa-sambodhana* 4 and 12; and it is interesting to note that Padmaprabha qualifies Mahāsena as *shaṇ ṇavati-pāshaṇḍi-vijayopārjita viśāla-kīrti*, indicating thereby that Mahāsena was a great disputant and logician. From this it is also clear, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] that the author of *Svarūpa-sambodhana* is Mahāsena and not Akalaṅka.

There is one quotation (No. 58) attributed to Vādirāja; I have not been able to trace its source; but Pt. Jugalakishore informs me that it may be traced to Vādirāja's commentary on *Nyāya-viniśchaya* in which he has composed many verses.

There are six quotations (Nos. 7, 11, 25, 46, 50 and 51) from *Ekatva-saptati*; and all of them I have been able to trace in *Ekatva-saptati*[3] of Padmanandi.

There is one verse (No. 17) which Padmaprabha says to have taken from *Tattvānuśāsanā*, but it is not traced in the *Tattvānuśāsana* of Rāmasena.[4] It is possible

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[1] *Samayasāra-kalaśa* is not an independent work of Amṛitachandra, but it is a convenient name given to a compilation of all the verses from Amṛitachandra's commentary on *Samayasāra*.

[2] See my note on the authorship of *Svarūpa-sambodhana*, in the *Annals* of the B.O.R.I. XIII, i, pp. 88 ff.

[3] The referential numbers are from a Ms. of *Ekatvasaptati* in my possession.

[4] *Tattvānuśāsana* of Rāmasena is published in Māṇikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. 13.

that either Rāmasena's text, as it is preserved today, is defective; or there must have been another work of the same name. One *Tattvānuśāsana* is attributed to Samantabhadra,[1] but it is not available today. The verse in question runs thus:—

Utsṛijya Kāyakarmāṇi bhāve cha bhavakāraṇam |
svātmāvasthānam avyagraṃ kāyōtsargaḥ sa uchyate ||

One quotation (No. 31) is said to have been taken from *Śrutajandhu*. The name as it is printed is meaningless; and Pt. Jugalkishore suggests that it might have been *Śrutabindu*, which is very likely. In fact there is an indirect reference to *Śrutabindu* in Śravaṇa Belgoḷa inscriptions[2] where it is attributed to Chandrakīrti. One Chandrakīrti is mentioned with reverence by Padmaprabha, but one does not know whether he is referring to the author of *Śrutabindu*. The work is not discovered anywhere as yet.

Then there are six quotations (Nos. 23, 24, 30, 62, 77 and 89) from *Mārgaprakāśa*.[3]

The style and contents of these verses indicate that it must have been an important and authoritative work. But nothing is known about its author, nor is the work available today. No Ms. of this work is reported from any library.

Then of the remaining fifteen anonymous quotations three are sentences (Nos. 56, 67 and 84): two in Sanskrit and one in Prākrit; five are gāthās in Prākṛit; and the rest are Sanskrit verses. Of the Prākṛit gāthās No. 75 is traced to *Davvasaṃgaha*. The verse No. 54 almost similar to a verse in *Jñānārṇava* 42, 4. The remaining

[1] See *Jaina Granthāvalī*, p. 90.

[2] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. II, 67.

[3] To judge from the glimpses of the contents and from the title *Mārgaprakāśa*, the book appears to have contained a thorough discussion about Samyagdarśana, Samyajñāna and Samyakchāritra which constitute the path of liberation. Possibly it included a detailed discussion about the spiritual evolution along the path of Guṇasthānas and about the six substances, their qualities and modifications.

quotations I have not been able to trace; and I request other scholars to throw further light from their wider studies.

The above analysis of the quotations and the study of their sources will help us, to a great extent, to settle the date of Padmaprabha; and his references to different authors supply us with the earlier limit of his period. Kundakunda flourished possibly about the beginning of the christian era.[1] Samantabhadra may be put in the 2nd century A.D. circa.[2] Siddhasena is referred to in the introductory verses; there is much difference of opinion about his date; but possibly he flourished earlier than Pūjyapāda.[3] The period of Pūjyapāda is assigned to the fifth century A.D.[4] Yogīndradeva, if at all he is the same as the author of *Paramātma-prakāśa*, is an author of sufficient antiquity; and he might have lived earlier than 6th century A.D.[5] Akalanka can be put in the last quarter of the 7th century at the latest.[6] Vidyānanda's date is not definite; but it is certain that he is later than Kumārila who flourished at the close of the 7th century A.D.,[7] because very often in his works he attacks Kumārila. Guṇabhadra finished his *Mahāpurāṇa* in Śaka 820, *i.e.*, about 897 A.D. Somadeva wrote his *Yaśastilaka* about 959 A.D.[8] Amṛitachandra flourished

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[1] On the date of Kundakunda see my Intro to *Pravachanasāra*, pp. 10, etc.

[2] That is my tentative suggestion in the light of various discussions set forth by Pt. Jugalkishore in his *Svāmī Samantabhadra* and his paper in the *Annals* of the B.O.R I., Vol. XV.

[3] On Siddhasena's date see footnote 4 on p. 100 of my Intro. to *Pravachanasāra*.

[4] On Pūjyapāda's date see footnote 2 on p. 22 of my Intro. to *Pravachanasāra*, also *E. C.*, Vol. XII, Intro., p. 2.

[5] On Yogindra see *Annals* of the B.O.R.I., XII, ii, pp. 156, etc.

[6] On the date of Akalanka see *Annals* of the B.O.R.I., XIII, ii, p. 164, footnote 5.

[7] Dr. Bhattacharya's Intro. to *Tattvasamgraha*, G. O. S., p. 82.

[8] See the *praśastis* of these works; also Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 499 and 534.

about the close of the 10th century A.D.[1] Nothing is known about the age of Mahāsena. Vādirāja, whose name is mentioned by Padmaprabha—but the quotation in question is not traced—finished his *Pārśvanātha-charitā* in Śaka 947, *i.e.*, about 1025 A.D.[2] From these dates one thing is clear that Padmaprabha flourished later than the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. which shall be the earlier limit of his period.

Turning to epigraphic records, the name of Padmaprabha is found mentioned in Niṭṭūru inscription of 1219 A.D.,[3] Tīrthahaḷḷi inscr. of 1220 A.D.[4] and Niḍugallu inscr. of 1232 A.D.[5] The first and the last are important as they mention the name as Padmaprabha Maladhārideva, and in addition the last supplies the information that he was the disciple of Vīranandi Siddhāntachakravarti. So the Niḍugallu inscription refers to our Padmaprabha whose guru was Vīranandi as seen from his statements discussed above. The inscriptions of 1232 A.D. refer already to a pupil of Padmaprabha; that indicates that he was pretty old, though it cannot be said definitely whether Padmaprabha was living in 1232 A.D. From the first inscr. it appears that he was living in 1220 A.D. There are two Vīranandis; the author of *Chandraprabha charita* belongs to a period earlier than 1025 A.D., as Vādirāja refers to him in his *Pārśvanātha-charita* composed in that year;[6] so this Vīranandi appears to be the same as the author of *Āchārasāra* and its Kannada commentary which he completed in the year 1153 A.D. Thus, if Vīranandi's period is about the middle of the 12th century, Padmaprabha will have to be put, to explain consistently the relation of guru and śishya,

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1 See my Intro. to *Pravachanasāra*, pp. 100 etc.

2 Winternitz. H. I. L., Vol. II., p. 515.

3 *E. C.* XII, Gubbi No. 8.

4 *E. C.* VIII, Tirthahaḷḷi No. 191.

5 *E. C.* XII, Pavugada Nos. 51-52.

6 See *Jaina Hitaishi* XII, p. 213, etc.; also Winternitz H. I. L., p. 585.

in the last quarter of the 12th century[1] *and the first quarter of the 13th century A.D.*[2]

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[1] In the light of fresh material I have slightly changed my view on the period of Padmaprabha; see my Intro. to *Pravachanasāra*, p. 150, Footnote 1, in which I had discussed the tentative limits of the age of Padmaprabha.

[2] My thanks are due to Pt. Jugalkishore who kindly traced some quotations for me and gave me some suggestions here and there.

VII. HISTORY SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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I am deeply sensible of the honour conferred upon me by the suffrage of fellow-workers in a common enterprise by electing me as President of this section of the Oriental Conference.

This Assembly reminds me as a student of History of a very ancient Assembly of learned men—perhaps the oldest of its kind in the world—which met at the Court of Janaka, king of the Videhas. The *Brihadāraṇyaka Upanishad* tells us how the king sent out his invitation to all the learned Brāhmaṇas of the Kuru-Pañchāla country as the country then "known for its abundance of learned men" *teshu hi vidushām bāhulyam prasiddham* (Śaṅkara) to meet at his Court and thus to carry to far-off Eastern India the Vedic Learning and Culture from their home in the west. That learned conference carried on for days together discussions of the most profound problems of religion, philosophy, and metaphysics, the ultimate truths and mysteries of Existence, of Soul and Immortality, which, as the German thinker, Deussen, has justly remarked, "baffle Human intelligence to this day." The Bṛihadarāṇyaka Upanishad itself is practically a record of the transactions of this important philosophical Congress which laid the foundation of Hindu Philosophy. The outstanding figure of the Congress was Ṛishi Yājñavalkya who may be considered as the father of Hindu Philosophy by his contributions on its fundamental doctrine of the

Ātman as the sole and ultimate Reality, a doctrine which he was the first to conceive and present in its complete subjective and scientific precision. But Yājñavalkya had other consummate compeers in the Conference, exponents of different philosophical schools and doctrines. Eight such exponents are mentioned in the Upanishad and these included a lady named Gārgī Vāchaknavī. The others were Uddālaka, (1) Āruṇi, (2) Aśvala, (3) Ārtabhāga, (4) Bhujyu, (5) Ushasta, (6) Kahoḍa and (7) Vidagdha Śākalya. Each of these presented before the Conference his particular philosophical position which was answered by Yājñavalkya so successfully that he was adjudged by the Conference to be the leading philosopher of his times. A touch of romance was imparted to the Conference by its woman member Gārgī who boldly proceeded to try conclusions with Yājñavalkya by the following speech: "As an heroic youth from Kāśī or Videha bends his unbent bow and takes two deadly arrows in his hand, I have armed myself against thee, O Yajñavalkya, with two questions, which solve for me." When Yājñavalkya, satisfactorily answered the questions, Gārgī, addressing the Conference, said: "Venerable Brāhmaṇas, you may consider it a good thing if you can now get off by simply bowing before him. No one, I am sure, can even dream of defeating him in any argument concerning Brahman."

The Conference justified its name by its method and procedure. It was by discussion and debate, questions and answers, that doubts were solved, truths were threshed out, and nebulous and undefined doctrines were hammered into shape.

It is also interesting to observe how women were then the equals of men in contributing to the learning and cultural life of the country. Yājñavalkya's wife, Maitreyī, was fully his partner in the pursuit of Brahmavidyā, though his other wife, Kātyāyanī, was of the ordinary run of wordly women. The Bṛihadāraṇyaka tells us that king Janaka, after receiving instruction from Yājñavalkya, said to him: "Sir, I give you the Videhas,

and also myself, to be together your slaves." Far from accepting this gift of a kingdom, Yājñavalkya proceeded to the other extreme of renouncing the little property he had and taking to the forest for further austerities in the pursuit of truth. He called his wife and said: "Maitreyī: verily I am going away from this my house. Forsooth, let me make a settlement between thee and that Kātyāyanī." Maitreyī asked: "My Lord, if this whole earth, full of wealth, belonged to me, tell me, should I be immortal by it, or no?" "No," replied Yājñavalkya, "like the life of rich people will be thy life. But there is no hope of immortality by wealth." And Maitreyī said: "What should I do with that by which I do not become immortal?" And so both husband and wife joined in a common quest of the Truth.

Let us recapture some of this our national heritage and culture-history, some of these ideals and methods of learning and education. We may even imitate the method of this old Conference, so fruitful in results, the method of holding symposiums for discussion and elucidation of obscure or controversial historical topics.

This Section of the Conference to deal with History is distinct from that for Archæology, just as History is distinct from its Sources. The great limitation of History, as a subject of study, as compared with most other subjects, is that it is completely at the mercy of its sources. History deals with the past of a people or a country on the basis only of the traces or records *it leaves* behind, and the discovery of such trace and records of a past that is dead and buried is itself an independent and arduous job which must be completed before History can begin.

Thus History has to work under hard conditions and with tough and intractable material. It does not deal with the present or the future, but only with accomplished facts and dead realities, with what has been, and not with what *Is*, or what ought to be, and thus lacks the living interest of current events or the romance of reforms and

ideals. Then, again, History is not merely limited to the dead past and the recorded past. It cannot treat the records as it may choose, but must treat them as it finds them. It must allow the records to tell their own tale, must let the evidence speak for itself. It cannot twist, or tamper with, or manufacture the evidence. But a subject like Chemistry works by an opposite method: Creating by experiments the evidence it needs to support its theories suggested by a constructive imagination. Nor can History like Philosophy spin out a system of its own from inner consciousness. It must remain merely passive and receptive, reflecting and reproducing the past faithfully like a mirror or a photograph, without trying to modernise the past or read into old records, present day notions and ideas.

It is also a job to recover the records of the past. The historian has to find them, very often by well-planned schemes of archæological exploration followed by prolonged excavations to light buried antiquities of by-gone ages. His next task is no less hard: it is, when the records are recovered, to find out their truth, especially where they are conflicting. He must then, like the Judge, sift the evidence, interrogate the facts, and find his way to truth through a maze of contradictions. Indeed, truth dawns only on a judicial mind free from bias or pre-conceived notions.

Further, the sources of History are of diverse kinds, each of which calls for its own technique of treatment. Broadly speaking, they are of two kinds, in the form of written records or material remains Writing or literature belongs to a later phase of history, the outcome of a considerable cultural development. The earliest life of Man is to be found in the traces of the primitive tools, implements and habitation he had used and of cremation or burial then in vogue. Then come linguistic remains or records. Language long precedes Literature. Oral tradition is much older than the written word. And India especially, on the ground of a singular religious

principle, did not believe in writing as a means of conservation or transmission of her earliest literature, which was religious. That literature was conserved by memory, and was imparted by the teacher reciting it to his pupil who grasped it by the ear. It was therefore technically called Śruti, the literature revealed to "hearing." It was considered too sacred to be consigned for its conservation to any external aids like writing or Mss. Kumārila Bhatta, writing in about the eighth century A.D., condemned committing the Vedas to writing as a grave sin and sacrilege. Progress in civilisation brings up other kinds of evidence of man's expanding life in works of Architecture. Sculpture, and Painting, in Inscriptions on stone or metal, and in coins conveying valuable data in their marks, symbols, legends, (in their) weight, standard, fabric, or material. But even in regard to these kinds of evidence, India has lagged behind other countries. India's artistic evolution has suffered for her religion which, by its cultivation of the conception of the Infinite, the Formless, and the Spiritual did not encourage the conception of finite forms in which Art can arise. This religious bias also affected Buddhist Art which for a long time stopped short of portraying the Buddha whose images were later produced in profusion at all centres of Buddhism. A religion that also makes for plain living and high thinking hardly creates the atmosphere in which Art can flourish and find expression in the construction of stupendous monuments such as have made ancient Egypt famous in history.

We have thus seen that, along with the evolution of History, there has been naturally an evolution of its sources, linguistic, literary, monumental, artistic, epigraphic, and numismatic.

When the sources and materials are thus forthcoming, the facts and conclusions that may be deduced or derived from them may be arranged and presented in two possible ways, in the order of development or in that of time. Thus History may be Cultural as well as Chronological. As we

all know, much of early Indian History before Buddhism does not lend itself to chronological treatment for want of definitely datable facts or events. It is, therefore, to be presented mainly as a history of thought, of culture and civilisation to be studied in broad movements, in manners, customs, and institutions, on the basis mainly of literary sources in which they are revealed. It is a study of origins, and of evolution, of which the successive stages can only be marked out as *ideal* sequences and connexions revealing an inner chronology.

Lastly, History is affected by Geography. It must be rooted in the soil. There must be a ground prepared for it. In the early history of mankind, History was very largely the creation of Geography. Primitive peoples moved along the lines of least resistance and were the creatures of their natural environments, settling down where these were the most congenial and convenient in giving security and subsistence. They thus avoided fens and forests, skirted the base of mountains without trying to cross them, followed the courses of rivers or the guidance of the sea-coast. Civilisation means settled life, fixed dwellings, keeping cattle, and cultivating the soil and could thus commence best in an open country affording pasture and room for tillage preferably along sea-coasts and river-banks which could give access to fish for food and scope for locomotion and adventure.

This is not the occasion for dealing exhaustively with the effects of Geography on India's History through the ages, but a few typical illustrations may be given. India is supposed to be very effectively isolated from the rest of the world by the barriers of her mountains in the north and the seas of the south. But as a matter of fact, she has suffered most from invasions from outside, first by the way of the land, and later on, by way of the sea. The many breaches on her north-western frontiers have invited immigrations and invasions of foreigners through all ages. Conditions were for a time better under Mauryan emperors like Aśōka who was not troubled by this

frontier problem, because his frontiers touched those of Persia. By the Treaty of 304 B.C. between Selukos and Chandragupta Maurya, the territories then known as Gedrosia (Baluchistan), Arachosia (Kandahar), Aria (Herat) and Paraponisus (Hindukush) were ceded to Chandragupta Maurya, so that his grandson Aśōka could describe Antiochos, the Syrian emperor (261-246 B.C.) as his immediate neighbour, ruling as he did, over an extended India stretching as far as Persia. But India soon shrank into her natural size and became a prey to invasions introducing a variety of racial and cultural elements which have rendered her population and civilisation so highly complex in their composition. Even now India's frontier problem is very difficult and acute, imposing upon her a heavy burden of anxiety, of military preparedness and fortifications, a serious strain and drain on her resources, costing more than half of her central revenue and constituting a most serious obstacle to her internal development. It has been calculated that between 72 years, 1850-1922, India had to equip and engage in 72 expeditions for securing peace on the Frontier. The plan for the defence of India has thus to relate itself to the three vulnerable points and key-positions of Quetta, Bolan and Khyber. Khyber is backed by the Northern Command with its forces distributed by a chain of links located at Calcutta, Allahabad, Delhi, Rawalpindi and Peshawar, while the other two depend upon the Southern Command controlling Madras and Bombay Presidencies.

A second outstanding geographical feature in Indian History is that India cannot develop as a sea-power through lack of natural facilities. The West Coast is handicapped by the barrier of the Western Ghats cutting it off from the rest of India, while the East Coast suffers from want of natural harbours, from shallow water, and unruly surf. British supremacy in India, however, depending as it does on the command of the sea has imparted to the few sea-coast cities of India like Karachi, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras, and Colombo a new strategic importance in the defence of India.

Internally, again, parts of India suffer from isolation producing its own effects on their history. The great barrier of the Vindhyas is responsible for striking social differences between the north and the south, besides the differences of historical and political evolution. Cochin and Travancore by their isolation and manners and customs are practically outside the Indian social system. Towards the east of the Central Provinces between the Godavari and Mahanadi right up to the Valley of Son in the North, there is a vast isolated region of hills and fever-haunted forests, which is the abode of aboriginal peoples. The wall of the Western Ghats, while protecting the interior against over-seas invasion, has been helpful to the Marathas in building up their power in the protection afforded by a region not easily accesible and very suitable for guerilla warfare.

Lastly, it may be noted that the very vastness of the size of India is a factor of supreme significance and consequence to her history. It is responsible for the fact that to this day India has not been able to achieve political unity as a single State under a common political authority controlling the country from end to end; nor a united general history but only separate histories of her different regions and peoples. She is too large to be easily organised as a unit. British India alone has 2½ times the population of U. S. A. The vastness of her size is also responsible for her variety which makes of her a congeries of races, religions, cultures and communities which are still waiting to be welded into an organic whole.

History being thus strictly limited to evidence and to recorded time, it was very difficult to discover a starting point for Indian History for its singular lack of evidence and records, the sources from which it could make a start. For a long time the origins of Indian History were shrouded in obscurity. The only light that could be thrown on them was that derived from the Rig-Veda, which is not merely the earliest book of the Indians but also of mankind. The Rig-Veda, however, is a supremely religious work and

has hardly any concern with secular life and its interests. It is a rich source of cultural, but not of political history. In it can be seen not merely the early streaks, the dawn of Indian culture, but in certain respects its zenith. According to orthodox religious opinion, it contains within itself the seeds of thought which have through the ages attained their fulfilment and fruitage in the stupendous tree of Hinduism with all its branches and offshoots, its numerous sects and schools. But with all its cultural contents, the Ṛig-Veda fails as a source of History because it could not be related very definitely to time and space. Recently, however, there has been a great improvement in the situation due to important discoveries and conclusions achieved by the sciences of Geology, Anthropology and Archæology, the accumulated results of which throw considerable clear light on the obscure origins of Indian History and civilisation. These discoveries are epoch-making in their significance and tend to change the very foundations on which historical thought has rested so long. They are giving a new foundation, a new outlook to Indian History. Broadly speaking, they point to two outstanding conclusions, namely, (1) that India is the cradle of the *human* race and (2) that India is the cradle of its civilisation.

India, like the rest of the world, has been built up through millions of years by parts and stages, by a process of earth-formation, until she attained to her present form or size, as we see it now on the map, and became fit for the habitation of Man. But Man himself was long and late in coming. However that may be, it seems that the Himalayas, which had materially contributed to the evolution of India as a geographical entity, have also made a signal contribution to the evolution of Man. According to the geologist Barell, "Man and the Himalayas arose simultaneously, towards the end of Miocene Period, over a million years ago." This is explained thus by Sir Arthur Smith Woodward: "As the land arose, the temperature would be lowered, and some of the apes (the ancestors of

Man) which had previously lived in warm forests would be trapped to the north of the raised area." "As the forests shrank and gave place to plains, the ancestors of Man had to face living on the ground. If they had remained arboreal, or semi-arboreal like the apes, there might never have been Man" (Thomas and Geddes in *Outlines of General Biology*, II. 1164). Elliot Smith also holds that "the common ancestors of anthropoid apes and men probably occupied Northern India during the Miocene Epoch." (*Early Man*: Lecture delivered at the Royal Anthropological Institute: p. 3). According to the distinguished Paleontologist Professor Lull: "We have to go to the region North and South of the Himalayas to find peoples whose facial characteristics best resemble those of Cro-Magnon man, while their stature and bodily build are best displayed by the Sikhs" (The *Antiquary of Man* in the Evolution of Man, Edited by Bartsell). The latest opinion on the subject is that *Homo-Sapiens* most probably emerged in the Sewalik region of the Himalayas.

If, therefore, we have to find in India the cradle of the human race, it stands to reason that we should also find in India the cradle of its civilisation. And this finding is now being gradually established by the epoch-making Archæological discoveries now in progress in the Indus Valley and the Panjab at the sites of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Already more than 20 other sites of this ancient civilisation have also been discovered to the west of Sindh, and in Baluchistan and elsewhere, so as to give grounds for supposing that this civilisation had spread further down in the Gangetic Valley in one direction and Kathiawar in the other.

Sir Aurel Stein has been exploring the entire area between India and Persia and found numerous places of Archæological interest, furnishing in their antiquities links of connexion between the civilisation of the Indus on one hand and Mesopotamia on the other. The Baluchistan sites have already yielded pottery painted in black over red ground, or polychrome, and showing delicate

execution of geometric pattern; terra cotta figurines of the Mother Goddess, and of humped bull, and other objects of definitely Indian cult, burnt bricks used in carefully constructed drains and foundations, and even ruins of a town in Makran, with houses of solidly built stone walls, and properly planned internal arrangements.

Mr. N. G. Mazumdar of the Archæological Department has also already discovered about 20 Chalcolithic sites in the Indus Valley and in areas to the west of the Indus, in Sindh. At Ali Murad, the fort has its foundations in stone, while the fort at Kohtras is built entirely in stone, and not even of burnt bricks as used at Harappa or Mohenjo-daro. The sites have also yielded quantities of pottery decorated with geometrical patterns and plant and animal forms, showing links of connexion with India as well as with Persia and Mesopotamia.

This ancient civilisation may have originated even in the Ganges Valley. At Buxar, Dr. A. R. Banerji Sastri of the Patna College has found remains of a Chalcolithic city at a depth of about 50 feet, together with terra cottas of two types, *crude*, showing affinity with Sumer and Sindh, and those more *refined*, comparable with Pre-Sumerian, Eridu and Aegean.

The net result of these various discoveries has been that, whereas hitherto Indian antiquities had their earliest specimens confined to the Palæolithic and Neolithic remains, which are no evidence of any culture or civilisation proper, these have at once established India's position as a pioneer of civilisation along with Sumer, Elam, Mesopotamia or Egypt. It has now been recognised that if civilisation is the gift of rivers and follows their tracks, the seats of earliest civilisation should be sought not merely in the Valleys of the Nile, the Euphrates, or the Tigris, but also in those of the Indus, the Jumna and the Ganges.

Sir John Marshall has recorded his opinion that this Indus Civilisation was chiefly an independent growth, a product of the Indian soil, as it exhibits some distinctive

features not found in any other early civilisation. The Indus people were the first builders of an urban civilisation, first in town-planning, in architecture in stone and brick which they had to evolve against floods, first in sanitary engineering and drainage works including public bath-houses, first to spin and weave in both cotton and wool and first also to grow wheat as the basis of their civilisation. They also produced the earliest pottery and the first cart in the world. The model found at Harappa of a two-wheeled cart with a gabled roof and driver seated in front is considered by Sir John Marshall as "the oldest known example of a wheeled vehicle, older even than the stele fragment, with the picture of a chariot, found by Wooley at Ur, which in its turn antedates by a thousand years the use of the wheel in Egypt." (The *Times of India* Illustrated Weekly for 15th January 1928).

Some scholars hold the view that Sumerian culture was derived from India. Hall, in his *Ancient History of the Near East*, first expressed the view that the Sumerians came into Western Asia from India. The Sumerians, indeed, appear to have been an intrusive element in Mesopotamia and, according to Sir John Marshall, "the possibility is clearly suggested of India proving ultimately to be the cradle of their civilisation which, in its turn, lay at the root of Babylonian, Assyrian, and Western Asiatic culture generally." Sir John Marshall further states his conclusion thus: "The opinion has been gaining ground that the cradle of Sumerian and Egyptian civilisation is to be sought somewhere east of Mesopotamia. If, indeed, such a cradle ever existed, it is as likely as not to have been in the vast richly-watered plains of Northern India and nothing is more probable than that the teeming population of Northern India expanded westward through Seistan across the Iranian Plateau and northward to the plains of Transcaspia" (*Ibid*).

We may in passing consider the probable age of this early Indian civilisation. It is ascertained from the find

of definitely Indian seals (showing the Indus script and humped bull) at certain early sites in Elam and Mesopotamia. Sir John Marshall argues: "The seals are found in positions which leave no doubt that they belonged to the period before Sargon I, *i.e.*, before 2700 B.C. On another seal of the same (Indian) pattern recently unearthed at Ur, the legend is in cuneiform characters of about 2700 B.C. Inasmuch as seals of this class are associated with the three *uppermost* cities at Mohenjo-daro we may confidently fix the date of these cities between 3500-2500 B.C." (*Ibid*). A writer in the J. R. A. S. (for 1931, pp. 593-596) further points out that besides the script and the bull, the other two features of the Indus Civilisation, *viz.*, painted ware and the rectangular brick, are also found at early Sumerian sites. The Indian script appears to have been abandoned, after its introduction, in favour of the indigenous Sumerian script, while after 3500 B.C. the Indian rectangular brick also disappears, being replaced by the clumsy plano-convex brick. But a much more definite evidence of date has been discovered very recently by the Iraq Expedition of the Chicago Oriental Institute at Tell Asmar (ancient Eshnunna) near Baghdad. A quantity of seals, pots, and tablets has been found, including a unique seal bearing an inscription, which actually mentions a king of Akkad named Shu-durul, whose time is known, *viz.*, c. 2500 B.C. There is also found another seal depicting the animals, elephant and rhinoceros, which are natives of India and foreign to Babylon. Thus this Indian seal reached Eshnunna before 2500 B.C. At this site, again, are found earlier, deeper layers marked by houses built of plano-convex bricks which, as already stated, date from 3500 B.C. Lastly, the age of this civilisation is also pointed to by its material and makers. Its material is only stone and copper and not *iron* which it did not know. Thus it belongs to the *Chalcolithic* Age succeeding the two Ages of Stone, Palaeolithic and Neolithic. As regards its possible makers, they were among the earliest men. The

few skulls and skeletons discovered point to such early racial types as Proto-Australoid, Mediterranean, Alpine and Mongoloid, mostly pre-Dravidian (*vide* last *Census Report*). Thus Archæology and Anthropology are at one as regards the high antiquity of this civilisation.

The antiquity of this civilisation has thus been determined mainly on the basis of its contacts with foreign civilisations of known dates. But adequate attention has not been given to the question whether any light can be thrown on the subject by indigenous sources. In a word, researches of specialists are now called for to find out how far there is a hiatus between this earliest phase of Indian Civilisation and its subsequent phases, and whether any links of connexions can be traced between this civilisation which has been brought to light in the *material* remains discovered by Archæological exploration, and the hitherto known earliest Indian civilisation as revealed in the *literary* remains of the Vedas.

In my opinion, there is already a *prima facie* case for linking up the Indus civilisation with the Ṛig-Vedic and on the present occasion I can only indicate a few pieces of significant evidence on the subject. As is well known, the Ṛig-Veda is full of references to the non-Aryans and their civilisation and these may be taken to point to the Indus people and their civilisation. It calls the non-Aryan as Dāsa, Dasyu, or Asura and in one passage (I. 103, 4) refers to "ruddy" piśāchas and rākshasas uttering fearful noise and yells in battle. It also mentions the names of individual non-Aryan leaders and peoples. It mentions some significant characteristics of non-Aryan culture which recall and resemble those of the Indus. Thus the non-Aryan is described as speaking a strange language (*mṛidhravāk*), not following Vedic rituals (*akarman*), gods (*adevayu*), devotion (*abrahman*), sacrifices (*Ayajavan*), or ordinances (*Avrata*), but following their own system (*anyavrata*). And besides these negative characteristics, the Ṛig-Veda also mentions a positive

characteristic of the non-Aryan, *viz.*, that he was a phallus-worshipper (*śiśnadevāh*) (Rv. VII. 21, 5: X. 99, 3). As we know, the Mohenjo-daro antiquities furnish ample evidence of the Indus people as the worshippers of the phallus while their language, not read and understood to this day, very well deserved the description given of it by the Ṛig-Veda, *viz.*, that it was radically different from Sanskrit.

As regards the material aspects of the non-Aryan civilisation, the Rig-Veda refers to its towns and forts, broad (*prithvī*), and wide (*urvī*), full of kine (*gomati*), possessed of 100 pillars (*śatabhuji*), built of stone (*aśmamayī*), to autumnal (*śāradī*) forts as refuge against inundations, and to 100 cities in a non-Aryan kingdom. Even the Vedic god *Indra* is designated for the occasion as *Purandara*, "sacker of cities." Does not all this seem appropriate reference to the city civilisation of the Indus Valley? As pointed out by Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, the Ṛig-Veda, again, knows of a mercantile people it calls Paṇis and refers to the Vedic peoples, Turvaśas and Yadus as hailing from the sea. The Indus people are also known for their acquaintance with the sea as proved by the various articles manufactured of shell which came from the sea-coast, and also by the remains of sea-fish which they used as food.

The Ṛig-Veda also describes the non-Aryan peoples as *anāsa*, snub-nosed, and *krishṇa-garbha*, a "dusky brood." These epithets must point to the Kolarians or Proto-Australoids whose descendants are the Bhils and the Chodhras, as is pointed out by the learned Commissioner of the last Census, Dr. J. H. Hutton.

Most of the animals known to the Indus people are also known to the Ṛig-Veda, such as sheep, goat, dog, or bull (IV. 15, 6; VIII. 22, 2; VII. 55, 3). The animals hunted down by the Ṛig-Vedic people were antelopes (X. 39, 8), boars (X. 86, 4) buffalos (*gaura*) [X. 51, 6], lions (X. 28, 80), and elephants (VIII. 2, 6), and these are also familiar to the Indus people. Horses, however,

were domesticated in Ṛig-Vedic India but not in the Indus Valley.

As regards metals, the Ṛig-Veda knows ornaments of gold *(hiraṇya)* (I. 122, 2). These gold ornaments comprised ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets and garlands (*karṇaśobhana*, VII 78, 3; *nishka grīva*, II. 33, 10; *khādı*, I. 166, 9 and V. 54, 11; *rukma-vaksha*) and jewels for the neck (*maṇi-grīva*, I. 122,14). We have seen how most of these ornaments were also in use in the cities of Mohenjo-daro.

Besides gold, the Ṛig-Veda knows of another metal called *ayas* of which vessels were made (*ayasmaya*, V. 30 15). This metal was also hammered (*ayo-hata*, IX 1, 2). It is not clear whether the *ayas* of Ṛig-Veda means iron. In the later Atharva-Veda, however, iron is known and called *śyāma-ayas* (XI. 3, 1.7). The Ṛig-Veda, however, knows of implements of stone such as *aśmachakra*, stone-pulley (X. 101, 5, 6), or *adri* (I. 51, 3) or *aśani* (VI. 6, 5), *i.e.*, sling stones.

The Ṛig-Veda, however, knows of some kinds of armour not known in the Indus Valley, such as the coat of mail (*varma*) made up of metal plates sewn together (*syuta*) (I. 31, 15) and close fitting (*surabhi*) (I. 122, 2), or helmet (*śipra*) (VI. 75, 14) made of *ayas* (IV. 37, 4), or of gold (*hiraṇya*) (II. 34, 3).

The treatment of hair by the men and women of the Ṛig-Veda also bears some resemblance to Mohenjo-daro practice. The hair was combed and oiled. Women wore it plaited. There is mention of a maiden wearing her hair in four plaits (*chatush kaparda* in Ṛig-Veda, X. 114, 3). Men also sometimes wore their hair in coils. The Vasishṭhas had it coiled on the right (I. 173, 6; VII. 33, 1). Men also grew beards (*śmaśru*) (II. 11, 17).

But the most singular feature of the Indus civilisation, namely, the cotton industry, is also an established industry in Ṛig-Vedic India. The Ṛig-Veda calls the weaver *Vaya* and his loom *Veman* (X. 26, 6), the shuttle, *Tsara*, the warp, *Otu*, and the woof, *Tantu*.

The Mohenjo-daro antiquities include some artistic stone figures which are supposed to represent the Yogī in meditation, with his eyes fixed on the tip of the nose, as recommended in the canons of later Yoga-Śāstras of Hinduism. But Yoga is not non-Aryan, as it is sometimes supposed, but is of the very essence of Ṛig-Vedic religion. The Ṛig-Veda is made up of hymns which are supposed to be the results of revelation attained by Ṛishis on the basis of their power of meditation acquired by practice of what is called *tapas*. The practice of tapas is referred to at several places in the Ṛig-Veda. Yāska (Nirukta, X. 72, 1, 2) defines Ṛishis as those who are possessed of a direct perception of, or intuitive insight into, *dharma*, which is acquired, as explained by the commentator, Durgāchārya, by means of pre-eminent practice of *tapas* (*prativiśishtena tapasā*).

There are also other links of connexion between the religion of the Ṛig-Veda and that of the Mohenjo-daro people. It is now admitted on all hands that the Mohenjo-daro finds include female statuettes which are representations of the Mother Goddess. The Ṛig-Veda is also quite familiar with the primæval Mother whom it calls by several names such as, *Pṛithvī* (VI. 12, 5; X. 187, 2) or *Pṛithivī* (V. 85, 1. 5; VII. 7, 2.5) or *Aditi*, the mother of the Ādityas. The Ṛig-Veda has also a burial hymn mentioning the Earth Goddess who is described as *Pṛithivī Mātaram Mahīm*, "Earth, the Great Mother" in *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* (II. 4, 6, 8). The *Kena-Upanishad* represents Brahmaṇyadeva appearing in the form of Umā-Haimavatī, the Śakti of Śiva.

It may be noted in this connexion that the excavations at Lauriya Nandangarh have brought to light supposed Vedic burial mounds in which has been found a small repousse gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female, which is taken to be that of this Earth-Goddess of Ṛig-Veda and is very similar to the terra cotta figures of the Mother Goddess found at Mohenjo-daro.

The god Śiva is also supposed to be portrayed on certain Mohenjo-daro seals. One represents the god as

having three faces and eyes and seated on a low Indian throne in the typical posture of a Yogī, with animals on each side, elephant and tiger on right, and rhinoceros and buffalo on left, and two-horned deer standing under the throne, justifying the title of Ṛig-Vedic Rudra, and Śiva, as Paśupati, "Lord of Animals." This figure also bears a pair of horns to crown its head, anticipating the triśūla or trident of Śiva. Another faience sealing represents Śiva as a Yogi, with a Nāga kneeling in prayer to him on either side, with uplifted hands.

It has been generally supposed that the god Śiva himself is not known to Ṛig-Veda and that the deity is the present of the non-Aryan to the Aryan. It is not, however, denied that the god Rudra is known to Ṛig-Veda. There are, however, three passages in the Ṛig-Veda of which one (II. 33, 9) mentions *Īśāna*, the second (II. 1 ,6) Mahādeva and the third (X. 92, 9) Śiva. Prof. A. B. Keith has admitted in a letter to a revered friend of mine (Mahanta Mahādevānanda Giri of Hardwar) that he did not know of these Ṛig-Vedic passages mentioning Śiva so definitely and accordingly failed to notice them in his *Vedic Index*.

The antiquities of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa have also brought to light figures of animals that were apparently deified. Here we find an anticipation of later Hinduism which deifies certain animals, because they are chosen as *Vāhanas*, or vehicles of the gods. We may instance Śiva's Bull, Durgā's Lion, Yama's Buffalo, Agni's Ram, Indra's Elephant, Vāyu's Deer, Varuṇa's Crocodile, or Gaurī's Boar. It is also these animals which receive worship in the Indus culture.

It may be noted that the Census Commissioner, Dr. Hutton, has independently recorded his conclusion that the authors of Indus civilisation and of pre-Vedic Hinduism were the non-Aryans of the Ṛig-Veda whom he identifies with the Dravidians who were racially a mixed type of Mediterranean and Armenoid.

We may now proceed to consider the objection to the

linking up of the Ṛig-Vedic and Indus cultures on the ground of chronology, on the basis of the prevailing view that the Ṛig-Veda cannot possibly be connected with the Indus culture by any proximity in time, because it is much later than 3000 B.C.

But this view has now to be given up against certain well established considerations. Dr. Winternitz has argued that the age of Vedic civilisation can be correctly ascertained on the basis of the consideration that much of it was an accomplished fact before the rise of Jainism and Buddhism. He, therefore, thinks that an interval of at least 2,000 years must be allowed for the linguistic, literary, cultural and historical evolution which was already accomplished and represented in the following four main classes of Vedic works preceding those two religions, namely, (1) the Sūtras, (2) the Brāhamaṇas, including the Āranyakas and Upanishads (3) the four Vedic Saṁhitās arising out of (4) the primordial Ṛig-Vedic hymns. According to this computation, the Ṛig-Veda cannot be later than 2500 B.C.

To this chronological conclusion based on literary evidence has now been joined the evidence of the Mitanian Inscriptions which Winckler discovered at Boghoz-Koi in the summer of 1907 in Asia Minor. As Jacobi pointed out, these inscriptions, "give an entirely new aspect to the whole question of the antiquity of Indian civilisation. Till recently the oldest authentic date in Indian History was the epoch of Buddha's death. But now the oldest certain date is pushed back well-nigh a thousand years. The testimony of these inscriptions will henceforth be the key-stone to all speculations on the antiquity of Indian Civilisation." The date of these inscriptions is taken to be 1400 B.C. on the ground that they record treaties between two kings, Subbiluliuma, King of the Hittites, and Mattiuaza, King of Mitani (Northern Mesopotamia) who lived about 1400 B.C. As is well known, these inscriptions mention Mitani gods which are unmistakably read as Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas or

Aśvins.[1] As observed by Jacobi, "These five gods not only occur in the Ṛig-Veda, but they are grouped together here precisely as we find them grouped in the Veda. In my opinion this fact establishes the Vedic character and origin of these Mitani gods beyond reasonable doubt. It appears, therefore, quite clearly that in 14th century B.C. and earlier, the rulers of northern Mesopotamia worshipped Vedic gods. The tribes who brought the worship of these gods, probably from Eastern Iran, must have adopted this worship in their original home about the 16th century. At that time, the Vedic civilisation was already in its full perfection. This fact makes the late date of Veda usually adopted impossible, and is distinctly in favour of my theory" (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 273).

I am not unmindful of the controversy regarding the supposed Vedic origin of the names of these Mitani deities. Meyer and Oldenberg held the view that these might be Iranian gods worshipped by the Aryans before they had separated and settled down as Hindus and Iranians. Oldenberg contended that the pair Mitra-Varuṇa corresponds to Avestan Ahura-Mithra; that Indra is known as Verethrajan in Avesta, and that Nāsatyas = Naonhaithya. Jacobi, however, has fully answered these objections. He has pointed out that the god Varuṇa as such is nowhere mentioned in Iranian records, that Mithra in Avesta is associated with another god but we do not know definitely the identity of his companion; that the Iranian god of Victory, Verethrajan, no doubt, corresponds to the Indian Vṛitrahan, but in the Ṛig-Veda, Vṛitrahan is an epithet of Indra, while in the Avesta Verethrajan is a god, and Indra a demon, and even then the Mitani inscription names the *god* Indra, and does not name Vṛitrahan. The Avesta also knows but *one* Naonhaithya, a demon, not a

[1] Winkler read the inscription thus: "ilani-*Mi-it-ra*-as-si-il-ilani *Uru-w-na*-as-si-il (variant *A-ru-na*-as-si-il) ilu *In-dar* (variant *In-da-ra*) ilani *Na-sa-a* (*t-ti-ia-a*) n-na (variant *Na-s* (a)-*at-ti-ia-an-na*)". Here the word *ilu* is the Babylonian word for God and *ilani* is the plural.

divine pair of Nāsatyas, whereas the Aśvins in the Ṛig-Veda are always mentioned as a divine couple. The Mitani Inscription also does not mention *one* Nāsatya, but *two*, as indicated by the use of plural form *ilāni* (gods) which stands for the dual which is wanting in Babylonian. Thus he concludes that these Mitani gods cannot be Iranian or even proto-Iranian, but distinctly Vedic.

It is also argued that the gods should be considered Iranian, because the names of the Mitanian Kings of the inscription are supposed to be Iranian in form. But according to Prof. Sayce, the best authority on the subject, the seeming Iranian affinities of these names may as well be explained from Mitanian and Hittite idioms (J. R. A. S., 1910, pp. 457-459).

Jacobi also points out that any date later than 1400 B.C. for undivided Aryans will make the Ṛig-Veda too recent. Time must be found for the following developments, *viz.*, (1) the differentiation of the undivided Aryan branch into two distinct languages, the Sanskrit and the Iranian; (2) the conquest and settlement of at least a part of Western India by the Indians; (3) the development of Vedic culture; and (4) the rise and perfection of Vedic poetry, of which the Ṛig-Veda would be the later and riper portion then extant. These developments should take at least a period of 500 years and this would make the date of Ṛig-Veda itself as modern as 1000 B.C., a date which cannot fit in with the established facts of pre-Buddhistic Indian History and Civilisation.

If, therefore, Vedic gods were worshipped in Mesopotamia before 1400 B.C. they must have been introduced there by colonists. Vedic culture could not send out these offshoots to such a distant country unless it had itself been established much earlier than 1400 B.C.

These chronological conclusions also receive their support from the evidence of Indian traditions as recorded in the works like the Purāṇas. If, with Mr. K. P. Jayswal, we fix the date of the war of the Mahābhārata on the basis of the data furnished by the Purāṇas and collated

with those furnished by certain Buddhist and Jain texts, we shall get a valuable chronological point from which we can proceed backward towards Vedic chronology. This is not the place where I can give the details of this line of investigation. Suffice it to say that, according to the Purāṇas, there was an interval of 1,050 (or 1,105) years between Parikshit and Mahāpadma Nanda and of 100 years between Nanda and Chandragupta Maurya. Chandragupta Maurya is known to reign from about 323 B.C. and so the time of Parikshit should be (1,050+100+323) about 1453 B.C. Now the Purāṇas treat this Parikshit as the King who had ruled at Hastināpura in succession to the Pāṇḍavas after the Bhārata war, as the son of Abhimanyu who was the son of Arjuna. This Parikshit was succeeded by his son, Janamejaya, who, according to the Mahābhārata, is known for two important events. He performed a snake-sacrifice at Takshaśilā on a lavish scale, and secondly, it was at his Court that the Mahābhārata itself was recited for the first time by Vaiśampāyana.

We, however, read in certain Vedic works, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Aiterya Brāhmaṇas and also the Bṛihadarāṇyaka Upanishad, of Janamejaya and Parikshit but with totally different traditions. An examination of these Vedic traditions about Janamejaya and Parikshit will lead to the conclusion that they must have been different from and flourished in much earlier times than, their namesakes of the Purāṇas.

The Bṛihadāraṇyaka Upanishad (III. 3) has the following question: "Whither have the Pārikshitas gone?" and also the reply: "Thither, where Aśvamedha sacrificers go."

This reference shows (1) that the Pārikshitas had already become a past history and a vanished glory by the time of this Upanishad; (2) that they must have committed some grievous sins leading to their extinction; (3) that they performed Aśvamedha sacrifices to atone for their sins but in vain and (4) that these particular Pārikshitas,

by their performance of horse sacrifice, are to be distinguished from the Janamejaya of the Mahābhārata who was known for his snake-sacrifice.

It will now be seen that the story of the Bṛihadāraṇyaka is an echo of the earlier accounts of the Pārikshitas as given in the other Vedic works aforesaid.

The glory of a Pārikshita and the zenith of his power are first indicated in the Atharva-Veda (XX. 127, 7-10) which tells of the proverbial plenty of the Kuru Kingdom under him in "curds, drinks and barley."

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (XI. 5, 5, 13) also tells of the "Palace of Janamejaya, Pārikshita," its bounty of "sweet drinks" (*pūrnān pariśruta kumbhān*), its "prize-winning horses." The same text also tells how Janamejaya Pārikshita had "bound for the gods a black-spotted grain-eating horse adorned with a golden ornament and with yellow garland at his city of Āsandivan" (XIII. 5, 4, 1-4).

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa also has its own story to tell of the glory and the power of Janamejaya, in several passages.

In one passage (VII. 27) Janamejaya Pārikshita is referred to as having performed a sacrifice from which he had excluded Brahmins of the clan of Kaśyapas. This passage gives the first hint of Janamejaya's hostility to Brahmins, which was fraught with grave consequences to the fortunes of himself and of his dynasty. In another passage (VII. 34) he is described as a great king, who, "like Âditya in prosperity, gave heat, obtaining tribute from all the quarters, whose sway was dread and unassailable."

There is again another passage (VIII. 21) which tells how his priest Tura Kāvasheya anointed Janamejaya Pārikshita with the great imperial sacrifice known as "Aindramahābhisheka." Therefore, "Janamejaya went round the earth completely, conquering on every side, and offered the horse in sacrifice. Regarding this a sacrificial verse is sung:

'At Āsandivant a horse, grass eating,
Adorned with gold and a yellow garland
Of dappled hue, was bound
By Janamejaya for the gods'."

It may be observed here that in the Aitareya, Janamejaya is described as having performed a horse sacrifice to celebrate his attainment of imperial status and not for the atonement of any sin, of which it does not contain a single hint. This makes the Aitareya tradition older than that of Śatapatha or the Bṛihadāraṇyaka. Indeed, as Keith points out in his translation of Aitareya (p. 45), "The time of Aitareya is that of Bharatas of Madhyadeśa, the time when the fame of Janamejaya was at its height." He further states: "The period of Janamejaya is doubtless that of the close of the earlier Vedic period of the Saṁhitās and they accord well with the position he holds in the Aitareya." There is in the Aitareya no hint of the decline of that position.

The story of the sin of Janamejaya which is hinted at in the Bṛihadarānyaka is, however, given in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa which states that Janamejaya and his sons, grandsons of Pārikshit, the "Pārikshitīyas," performing horse sacrifices, by their righteous work, did away with sinful work one after another. In the same text, this sin is also described as that of Brahmahatyā, *i.e.*, the slaughter of Brahmins. His sons are also named as Bhīmasena, Ugrasena and Śrutasena, Pārikshitas. The priest employed for this expiatory horse sacrifice is named Indrota-Daivaka-Śaunaka. Janamejaya's priest in the Aitareya is a different person named Tura, because he was concerned with ceremonies performed for a different purpose, and not for atonement of sins.

The tradition of the sin to which Janamejaya and his sons had succumbed is carried down to the time of Kauṭilya, who in his Arthaśāstra, gives the following reference: "*kopāj Janamejayo Brāhmaṇēshu vikrāntaḥ*" *i.e.*, "Janamejaya lost his great power by his sin of wrath and violence against the Brahmins."

These several Vedic traditions about Parikshit and Janamejaya must make them different from, and older than, the persons of the same names who are concerned with the Mahābhārata tradition. This view is confirmed by the Purāṇas which knew *two* Pārkshitas and *three* Janamejayas in the same dynasty. It is therefore, reasonable to assume that, leaving out of account Janamejaya I as a very remote ancestor, Parikshita I and his son, Janamejaya II, were the subjects of Vedic tradition and Janamejaya III, the subject of that of the Mahābhārata. Considering also that the Purāṇas place more than 20 generations between Janamejaya II and Janamejaya III and counting the date of Janamejaya III to be about 1400 B.C. we may conclude that the time of Parikshit I and Janamejaya II and of Śatapatha and the Aitareya Brāhmaṇas should be about 2000 B.C. This date for the Brāhmaṇa works will further push back the date of Vedic Samhitās and, finally, of the Ṛig-Veda which may thus be linked up with the time of the Indus civilisation discussed above.

The foregoing considerations pointing to India as the most probable cradle of the human race and its civilisation should also prepare us for a consideration of prevailing views regarding Indo-Aryan origins. As this address has already, I am afraid, grown beyond its proper length, I can only deal with this complicated and controversial topic in a mere summary manner. The traditional Indian view is against the foreign origin of the Indo-Aryans. This view is adumbrated in the Purānas and has been very ably analysed and presented by Pargiter in his "Ancient Indian Historical Tradition." He has shown that the traditional history of India starts with the three stocks (1) Aila (2) Saudyumna and (3) Mānava or Mānva, with their centres at Pratishṭhāna, Gaya, Ayodhyā and Mithilā. The other two stocks retreated before the expansion of the Ailas and their offshoots who came to dominate the whole of North India down to Vidarbha. Pargiter makes the bold theory that the Ailas or Airaz were the Aryans, the Saudyumnas, the Muṇḍā

race, and the Mānavas the Dravidians. The original abode of the Ailas was some middle Himalayan region, some northern country which the Purāṇas call Ilāvṛta. Indian tradition knows nothing of any Aryan invasion of India from north-west and outside of India, nor of any advance of the Aryans from west to east. On the other hand, it speaks of an Aila outflow, the expansion of the Druhyus, through the north-west into the countries beyond. Accordingly, Ṛig-Veda, X. 75, mentions rivers in their order from the east to the north-west, beginning with the Ganges, in accordance with the course of Aila expansion and its outflow beyond the north-west. Similarly, in the Ṛig-Vedic account of the Battle of Ten Kings against Sudās, Sudās, who was an Aila king of North Pañchāla, is described as pushing his conquests westwards into the Panjab. This is also in keeping with the view that the bulk of the Ṛig-Veda was composed in the upper Ganges—Jumna Doab and plain. The Ṛig-Veda holds Sarasvati especially sacred, and also knows the Sarayu, the river of Oudh. This view seems to be further supported by the mention of the Vedic gods, Indra, Varuṇa, Mitra and Nāsatya, in the Boghoz Koi inscriptions of 1400 B.C., already noticed, proving that there was an outflow of people from India before the 15th century B.C. bringing her gods with them, and that Aryan origins and culture in India were much earlier still. Pargiter goes further and works out a possible date for this Indian migration beyond the north-west. It was the Druhyu expansion which is indicated 55 steps earlier than the Bhārata battle in the genealogical table drawn up to illustrate the course of History on the basis of the Purāṇas. If 30 years are allowed, as usual, for a step or a generation, the date of the Druhyu migration out of India would be (55 × 30) 1,650 years previous to the Bhārata battle of about 1400 B.C., *i.e.*, about 3000 B.C. This will explain how in course of time Vedic gods could migrate from India and be known and worshipped in Mesopotamia long before 1400 B. C.

In conclusion, I may just refer to another unexpected class of evidence which may be brought to bear upon the subject of these early civilisations. As is well known, there is a strong opinion in favour of the theory that early cultures were the results of diffusion from a common original source instead of growing up independently at different centres. Prof. Elliot Smith and Prof. W. J Perry are the chief exponents of this theory. The second supposition is that an early civilisation must depend upon the cultivation of some cereal as the most important factor in its development. We owe this theory to Prof. H. J. Fleure and Mr. Harold Peake. They have shown that civilisation in Western Asia started with wheat, and in the Nile Valley, with either wheat or barley. This means that this preliminary step in civilisation was not taken in any low-lying river-valley covered with dense vegetation to be cleared by man, but on more open ground on the slopes of hills where wild wheat or barley grew. For this they thought that the most suitable region was the hills on the Upper Euphrates valley from which the art of cultivation spread down the Euphrates and, through Syria and Palestine, into Egypt, thus making Sumerian civilisation earlier than Egyptian. Recently, however, some fresh evidence has been presented by Prof. J. B. S. Haldane (in some chapters of his *Inequality of Man*). He has referred to the researches of Russian Biologists to show that there are two distinct groups of wheat which cannot easily be hybridised and must be traced to two different centres. One of these is Abyssinia, the home of "hard" wheats, and the other is towards south-east of Afghanistan. The former is taken to be the original home of the agriculture which led to the Egyptian civilisation, and the latter the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats and civilisations. Haldane has further shown in his paper called "Pre-history in the Light of Genetics" that the region towards the south-east of Afghanistan means "the fold between the Hindukush and the Himalayas, the Panjab and the neighbourihg hill country." Here grew

the wheats which are traced as the source of the more important varieties grown in Europe and in America to-day. "Here also are the original homes of small seeded types of flax and leguminous plants, old world cottons, turnip, carrot, apricot and peach." Therefore, it may be concluded that the civilisation based on the cultivation of more important wheats began in the Panjab and spread thence down the river Indus to Sindh and that Mesopotamia *learnt from India the art of cultivation.* And since Sumerian civilisation is pretty certainly older than Egyptian, it follows that the Indian pre-Vedic civilisation is the most ancient of all, while its makers, the pre-Dravidians or Dravidians, may be recognised as the pioneers of civilisation.

I do not, of course, claim any finality for some of these controversial and chronological conclusions I have referred to in a necessarily general manner in this address. They are only suggested here for purposes of further exploration by scholars and specialists who are interested in the subject of the origins and antiquity of Indian civilisation.

THE ORGANISATION OF THE CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS OF THE DECCAN UNDER THE BAHMANIDES

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The Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan, founded by Allauddin Hassan Bahman Shah in the middle of the fourteenth century, is a high-water mark in the History of India. It was an outcome of the political disintegration, caused by the weakness of the reign of Sultan Mohammed Taglaq, and as such it appears to be a disintegrated part of the great Taglaq Empire. But with regard to the true patriotic feeling, which formed a great factor of foundation and with regard to the valuable services in the domain of politics and culture, that the Bahmani Kingdom rendered to the Deccan and indirectly to the whole of India, it claims a higher appreciation. It was a kingdom whose contribution towards politics and culture cannot be exaggerated. In succession to the Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa Kingdoms of the Deccan, its first service was to unite all the disintegrated parts of the Deccan into a common whole, so that the country might possess a common stock of culture and enjoy the benefits of a common Government. The other service, still more valuable, was that it created a system of Government, unique in character in that it was blended with elements derived from the old Chālukya and Rāshṭrakūṭa Kingdoms of the Deccan and the Paṭhan Sultanate of the North, in such a manner that it suited the geographical and national conditions peculiar to this region.

The founders of the Bahmani Kingdom were centurians, "Umra-i-Sadah" who had settled in the country. The settlement of these Northerners began from the last decade of the thirteenth century, since Allauddin Khalgi started his Deccan campaigns. And when Sultan Mohammed Taglaq adopted his project of turning Devagiri into a centre of his Indian Empire, this settlement took a new turn. Though the project was impracticable and so it ultimately failed, yet it seems that a large number of Delhi population, with a number of Sufees at their head, settled in the Deccan for ever and the result was that, by the time when the independence of the Deccan was proclaimed by the centurians, a pretty large number of population was already here. Some of the historical places as Alich Pur, Dēvagiri and Gulbarga were occupied by these Northerners and this can be noticed by the archæological remains there. It was because of the large number of the new settlers that the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom became possible. But what is significant about them is, that they severed all their connections with the North and adapted themselves to the new country as thoroughly as the sons of the soil. It was on this basis that these people fought against Sultan Taglaq and his army as a foreign enemy and defended the Deccan as their own home. It was a patriotic movement indeed and as such it was not only sure to succeed but it was also destined to bear everlasting fruits. When it succeeded to declare its independence in response to the old geographical tendency of the Deccan, it helped to create a new spirit of nationalism. The spirit was not totally new to the country. It had its place in the past and responded to every national call when it was needed. It was this spirit which forced Pulikesin to stand against the invasion of the North in 620 A.D. But the fall of the Chālukya Kingdom resulting in the disintegration of the Deccan into three principalities, was a death blow to this spirit until it was revived by the Mohammedan settlers of the North after a gap of a full century. The

Mohammedan settlement put a new life in the spirit and developed a nationality with the local and the Northern elements combined in it. This nationality was given its necessary dimensions, which ultimately led to a sort of provincialism. The national and provincial feeling grew so rapidly that even before three quarters of a century lapsed after the foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom, those who happened to come to the Deccan from the north were regarded as foreigners and looked down with suspicion and contempt. And the feeling was so strong in the reigns of Ahmed Shah Wali, and his son Allauddin that the worst party jealousies came into existence between the Deccanis and the outsiders, which ultimately put an end to the great kingdom of the Deccan.

The paper is not concerned with the later phase of the party jealousies which was of the worst possible type and proved fatal to the State. It is concerned with the early spirit which was healthy, and as it materialised, it worked as a motive force and played an important part in the political and cultural development of the Deccan. It helped the newcomers to acclimatize themselves to, and to amalgamate with the Hindu population of the Deccan. It is highly creditable for the Bahmani Kingdom that it was the first in the history of India, to have adopted a liberal plan of amalgamation of all social ties between the Hindus and the Muslims.

The Kings seem to have been the first in the field to remove the communal obstacles and pave the way for the healthy development of the Deccan nationality. Allauddin Bahman Shah is the first Muslim ruler of India who patronised the Hindu population of the Deccan and allowed them equal privileges in politics and government. He left the departments of accountancy and revenue entirely in the hands of the Hindus, a tradition which still continues in the Deccan. It was an interesting phenomenon that the Bahmani Government had an equal share of the Hindus who helped it as their

own Government. Farishta tells us, that the Hindus never joined the Mohammedan service but they had rather considered it as a national degradation. The liberal policy was advanced in every subsequent reign. In the next reign of Mohammed Shah I, we come across a Hindu named Govind Dev, who was in charge of a province which was a higher office of the State. The beginning of the fifteenth century saw a greater advance of the policy. Feroze Shah went so far as to marry the Hindu women of the Deccan. His harem represented in full the different nationalities of the Deccan, as those of Maharashtra, Telingana and Karnatak, and thus he paved a way for three inter-marriages in the different communities of the Deccan. In short, the Bahmani rulers never put them aside but they distinguished themselves as national kings of the Deccan, the pioneers of Indian nationalism. The example set by them was of great value for the coming generations and for the Moghal Emperors to follow. Moghal policy was a copy of the Bahmanides in this respect.

The development of nationality and culture was bound to influence the governmental system of the Bahmanides. The constitution framers, Allauddin Hassan and his right hand man Saifuddin Gori planned their government in the spirit that they were not foreigners but they were destined to die in the Deccan. The system of the Bahmani government was fully based on the local principles and traditions, though some of the elements were borrowed from the North. If we carefully analyse the whole system of administration, we can easily notice the liberal and cosmopolitan policy of the Bahmani Kings, the elective and democratic character of the central government, the military capacity of the State officers, and the provision to link the provinces with the centre. These are the principles, to put the thing in brief, on which the Bahmani administration was based, and thus the latter was fully responsive to the traditions which came down from the older Deccan. Saifuddin Gori, who

is mainly responsible for the Bahmani administration, stands in the same position to the Deccan as Chāṇakya to the North, and his work "Nasa-i-hulmuluk," which embodied the Bahmani constitution, is the "Artha-śāstra" of the Deccan.

Central Government—King and Ministry.

The central Government of the Bahmani Kingdom, which was introduced by Alauddin Hassan and revised and developed by Mohammad Shah I, should be styled as King-in-ministry. It was so organised as to have the full benefits of the absolute authority of the Monarch regulated and modified by the advice and guidance of the ministers of the State. There is no doubt that the Bahmani Kings were all hereditary. The succession was confined to one lineage only. But because the dynasty started with an election of the democratic type, it necessarily had some elective character. It is a curious fact, and with the exception of an example noted in Raja-Tarangini, that the founders of the Deccan Kingdom, Ismail Mukh and after his resignation, Alauddin Hassan, were selected from among the "Centurians" owing to their military and administrative capacity. Since Ismail Mukh and Alauddin Hassan were as good as other centurians, and had no distinction to claim the kingship for themselves, it was undoubtedly a genuine election. Most probably there might have been some other candidates with equal rights, and according to Burhan-i-maasir there were. If such was the case the choice of Alauddin Hassan is significant, and it is obvious that his appointment to the office of kingship was made by the general approval of all the centurians, who shouldered this new kingdom. Had they dissented from this approval, it is certain that there would have been no chance for Alauddin Hassan. Thus the start of the dynasty was not hereditary, but democratic. Though the successors of Bahman Shah came to the throne by their hereditary right, yet the

pleasant tradition in a modified form, was preserved through the whole period.

Every Bahmani King used to nominate his heir-apparent at his death bed, and get it confirmed by the elders of the State, including the official and non-official personalities, among whom were the Ulema and religious heads. Usually the choice fell upon the eldest son, but he was not recognised as crown prince before he was formally anointed as such. Thus Ferishta writes of Mohammed Shah Lashkari that he had his son Mohammad Khan anointed as his successor at his death bed, with the approval of the great personalities of the State. Not being satisfied with oral approval, he produced a document, "Mahzar" requiring all the State magnates to put their seals on. This procedure seems to be more than formal. Even the accession of a new king was formally confirmed by the grandees of the State. A Durbar was held for the purpose, with its full strength of all the grandees and religious heads. The former bowed to the king as a mark of their allegiance and recognition and the latter anointed him as their future king. Though the function appears to be no more than ceremonial, yet it had its own significance. Farishta records that in the Durbar held in 1488 to enthrone Mahmood Shah, some of the big State officials, as Yosuf-Adil-Khan, were not present. Their absence being noticed, objection was at once raised as to the validity of the function.

Some scholars may point out that the practice of nominating heirs-apparent comes down from the days of Ommayad and Abbasaid Caliphates, but there it was more local than Islamic. The older kingdoms of the Chālukyas and Rāshtrakutas had the same practice and the result was, that the rajas and the heirs-apparent were formally recognised by the grandees of the State. There is no doubt that the Bahmani Government was monarchical, and the king appears to have been all in all, but as a matter of fact he was always advised and guided by his ministers. Every writer, either ancient or mediaeval who throws light on

political science, holds that ministry is the most important wheel of administrative machinery. Every matter of State policy, according to these writers, should not see the light of the day without being properly weighed and matured by able ministers. The Bahmani Kingdom, being a mediaeval State, was no exception to this rule. Following in the footsteps of both the Pathan Kings of Delhi on one side, and the Chalukya and the Rāshṭrakuṭa Rajas of the Deccan on the other, who as history shows, wholly depended on their ministers' advice, the Bahmani Kings also consulted their ministers in State affairs. Like Bar-i-am and Majlis-i-Khalwat of Ferose Shah Taqlaq, the Bahmani kings also had two official gatherings of their own, Durbar and Dewan. They were consultative as well as business meetings. Though there is no record available showing the method and form of consultation and the number of ministers the king approached for the purpose, yet it should be borne in mind that the Bahmani Kings were systematic in carrying on their Government. They had some method and form of their own. They never carried out any plan, either civil or military, without consulting their ministers.

The Durbar was a larger body, in which all the State officials, major or minor, assembled. The institution was introduced by Alauddin Hassan for issuing royal orders, receiving reports from the central and provincial governments, and redressing the grievances of his subjects in general. But one of the objects of such gatherings was to show off royal pomp and to inspire thereby a sense of awe in the subjects. Mohammad Shah I enhanced the pomp and grandeur of the Durbar in many ways. He furnished the Durbar Hall to the utmost extent[1] and decorated it with gorgeous hangings and carpets of silk and gold. The famous Turquoise Throne, the Takht-i-feroza, which added to the glory of the Durbar, was placed in the centre for the king to sit on. He appointed a big body-guard,

[1] Farishta, p. 288

called "Khasa-Kail," consisting of 200 squires, "Asliha-dars," and 4,000 gentlemen troopers, "Yaka-Jawan," commanded by "Sar Noubat" and "Sar Khail." The body-guard kept alert at the Durbar. Besides, there were court officers, called "Tavajian" and "Yasavalan," with a large number of guards under them to look after the Durbar management. They may be termed as aides-de-camp to the king and gentlemen-ushers at the court in the modern phraseology. They ushered courtiers into the Durbar and showed them their seats. All the courtiers were required to stand in the places assigned according to their rank and status. Saifuddin Gori, the first prime-minister, and Sadar-i-Sharif, the head of the ecclesiastical department were the two personalities allowed to sit in the Durbar in the early period, and this favour was regarded as the highest honour which none else could aspire for. The Durbar was usually held in the morning and dismissed before the call for the midday prayer. Thus the Bahmani Durbar, so arranged by Mohammad Shah, was unparalleled in history and it was copied by the Moghul Emperors in later times.

The second was the meeting of ministers, probably called Dewan, which was held for consultation. Many such ministerial meetings are recorded. It is not easy to ascertain if all the ministers or a limited number of them were required to attend. Probably the number of ministers was determined according to the nature of work at issue. Of course in cases too complex to allow wide discussion, the king depended on the wisdom of the prime-minister alone, as, for instance, was done by Mohammed Shah when the whole ministerial body protested against his mother's pilgrimage. Durbars were usually held on Fridays, but no particular day was allotted for the Dewan. The Dewans were held daily or on the days the king chose as the official business urged. It seems that the king used to call on his ministers to advise him in every emergency fixing a particular time, either morning or evening, for the "Dewandari" sitting which was certainly

apart from the private and social gatherings the king used to indulge in. We know that Feroze Shah was very fond of social gatherings. He spent a lot of his time in the company of scholars, but the visitors who joined such gatherings, were specially warned not to discuss any political point concerned with State affairs, which in the words of Feroze Shah, was confined to Dewandari.[1] This shows that the ministerial sittings were held separately and its membership was strictly confined to ministers. Mohamed Shah I, who is mainly responsible for the organization of the central government, was over-particular in summoning the Dewans. Speaking of this monarch, Ferishta writes that it was due to the ministerial consultation which Mohammed Shah emphasised above all, that "no mismanagement and weakness of any sort ever appeared in his reign."[2]

Some of the glaring examples of such ministerial advice are as follows. When Mohammad Shah's mother, Malka Jahan, made up her mind to proceed to Mecca on a pilgrimage, it was proposed that the project should be financed by 400 maunds of gold and 700 maunds of silver according to the Deccan weights. All the ministers protested against this proposal saying that it was risky and the state would be helpless in the time of emergency. The king was accordingly compelled to revise the proposal. Feroze Shah is another great ruler of the Bahmani House, who is spoken of as never to have carried on his government without consultation. While invading Vijayanagar in 801 A.H., he consulted his ministers and acted as they advised. It is recorded that Ahmad Shah Wali withdrew from invading Malwa upon the advice given by Mulla Abdul Gani Sadr, Najmuddin Mufti and other scholars.[3]

The Bahmani kings ruled a very wide kingdom which extended over the whole of the Deccan plateau including

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[1] Farishta, p. 3, 7.

[2] *Ibid*, 301.

[3] Farishta, p. 321-322.

the whole of Maharashtra, a large part of Andhra, and some of the districts of Karnatak. They had thus to develop an elaborate system of government to cover every possible State function. As the State grew in size, the State functions multiplied day by day, and thus a big ministerial body was required. Allauddin Hassan's short reign of eleven years did not allow him to create a perfect form of government, because it was disturbed by incessant warfare. His successor Mohammad Shah had ample time at his disposal to think over the matter and to reduce the government to its proper dimensions. It seems that the ministers of Allauddin Hassan were very few in number with no definite allotment of work. It was for Mohammad Shah to survey all the State affairs, to differentiate them according to their nature of work and allot them to different ministers with definite portfolios in the modern sense. Thus the ministerial body was extended to its full length. It consisted of eight members with the prime minister at the head:—

1. Vakilus Sultanah.
2. Peshwa.
3. Vazir-i-kull.
4. Amir-i-jumla.
5. Nazir.
6. Vazir-i-Ashraff.
7. Sadr.
8. Kotwal.

The prime minister of the kingdom was called Vakilus-Sultanah or Vakil-Mutlakh, a term followed by the Moghals in later times. He had no portfolio of his own, but acted as head of the ministry and vicegerent of the king. Usually he was entrusted with the important business of giving instructions to the ministers under him and advising the king in the State affairs. It had been the custom from the reign of Allauddin Hassan that every matter of State policy was referred to the Vakil before it was put into practice. Sometimes other ministers were

ignored and in case the point at issue was too difficult to allow wide discussions, the prime minister alone was relied upon. It was he who supplied the place of the king while he was absent or of a minor, and that is why the Vakil was also called " Malik Naib " or vicegerent in the fashion of the Pathan administration of Delhi. It was highly creditable for the Bahmani kingdom that persons of outstanding ability, as Saifuddin Gori, Imaduddin Gori, and Khawaja Mahmood Gavan were chosen to hold this post.

The Peshwa was another minister usually associated with the Vakil-i-Mutlakh. He probably acted as an assistant to the first minister, and as such the post had no importance of its own and, in later times, became invariably amalgamated with Vakil-i-Mutlakh, who also came to be called the Peshwa. Vazir-i-Kull was the superintending minister who was meant to supervise general administration, but most probably he was to audit and check all the accounts of the State. Khawaja Jahan Astrabadi held this post in the reign of Allauddin II. Amir-i-Jumla was the finance minister and Nazir was associated with him. Vazir-i-Ashraff, who was also called Vakilush-shahi was in charge of foreign affairs. He was to tackle the foreign problems. He was also master of the ceremonies. Sadr, usually entitled as " Sadr-i-Jahan " was the head Khazi or the chief justice. He was at the same time in charge of all the ecclesiastical affairs and religious endowments. He was assisted by a jurist called Mufti who professed his opinion on religious and legal questions when authority failed. Shaik Ahmad and Mulla Abdul Gani were the great personalities who held the post of Khazi in the reign of Ahmad Shah Vali and Allauddin II. The Kotwal was the Commissioner of Police and city magistrate, who was responsible for the peace and order of the capital.

All the ministerial posts were filled up with great precaution and care. Only people of outstanding ability and experience were eligible for these posts. According to

the tradition of the older Deccan, military capacity was also deemed as a necessary qualification for appointment as a minister. Princes of royal blood were rarely allowed to take part in the central government. It is recorded that Ahmad Shah Vali alone allowed his crown prince Allauddin to help the central government. But it seems that no definite portfolio was given to him. Every appointment carried the royal investiture in the shape of a ring which was awarded while one was appointed and taken back while dismissed. When Allauddin II dismissed Dilawar Khan Afghan, Vakilush-Shahi, he was asked to give back the ring of appointment.[1] Ministers who proved efficient and most loyally were devoted to the State were liberally rewarded with every possible honour and distinction. To take the example of the early period: Saifuddin Gori enjoyed the highest honour the State could confer on him. He had the sole privilege to sit in the Durbar which others could not even dream of. The hands of his daughter were sought for Mohammad Shah, which was equally a great favour. Khawaja Mahmood Gawan is another example, but of later a period. He occupied a position as exalted as that of the king himself. Apart from the special privileges allowed to him, he possessed very lengthy and high-sounding titles. Malka-i-Jahan, the mother of Mohammad Shah Lashkari, treated him as her brother, and the king used to thank God and flatter himself with the words that he had a great associate like Mahmood Gawan. The State too did not tolerate any lack of efficiency or misconduct on the part of such high officers. It was for this reason that Allauddin II dismissed his foreign minister, Dilawar Khan Afghan, and asked him to give back his investiture.

Provincial Governments—their heads and functions.

The organization of the provincial government was as accurate as the central structure. The kingdom was divided into several administrative units, big and small, controlled

[1] Farishta, p. 330.

by their respective officers. The largest unit, as administered by the Bahmanides was a province styled as Taraf in the Bahmani phraseology. It means a direction, and the word Suba, used as its alternative, in the Moghal period conveys the same meaning. The Capital was regarded as the centre of the kingdom and the provinces were named according to the directions—North, South, East, or West—in which they lay from it. As the Bahmani provinces were four in number, they were spoken of as "Hudood-i-Arba," meaning four directions. The next division under the Taraf was the Sarkar, and so every Taraf consisted of several Sarkars, which are the same as districts in the modern sense. Sarkars were further divided into Parganas which are equal to modern Talluka and Tahsil. These Parganas had groups of villages under them, the smallest units of administration. This was the system of territorial division, first experienced in the Deccan, which the Moghals followed, with a slight alteration of nomenclature namely, the larger division was termed as Suba instead of Taraf. But it is curious that the Bahmani rulers followed the same system as in the days of the older Deccan. Bahmani divisions corresponded exactly to those administered by the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta Rajas. The Bahmani Taraf corresponded to the Rashtra, Sarkar to the Vishaya, and Pargana to the Bhugti of the ancient Deccan. It is still more curious that the areas of these divisions were to a great extent the same as before. Since the dimensions of these administrative units were mainly geographical and natural, and demarcated carefully by the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta administrators, there was no reason to make any alteration in them. It seems that the Bahmani administrators tried to preserve the same dimensions. The difference lay in the nomenclature only. For example the areas of the Sarkars of Nasik and Belgam were exactly the same as in the Rashtrakuta period. It is rather strange that the Bahmani Kingdom which was as big as the previous kingdoms of the Deccan, was divided into not more than four provinces, whereas the

Chalukya and Rāshtrakuta Kingdoms had more divisions of this type. It is estimated that the Rashtras or provinces included in the Rashtrakuta Empire were not less than 20 or 25.[1] It is quite possible that the early Bahmani administrators, Allauddin Hassan and his prime minister, Saifuddin Gori, who were responsible for these territorial divisions, might have judged an unnecessary complexity and pressure of work on the part of the central government. Had there been more provinces there would have been an over-burden on the central government. The provinces were formed according to the geographical and natural limits. One province, say, the province of Maharashtra did not encroach on that of Andhra. Being thus carefully demarcated within their natural boundaries, the governors of the provinces who were posted there were to look to the requirements of one nationality. Their attention and time were not diverted, and they were able to supply what was wanted, and administered their respective areas very ably. The result was that the different nationalities of the Deccan were in a position to develop their mental and physical capacities according to their national and geographical propensities, and there was no loss of talent which is likely in wrong divisions.

Among the four provinces, Hassan Abad Gulburga was one, which extended up to Raichur and Mudgal. It was purely Karnatak, which included Canarese Districts. Doulat Abad was the other province, with Junair, Jeval, Bede, and Pattan. This province covered the whole of Maharashtra from one end to the other. Berar was another, which including Mahore, was distinctly a separate geographical division. The fourth one was Bedar, which including Khandhar, Indore, and Kolas, was purely Andhra. The officers who were posted in these provinces were called Tarafdars, meaning in charge of the Taraffs. Though they were civil officers, responsible for the provincial administration, that is, to preserve peace and order, and to collect the revenue, they were at the same

[1] Altekar, 179.

time in charge of provincial defence. They had to supervise the large military forces maintained, and the force situated within the limits of the provinces. They were called upon by the central government to reinforce the central militia by their provincial armies under their own command in times of war. Sometimes they were required to fight their own battles with the neighbouring odds. Thus they had their double duty. They were not only in charge of civil and revenue administration, but they were at the same time commanders of the provincial forces, and hence they were called both as Tarafdars and Sar-Lashkars, meaning governors and commanders. This system of combining civil and military services in single hands, was peculiar to the Deccan, and it came down to the Bahmanides from the Chalukya and Rashtrakuta periods. The Bahmanides attached the same importance to the provincial administration as they did to the central. The provinces, being far off territories, were not neglected as was usually the case in the mediaeval days. A glance at the history of the middle ages proves that the distant territories of the mediaeval dominions were not given the same attention as the centre. The bigger the dominion, the less was the attention paid to the far off territories. But on the contrary the Bahmani administration was exceptionally careful so far as the provinces of the kingdom were concerned. The Bahmanides divided their kingdom into provinces and their sub-divisions as carefully as possible and provided them with administrative hands with the standard of efficiency the middle ages could furnish. The governors were appointed in recognition of their distinguished civil and military services. There is a long list of such able governors, including the distinguished persons as Saifuddin, Mahmood Gawan, Khan Mohammed, Azam Humayun, Yousuf Adil Khan, Ahmad Nizamul-Mulk Bahri, Fathulla Imadul Mulk and Khewanul Mulk the elder. Princes of royal blood were also given the chance of acting as governors. Ahmad Shah Wali had appointed one of his sons, Mahmood Khan, to the

province of Berar, and the other son, Dawood Khan, to the province of Telungana.[1] The governors were encouraged with as high an honour as they deserved. Sometimes they enjoyed the same position as the ministers of the centre. It was all due to Mohammed Shah I, who determined definite status and particularized distinct titles for each of the four Governors, as the title of Masnad-i-Ali for the Governor of Doulat Abad, Majlis-i-Ali for the Governor of Berar, Azam Humayun for the Governor of Telungana and Amirul Umara for the Governor of Gulbarga and Canarese districts. Farishta tells us that the titles so awarded by Mohammed Shah continued to his day.[2] There were other officers as Dewan and Kotwal appointed to help the Governors in the provincial administration. The former was meant to keep his eye on all the feudatories of the province, and see whether they supplied their feudal quota due to the State, and the latter was responsible for the peace and order of the province, just as in the centre,[3] and as such the provincial administration was a miniature of the centre in the same manner as in the days of the Rashtrakutas.

Another important point remarkable about the provincial administration is, that it was not left entirely to the discretion of the local officers, but on the other hand it was carried on under the strict supervision of the central government. It was for this reason that the Bahmanis tried to link the provincial administration with that of the centre, with every possible means. Usually the Governors were appointed as local officers exclusively intended for the provinces with no direct connection with the centre. But the Bahmani Kingdom did not follow the general rule. It also allowed its ministers to take charge of the provinces. Saifuddin is an example of the early period, who was in charge of the province of Doulatabad, in spite of the fact that he was the Prime Minister in the centre.

1 Farishta, p. 320.
2 Farishta, 282.
3 Farishta, 356

Khawaja Mahmood Gawan and Malik-i-Hassan Bahri are later examples, who were both ministers and Governors of Bijapur and the Northern Telungana respectively. As these ministers were attached to the central government, which they could not possibly avoid, they governed their provinces through their deputies. The reason of this strange policy seems to be that the Bahmani Kingdom wanted a strict hold, and provide the central government with the means to bear directly on the provinces. The governors as such acting also in the capacity of ministers, were directly responsible to the central government. Besides, the kings made their tours personally in the provinces as frequently as possible to get thereby first hand knowledge as to how the local government was carried on. Ferishta records of Mohammed Shah I that he made his annual tours in each and every province and kept himself informed of the distant units of administration. He surprised the local territories without previous notice with a false show of hunting, so that he was in a position to see every thing as it was.[1]

The constitution so framed by Allauddin Hassan, Mohammed Shah I, and Saifuffudin Gori, was permanent, and held good so long as the kingdom remained in its original boundaries, *i.e.*, it lasted for a century and a quarter till the end of Mohammed Shah Lashkari's reign. But during the reign of this monarch the political situation of the provinces changed, owing to the large conquests made on the Eastern and Western wings of the kingdom. On the East the whole of Telungana was subjugated which extended up to Orissa. Formerly this boundary did not go beyond Warangal. On the West the whole of Konkan and Kanara was annexed, and the result was that the kingdom spread out from one coast of the sea to the other. The kingdom, in consequence, had outgrown the old provincial system introduced in the earlier reigns. The province of Telungana and Doulatabad were especially affected because both the provinces were more than doubled

[1] Farishta, p. 297.

in area. Naturally an overhaul of provincial divisions became necessary. The governors of these provinces were overburdened and consequently they were not able to perform the duties as efficiently as the authors of the Bahmani constitution intended. When Khawaja Mahmood Gawan, who was at the helm of affairs in the reign of Mohammed Shah Lashkari, came forward to divide the extended provinces, it appeared that for the sake of similarity the partition of the other provinces was also necessary.

Khawaja was able to complete his plan of partition in 1480 at Kondapalli, where the royal camp was taking rest after the conquest in Nothern Telungana. He divided Telungana into Rajmahindry and Warangal, Berar into Gavil and Mahur, Doulatabad into Doulatabad and Junair, and Gulburga into Gilburga and Belgam. Thus the kingdom was fairly divided into eight provinces instead of four, and eight Governors were appointed over them. Those who were appointed under the new scheme were Malik Hassan, Azam Khan, Fathulla Imadul Mulk, Khudawand Khan, Yousuf Adil Khan, Fakhrul Mulk, Dastur Dinar, and Khawaja Mahmood Gawan, respectively. But Mahmood Gawan's reforms did not stop here. He went a step further and curtailed the powers of the Governors they originally possessed. The Governors were commanders as well, and as such they had the command of the fortresses situated in the provinces, and were authorised to make all the military appointments under them. These powers were all removed from their jurisdiction. Besides, many of the Parganahs situated in the provinces were resumed by the king as crown-lands and at the same time an efficient system of inspection was introduced with the object of supervising the feudatories and for ascertaining whether they maintained their quota due to the State in accordance to the sum allowed to them.

There is no doubt that the reforms introduced by Khawaja in connection with the provinces were to a great extent reasonable, but it was unfortunate for the reforms

and their author that all of them fell flat. They unluckily were brought forward under the circumstances, which owing to party jealousies were exceedingly disappointing. The two parties, Daccanies and outsiders, headed by the great personalities of the time, were hostile to each other. The former did not tolerate the rise of the outsiders in the kingdom, and since the reforms were introduced by Khawaja, the leader of the foreign faction, they were looked down with contempt. The partition of the provinces was regarded as a trick on the part of the author to increase the number, and to secure thereby more Governors belonging to his party. The curtailment of the provincial powers was attributed to his selfish motive of misappropriation. He meant to combine all the powers of the State central and provincial, in his own hand. This policy of centralisation was certainly fatal to the State. When Khawaja was removed from the scene, with the central and provincial powers combined in him, the kingdom was naturally broken and the reforms were no more.

ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF KING UDAYANA

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Dates are the sheet anchor of history. A great deal of uncertainty and difficulty with regard to the historicity of King Udayana of Kauśāmbī will be removed if we can once ascertain the probable date of his reign. Then the King of Kauśāmbī who figures so prominently in Buddhist legends and traditions, in Pāli canonical and Sanskrit literature will at once become a living historical personality and the events of his reign assume a political significance. The task is tremendous, but the importance of it justifies attempting it. The data available for the task are meagre, and are mainly literary. The method adopted, therefore, to fix the chronology of Udayana is mathematical deduction, some later-day dates of impeccable certainty gathered from Mauryan history providing the major premises of our reasonings and conclusions. The periods of reign assigned to dynastic kings in the Purāṇas, the Ceylonese Chronicles—the Dīpavaṁśa and Mahāvaṃśa—and references in Pāli canonical texts have provided the links in the chain of arguments.

The only scholar known to me who has until now made any attempt to give a date to King Udayana's reign is Dr. Pradhan. He calculates Udayana to have reigned from 500 B.C. to 490 B.C.[1] While unable to accept the date of Udayana's accession given by Dr. Pradhan as satisfactory, I must admit that he has hit the most satisfactory approximate time. Dr. Pradhan's motive, however, was not so much to find a satisfactory solution of the

[1] Pradhan—The Chronology of Ancient India, p. 247.

problem of the chronology of Udayana's reign, as to find the date of the Great War of the Mahābhārata. The finding of the dates of dynastic kings on the Purāṇic data was only ancillary to his main purpose, namely to arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem of dating the Mahābhārata War, to which he devoted the last four chapters of his book.

The date of Alexander's invasion of India (327-325 B.C.) and the date of his death (323 B.C.) are important landmarks for the chronology of early Indian history. It is not that we do not find dates mentioned in the Purāṇas, but the system used therein is defective. It was necessary to start from a date of impeccable basis to construct the Mauryan chronology. The Greek data provided us with that starting point. Chandragupta's accession to the throne happened a few years after Alexander's retirement from India and probably after the great general's death. B.C. 321 has been accepted as the most probable date of Chandragupta's accession.[1] It may be a few years later but certainly not earlier than 325 B.C. and much later than 321 B.C. So, accepting 321 B.C. as the year of accession of Chandragupta to the throne of Magadha, we may bring into use the data provided in the ancient literature for the purpose of finding the dates of pre-Mauryan kings of the various *janapadas* who were contemporaries of the Buddha and of whom King Udayana was one. The most important fact to be noticed in this connection is the date of the Buddha's death.

Dr. Carpenthir assigns the Parinibbāṇa to 477 B.C. and gives reasons for it. (*Vide* his article in Ind. Ant., p. 173 H.) Buddhist tradition assigns it to 543 B.C. According to the Mahabodhi Society reckoning the year 1935 is the year 2478 of the Mahaparinibbāṇa. According to Fleet 482 B.C. was a probable date of the Buddha's death

[1] Thomas—C.H.I., vol. I., pp. 471-473 According to Dr. Vincent Smith the date of the accession of Chandragupta is 322 B.C. (E H.I., p. 196.) Mr. N. Bhattaśāli attempts to make it B.C. 313 (J.R.A.S., 1933) which is difficult to accept.

(J.R.A.S. 1906, p. 667) which he now corrects to be 483 B.C.

But for reasons stated hereunder B.C. 483 appears to me as the more satisfactory year of the Buddha's Mahaparinibbaṇa.

According to the Dīpavaṁśa and the Mahāvaṁśa the coronation of Aśōka took place 218 years after the death of the Buddha. Now, according to the Ceylonese chronicles Chandragupta reigned for 24 years and his son Bindusāra for 28 years.[1] Therefore, accepting B.C. 321, the year of Chandragupta's accession as a correct landmark of the Mauryan chronology, Aśōka's accession to the throne falls in 269 B.C. Now, according to the Kaḷiṅga Edict, Aśōka conquered the kingdom of Kaḷiṅga in the eighth year of his coronation.[2] Again some years passed between his accession to the throne and his coronation. According to Dr. Smith the gap is one of four years.[3] Therefore Aśōka's coronation took place in 265 B.C., if the Ceylonese is to be believed. Add 218 years to 265, you got 483, which is the year of the Buddha's *Parinibbaṇa.*

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[1] All authorities—the Purāṇas, Dīpavaṁśa, Mahāvaṁśa, Buddhaghosha, and the Burmese tradition agree as to the length of Chandragupta's reign. The Purāṇas differ from the Ceylonese accounts as to Bindusara's period of reign which is 25 years according to the former and 28 years according to the latter.

[2] XIII R.E. *Athavashabhisitaha devanam piyasa Piyadasine lâgine A (stava) sha-avhisita (sa de) vana priyasa Priadrasi (sa) raño*

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Kalinga V]. * * * *
Kalingya vijita * * *

[3] Dr. Smith rejects the Ceylonese tradition and accepts the northern tradition as to the cause of the delay of Aśoka's coronation. According to the former Aśoka killed his 99 brothers before he could firmly establish himself on the throne. According to the latter, he fought his elder brother Susima alone. The story of the northern school, according to Dr. Smith, was invented by monks to place a dark background of Aśoka's early wickedness behind the bright picture of his mature piety. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the delay was due to the fact that Aśoka attained his 25th year, the traditional age of royal *abhisheka* three or four years after his accession. (J B.O.R.S. 1917, p. 348.)

If then 483 B.C. is the most credible date for the death of the Buddha, he must have been born in 563 B.C., as he was eighty years old when he chose his *parinibbāna* at Kusinārā. There may be a great deal of controversy as to the exact date of his birth, but there is none as to the length of the life he lived, which is acknowledged to be eighty years mentioned in the Pāli canons. And as the Pāli texts—our only available source on the subject—inform us that he was 29 years old at the time of his great Renunciation and 36 years old when he attained the Buddhahood, this last event must have happened about 527 B.C. We also learn from the Pāli texts that the Buddha visited Kauśāmbī at least twice—in the sixth and in the ninth year of his ministry. The first visit of the Buddha to Kauśāmbī was, therefore, in 521 B.C and the second in 518 B.C. During both these visits King Udayana reigned in Kauśāmbī. Now that we have been able to find the probable period of his reign, let us see if we can hit the probable date of his accession. It was during his first visit to Kauśāmbī, we have already noted, that the Buddha delivered the *Bodhi-Rajakumara-Sutta* for the instruction of the prince of Kauśāmbī while he was the viceroy of the Bhagga country.[1] Prince Bodhi was supposed to have passed his period of adolescence by that time to be put in charge of the Government of a province. So if Prince Bodhi was at least twenty-one years old when

[1] I guess it was a newly conquered province, which is, according to my friend Tripitakacharya Rāhula Sankrityāna, the great Pāli scholar and tourist, identical with the present Mirzapur District, the Sumsumara Gira being identical with the present Chunar hill. He first stated this in his book *Buddhacharya* pp. 75 and 175. I had also a personal talk with him on this subject, and was satisfied on the point that the Sumsumara Gira of the Bhagga country mentioned in the Majjhima Nikāya irresistably suggests to the Chunar hill as the nearest place of that description to Kauśāmbī The place was evidently conquered by Udayana about whose warlike activities we get plenty of references in Pāli and Tibetan Texts. A minor prince could not possibly have been appointed to rule over a newly conquered people.

he was the viceroy of the Bhagga country, and when the Buddha paid his first visit to his father's kingdom, King Udayana was expected to be at least forty-two years old, at the modest estimation, in 521 B.C. King Udayana was evidently in the prime of his youth when *Vāsuladattā*, the princess of Avantī and the mother of Bodhi-Kumāra fell in love with her father's handsome captive. So we presume that King Udayana married Vāsuladattā in 543 B. C., when he was twenty years old. The first fruit of the wedlock, (and the only issue that we know of[1]) was born a year later, *i.e.* in 542 B.C. He was twenty-one years older in 521 B.C., the year of the Buddha's first visit to Kauśāmbī. We know from the Pāli sources that Udayana was *reigning* on the throne of Kauśāmbī when the incident leading to his romantic marriage with Vāsuladattā took place; and if he was at least a year on the throne before that event, he ascended the throne in 544 B.C. Thus we may venture to determine King Udayana's chronology as follows:

Birth	563 B.C.
Accession	544 B.C.
Matrimonial Alliance with Avantī	543 B.C.
Birth of Bodhikumāra ...	542 B.C.

According to Peta-Vatthu commentary Udayana survived the Buddha.[2] If that is true Udayana was a very old man when he died, and must have reigned over forty years. We cannot therefore, accept Dr. Pradhana's suggestion of 490 B.C. as the year of Udayana's death, but we have to place it after 483 B.C. on different grounds, as the reader has seen, from what that learned scholar has adduced.

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[1] Kat. Sat. Sag.

[2] Pet. Vat. Com. 140.

PROBABLE REVENUE UNDER TIPU

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Aitchison	Treaties, Engagements and Sannads (1909) by C V. Aitchison.
Bri. Mus. Add	British Museum Additional Mss in London.
Dirom's Cornwallis Campaign	A Narrative of the Campaign in India which terminated the war with Tippo Sultan in 1792 (1793)
Mad. Sec Pro	Madras Secret Proceedings, Mss in the India Office, London
Gleig's Munro	The Life of Major-General Sir Thomas Munro by G R. Gleig (1835)
Martin's Wellesley's Despatches	The Despatches, Minutes and correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley by M Martin (1840)
Home Miscellaneous	Mss in the Home Miscellaneous series in the India Office, London

In 1799 when the Hindu State was re-established in Mysore, the revenue was assumed at 13,74,077 K. P.,[1] but at the end of 1799-1800 the actual revenue realised amounted to 22,48,787 K. P. and by 1803-4 it had risen to 25,19,167 K. P.[2] This extraordinary increase was not wholly due to Purnaiya's management. I have attempted in the following pages to show that the revenue assumed in 1799 was very likely an under-estimate based on Tipu Sultan's false accounts of 1792. For while dividing his territories in 1799, the allies relied on his accounts of 1792 as no other was then available.

Although the want of reliable and complete data forbids any absolute conclusion, the available data indicate

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[1] Schedule C of the Partition treaty of 1799 Aitchison Vol. IX, Page 65

[2] Wilk's Report on the interior administration, of Mysore, abstract of appendix 7.

that the territories comprising the new State of Mysore were probably undervalued by about 50 per cent. To establish this conclusion, it is necessary to examine the revenue of Mysore previous to 1799. Of the available accounts of the revenues about 1790, those of Tipu Sultan demand the first consideration. At the treaty of 1792, Tipu had to produce accounts of the income of the State. Accordingly Ali Reza, one of the Mysore Vakils or representatives submitted an account in two parts,[1] the revenues of the ancient possessions, *i.e.*, those parts which had been under Hyder's dominion about 1770; and the outlying districts which were the later conquests of Hyder and his son. The former comprised 9 main divisions[2] with 195 taluks and yielded, according to Tipu,[3] 35,14,313 K. P. The outlying districts appear to have been divided into some 50 divisions and 232 taluks producing an income of 33,08,914,[4] bringing the total revenue to 68,23,227 K. P. To this must be added, according to the Mysoreans, the *peshcuch* or tribute from Karnul amounting to two lakhs of rupees or about 66,666 K. P., and the profit derived at Calicut from the mint and the sale of black pepper and sandal-wood.[5] But, as I am dealing

[1] Conferences with Tipu's Vakils, 1792, appendix 12, (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, folios 49-55.)

[2] Whether these divisions were *assofdaris* or not is doubtful, because they widely differ from one another in their yield and extent.

[3] *Conferences with Tipu's vakils* 1792, appendix 12. (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662. *folio 55.)*

[4] *Idem.* folio 52.

[5] *Idem.* folio 53.

The arrears mentioned in the foregoing account do not come under annual revenue.

It may be mentioned that in Tipu's account, (*Idem.* appendix 12) particularly in the part dealing with the outlying districts, some taluks appear repeated, *e.g.* Kanakagiri. But a closer examination reveals that they must be separate taluks bearing the same name. Thus Kanakagiri mentioned along with Anegondi yielded 79,100 K.P., while another Kanakagiri mentioned as consisting of three taluks yielded 30,852 K.P.

with the question very broadly, these small items may be left out of account.

The Sultan's estimate was rejected as inaccurate and unreliable and for very good reasons. When the necessary papers were demanded, the Mysoreans postponed producing them and when at last they were produced, they were absolutely unsatisfactory. In Lord Cornwallis's words "Papers of this description would answer no useful purpose as they did not state the revenue of any particular year, but were made up of the extracts of the accounts of several different years, and "they appeared to be lately made and had neither the seal nor the signature of the *Conongoes* or the *Serishtadars*."[1] In other words, the accounts were made up for the occasion. When Cornwallis demanded the accounts for three years, namely 1192, 1195 and 1197 *Fasli*, properly authenticated and sealed and signed by the district and taluk officers, the answer was that the papers had been lost in the late campaign.[2] Tipu's accounts were, therefore, unsatisfactory for two reasons. First, they were not authenticated; secondly, they did not show the revenue of any particular year. They were made out of the accounts of different years, but all for a period preceding the war; the accounts of some districts,[3] for instance Coorg, referred to a period seven years back, no revenue being stated to have been received since. In spite of the assertion of Tipu's vakils that there had been no selection of revenues for indirect purposes and that a correct estimate for any one year would make little difference,[4] it is obvious that the account was unreliable.

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[1] *Sir John Kennaway to Ghulam Ali and Ali Reza,* Tipu's vakils, 4th March 1792. (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, appendix 18, folio 57.) Kennaway was the Company's spokesman in the treaty negotiations with Mysore in 1792.

[2] *Same to same.* 9th March 1792. (*Idem,* appendix 30, *folio* 70.)

[3] *Kennaway's diary,* 3rd March 1792. (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, folio 25.)

[4] *Ibid.*

In what respect, then, was it unsatisfactory? Apart from the minor objections of the Company and the inclusion of certain profits of trade from Calicut, and of the Nizam to the addition of certain tribute,[1] the fundamental objection was that there was a gross under-estimate. "There is every reason to suppose," runs para 4 of the memorial explanatory of the Partition Treaty of Mysore,[2] "that this estimate (*i.e.* of 1792) is much below the real produce of the revenues of the country, especially in its valuation of the Company's share." "The countries ceded by Tippoo Sultan," observed another contemporary,[3] "are found to exceed the value at which they are stated in the first estimate of their account." How far the false account affected the allies and how far the Company gained an undoubted, though perhaps unintentional, advantage over the allies are not material to the present discussion. It is sufficient to note that there was an under-valuation, but its degree is a matter of great importance.

Captain Macleod, who enquired into the state of Tipu's revenues immediately after his fall, observes[4] that Tipu's *Jummabundy* had not suffered any change since 1786, except the increase shown in column 2, and consequently the schedule he gave the allies in 1792 must have been less than his *Jummabundy* in nearly the same proportion that the sums in column 5 are less than in

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[1] Kennaway's diary, 3rd March 1792. (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, folio 25.)

[2] *Mysore State Papers*, page 22.

[3] Statement of the finances of the Company on the renewal of the Charter. (Dirom's *Cornwallis' campaign*, appendix No. IV.) Likewise Wood, another contemporary, remarks: "The revenue is stated in Tippoo's estimate of 1792; but its amount was at that time suspected and has since been proved greatly to exceed the valuation then submitted by Tippoo to Lord Cornwallis and the allies." (*Review of the origin and progress of the war in Mysore*, page 25.)

[4] *Macleod to the Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore.* 8th July 1799. (*Proceedings of the Commissioners for the affairs of Mysore*, 9th July 1799. *Mad. Sec. Pro.* 23rd July 1799.)

column 4.[1] As this was in the proportion of 11 to 5, Tippu's account was therefore about 55 per cent below the real yield.

While Macleod's general conclusion is not inaccurate, he seems to have been mistaken in detail. A general under-valuation of the whole kingdom would in no way have benefited Tipu, for his enemies would have got a proportionate increase in the territories ceded to them. It was, therefore, to his advantage that the Sultan should under-estimate the districts which he expected to keep while he either correctly valued or over-valued those which he expected to lose. This simple method of deceit appears to have been adopted by Tipu, and this was the reason why he divided the accounts into the revenues of the outlying and those of the ancient territories. The allies suspected the reason of this procedure. Sir John Kennaway was informed[2] by Mir' Alam that the allies were of opinion that "tho' the amount of the revenue stated by Tippoo to arise from the countries he proposed to surrender might not much exceed what they were worth, yet an account of those called ancient possessions which it was his object to retain was a fabricated and false one and that the districts included in it were not set down at half their real value." Of the under-valued territories more will be said later. Sir John further observed:[3] "By the said statements the countries which

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[1] *Idem*, statement enclosed in the letter.

1 *Tippu's Jamabandi* of 1796 including his 30 per cent ideal increase	2 The increase of 30 per cent only	3 The *Jamabandi* without the increase	4 The *Jamabandi* of column 3 in star pagodas	5 According to Tippu's valuation in 1792
K. P.	K. P	K. P.	Star Pagodas	Star pagodas
24,39,852	6,65,414	17,74,438	14,78,698	6,70,629

[2] *Kennaway's diary*, 4th March 1792. (*Brt. Mus. Add.* 13662, folio 26).

[3] *Kennaway to Gulam Ali and Ali Reza.* 9th March 1792. (*Idem* appendix 30).

the officers of Tippoo's Government have denominated frontier countries . . . [have been] and those he styles ancient possessions . . . [have been] stated at less than their real value." . There are sufficient proofs of this over-rating. After long experience as a Collector of the Baramahal, Munro observed :[1] "This report [*i.e.*, over-rating of territories by Tipu] seems to be confirmed by experience in Malabar where, after a trial of seven years the revenue is still lower than the schedule. I could scarcely hope to bring the country up to its estimated value in so short a time, to do in one year what had not in the adjoining province been done in seven." In another letter[2] he wrote in 1802 from Chitwagh "The desolate state of the Ceded Districts and the greater part of them having been so much overrated in the schedule of ninety-two [*i.e.*, 1792] gave me a good deal of vexation; for the public having been accustomed to see Tippoo's estimate exceeded every where else, they think it ought to be so in every instance, without making any allowances. The secessions of 1792 will never equal the schedule in my time." As regards the territories ceded to the Marathas, he said[3] that "judging by the produce of those immediately bordering on Srooda, I do not believe that the provinces ceded to Peshwah by the Sultan in 1792 yield above three-fifths of the schedule estimate."

There is another piece of evidence. According to the papers given in by Govinda Rao Bhagwant on the 5th March 1792,[4] the revenue of Calicut, Gooderi, Cole Mangalore and Colepur by inquiry was 22,00,000 rupees, while, according to Tipu's statement, it was 8,48,750

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[1] *Munro to Wellesley*. Governor-General, 29th June 1799. (Martin's *Wellesley's despatches*, Vol. II, page 58).

[2] *Munro to Alexander Read*. 28th September 1802. (*Gleig's Munro*. Vol III, page 169).

[3] *Munro to Wellesley*. Governor-General, dated Punganur, 11th December 1802. (*Idem*. Page 173).

[4] *Papers given in by Govind Rao Bhagwant*. 5th March 1792. (*Br. Mus. Add.* 13,662, appendix 21, folio 61).

K. P. or 25,46,250 rupees showing an over-estimate of 3,46,295 rupees.

It is, therefore, highly probable that the whole kingdom had not been ever valued, but that, on the contrary, a part of the dominions, perhaps extending to about one half had been over-rated. It is uncertain how far the over-rating went. According to Munro the over-estimate in the Maratha secessions was probably two-fifths, while by Govind Rao Bhagwant's papers it appears that a part of the territories ceded to the Company was over-rated by about one-seventh. Perhaps Tipu thought it wise not to annoy the Company by an extra over-valuation of the territories likely to fall to it. The general over-valuation of the outlying districts may be reckoned between two-fifths and one-seventh.

To revert to the under-valuation of the ancient territories: When the victors began to suspect the accounts of the Sultan, they attempted to get a correct estimate of the revenues by local enquiries and papers These estimates were unluckily not obtained for the whole of Mysore but for parts only perhaps because the main object was to show that there had been under-estimation and because of the want of time to collect the data. However, two principal estimates were prepared in 1792 and a third one in 1799. The former are by Macleod and Mir' Alam and often cover the same districts. There are other estimates by Colonel Read, the Marathas and others, but consideration of them may be deferred.

Macleod's enquires[1] extended to about 40 taluks, the revenue of which was 10,99,022 K. P. as against Tipu's estimate of 6,02,349 K. P. This shows an under-valuation of 4,96,673 K. P. or a little over 45 per cent. The basis of the estimate was the personal enquiries of Captain Read and his own assistants, and the reports of men of local knowledge who had acted as *Serishtadars* under Tipu.

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[1] *Macleod to Kennaway*, 10th March 1792. (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, appendix 32, folios 71-2.)

Mir' Alam's account[1] covered 57 taluks, their revenues being 16,31,000 K. P. as against the Sultan's estimate of 9,40,895 K. P., exhibiting an under-estimate of 6,90,105 K. P. or about 42 per cent.

Further, the estimates of Macleod and Mir'Alam cover 36 common taluks. The actual value of these taluks according to the former, was 8,79,237 K. P., and according to the latter, 7,99,200 K. P., giving a difference of only 98,027 K. P. or about 11 per cent. This is not so great a difference as to bar us from accepting them as substantially true. That there had been no consultation between the authors of the two statements is evident from the difference in their estimates, while Mir' Alam's accounts were apparently completed some five days earlier than Macleod's and altogether omit four districts for which Macleod gives figures.

According to the Maratha representatives, Govind Rao Bhagwant[2], the real revenue of certain *Mahals* belonging to Seringapatam, namely, Chakragiri, Darapur, Kangam and others, was 2,95,000 rupees, while the Sultan had estimated it at only 1,52,000 rupees, that is, actually 1,43,000 rupees or 49 per cent less.[3] Again just before

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[1] *Estimates given by Mir' Alam of the difference in the real revenues of certain districts and the statement of them given in Tipu.* (Br. Mus. Add 13,662, appendix 20, Part 2, folio 59-60.)

[2] *Papers given in by Govind Rao Bhagwant* on 5th March 1892 (*Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, appendix No. 21, folio 61)

[3] Govind Rao's statement (*Ibid*) incorrectly shows the under-estimate at 43,000 instead of at 1,43,000 rupees. This misled Sir John Kennaway who writes that " it is observable here that had the district of Pulvaneer-Pakshy been inserted as it fairly ought to have been in the account quoted from Tippoo's statement, the amount which it makes Tippoo to have under-valued certain districts specified in it would have been only 13 instead of 43,000 rupees, which it is now stated at." Apart from this over-sight, the objection of Sir John reduces the difference only to 1,00,000 rupees or 34 per cent.

the final fall of Tipu, Colin Mackenzie[1] estimated the value of 13 taluks in Gooty at 8,98,655 rupees, while Tipu's own estimate in 1792 for the same 13 taluqs had been 5,86,713 rupees, showing a difference of 3,11,942 or 34½ per cent, while the difference between Tipu and Mackenzie in Gurumkonda is less, being 22 per cent.[2]

Further, when in 1792 Tipu valued Bidnur at seven lakhs of Kanterai pagodas, Hari Pant was prepared to accept it as the Peshwa's share at 12 lakhs,[3] or even at 14 lakhs.[4] Even if all allowance is made for the strategic importance of Bidnur, we must still suppose it to have been greatly undervalued.

Macleod's estimate prepared in 1799, immediately after Tipu's death, showing an under-valuation of about 55 per cent has already been mentioned.[5]

In view of all these facts the under-valuation of the ancient territories may probably be assumed at 50 per cent while the outlying districts had perhaps been over-rated by about 25 per cent. On this basis the real revenue of Mysore before 1790-92 was in round figures:—

	Tipu's valuation	Real valuation	
	K P	K P	Rs.
Outlying districts.	33,08,800	26,46,400	79,39,200
Ancient possessions	35,14,000	70,28,000	2,10,84,000
Total ..	68,22,800	96,74,000	2,90,23,200

[1] *Hints on the present division of Ballaghat Hyderabad.*—1st January 1799 (*Idem.* 13,659, folio 238) "I have added" writes Mackenzie," a statement of the five *Sircars* at present in the hands of the three powers estimated from the old *dufter* (as no late account of the actual revenue of the whole could be obtained.) (*idem* folio 235.) This is evidently some record other than any produced in 1792

[2] The difference is less probably because Mackenzie refers to a period later than 1792 when there was greater irregularity and disorganisation in revenue collection.

[3] *Bri. Mus. Add.* 13,662, folio 52.

[4] *Idem.* folio 26.

[5] *Supra*, page 336.

This estimate is closely corroborated by a statement submitted by Govind Rao Bhagwant[1] wherein he details the revenues of the 18 *tukries*[2] or divisions of the Mysore dominions, bringing the total to 3,04,50,000 rupees. Further, according to Lord Cornwallis,[3] when Tipu's accounts were rejected, a statement was formed from the best materials in the possession of the allies, which rated the Mysore dominions at two crores and sixty lakhs of rupees net revenue. Net revenue probably excluded the charges of collection.[4] According to Captain Read[5] the annual average gross collections of the Ceded Districts for seven years from 1783-90 were 3,77,695 K. P. and the charges of collection for the same period averaged 58,255 K. P. or 15·4 per cent of the collections. This proportion may perhaps be taken as applying to the whole kingdom, and the gross revenue therefore would, according to Cornwallis, be 300 lakhs of rupees. Again, Read estimated[6] the Mysore revenue in 1788 at 80,00,000 of Star Pagodas or 280 lakhs of rupees.

Certain other estimates of the Mysore revenues have been preserved. Of these, two differ widely—one by Sibbald and the other by James Grant.[7] They, however,

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[1] *Papers given in by Govind Rao Bhagwant.*—5th March 1792. (*Brt. Mus. Add* 13,662, appendix 21, folio 62.)

[2] In 1784 Tipu appears to have divided his kingdom into 7 *tukries*, or provinces, in 1786 into 9 and in 1791 into 18. (*Alexander Read's Sketch of revenue management*, para 61. *Baramahal records.* Sec. I., page 151.)

[3] *Cornwallis to the Court.*—5th April 1792. (*Home Miscellaneous* Vol 251, page 92.)

[4] *Alexander Read's report* of 10th August 1794, (*Baramahal records.* Sec. I, page 215). In this report Read calculates the net revenue on this basis.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Papers* re *management of certain districts*, No. 3, appendix No. 2 (*Baramahal records*, Section I., page 8.)

[7] These estimates are found in an account entitled "As to the nature of Tippoo's country and the parts at present in his possession." Home *Miscellaneous.* Vol. 251, pages 245 et seq.) I have not been able to trace the source from which Sibbald's estimate has been taken. Grant's estimate is found in an anonymously published book of his entitled "*A historical and political view of the Deccan*" and published in 1791.

refer to different periods, the former to about 1782, and the latter to 1790-91. Sibbald had served as one of the Company's commercial agents in Mysore[1] and his account is reported to be based on the information of Hyat Sahib, Hyder's Governor of Bidnur in 1762.[2] According to him the total revenue was 718 lakhs of rupees,[3] and he gives some details of the revenue of the different provinces. "This vast sum," says the unknown writer of the extract,[4] "probably exceeded the fact whether we reason from the love of ostentation natural to the captive of an Asiatic Sovereign or from a kind of policy in impressing the English with high ideas of his master's resources." Mr. Foster[5] seems to have embraced this opinion and thinks that the sum may bear a reduction of one-fourth and the revenue of the Sultan may be taken at 539 lakhs; even this calculation in a subsequent part of the letter which gives it he thinks infinitely beyond the fact; "with

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[1] James Sibbald was the Company's commercial agent at Honaver He was later in charge of the Company's factory at Tellichery In his petition dated 10th December 1783 to the King of England for protection Shaikh Ayaz (*or* Ayat or Hyat Sahib), a governor of Bidnur, says " Mr. James Sibbald whom your servant has long been acquainted with is a man of the most penetrating genius . He was formerly deputed on the part of the Company to represent them at the Court of the Nawab Bahadur' (Hyder Ali). He had ever a friendly intercourse with that prince and was much respected and esteemed by him. Mr. Sibbald remained for the space of ten years at Hunawar, a sea-port in Biddanore. So long a residence there led him to obtain well-grounded information of the affairs of that province " (*Home Miscellaneous*, Vol. 178, p. 598-9).

[2] *Home Miscellaneous*. Vol 248, pages 278 and ff. The first two pages are missing, so the date and description of the document are uncertain

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Sibbald appears to have been followed in a document without date and name. (*Home Miscellaneons*. Vol. 251, page 137).

[5] I have been unable to find out who this Mr. Foster was, nor could I locate any of his letters or reports.

(says he) every admissible deduction such as the eventual failure of rents and tributes with a reasonable proviso also for the usual exaggeration of Indian computation, if it shall be allowed that the Mysore revenue produce four and a half crores of rupees, Tippoo Sultan must be held in the first rank among the Sovereigns of Hindustan." That even this sum is exaggerated is highly probable, but James Grant takes us to the other extreme. Grant also gives [1] the revenues of the different parts and concludes that "the whole of Tippoo's present effective revenue is under two crores of rupees or more precisely Rs. 1,90,05,206, tho' they have been usually rated in a total round sum at five or six million sterling." On this the same unknown writer comments: [2] "On comparing these opposite estimates it appears that that communicated by Mr. Sibbald must have been exaggerated at the time he gave it; that the estimate of Mr. Foster, on the other hand, is below the fact, and that Mr. Grant's estimate was still more below it;" and yet he concludes [3] that "the probable amount of the revenues might be computed at seven or eight million sterling." How this is less than the "exaggerated estimate of Sibbald" is not clear.

There is still another estimate ascribed to one of Tipu's officers.[4] According to this account "The full collections amounted to five crores and ninety-two lakhs of Canteroy pagodas (of three years each); the expense of the *sebundy*, etc., one and a half crore; deficiencies in the collections from various causes, which lay over, sixty

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[1] *Home Miscellaneous*, Vol 251, page 347.

[2] *Idem*, Vol. 248, pages 287 et seq.

[3] *Idem*, 288.

[4] *Idem*, pages 296–7. The manuscript is dated Madras, 1st December 1790, and states that the account is "taken from the information of Mahomed Khoushro who left Tippoo near Dindigal in May 1788."

Asiatic Annual Register for 1799 also contains this account and further says that William Kirkpatrick translated it from the original Persian. (*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1799, characters page 11).

lacks; for building and repairing forts, making docks and building ships, one crore and eighty-two lacks, paid into the treasury. two crores. Total five crores and ninety-two lacks." This estimate must be incorrect. If the revenue was, as the officer asserts, 592 lakhs of *Kanterai* pagodas or 17¾ crores of rupees, the figures are so high as scarcely to need refutation. No account hitherto considered ever mentions so high a figure. Further, it is highly improbable that Tipu's estimate of 1792 was less than one-eighth of the actual revenue.

Even if the figures should have stood for rupees, the preceding discussion shows that this estimate is far too high.

The conclusion that Tipu's accounts of 1792 were incorrect leads to a consideration of the question as to how far Tipu gained his object.

The allies were convinced of the falsity of the Sultan's accounts and therefore desired to employ their own estimate; but because of the protestations and entreaties of the Mysore *vakils* they agreed to add only 27 lakhs to Tipu's figures. In other words, the valuation of the various taluks was Tipu's with an addition to the total amount of revenue which, instead of 210 lakhs, was taken at 237 lakhs of pagodas. The acceptance of the Sultan's valuation subject to an addition to the *total* revenue appears to have been a serious mistake. It would perhaps have been more reasonable if the allies had insisted on receiving territories producing the whole of the additional sum.

The victors took all the over-valued territories except six taluks (3 in Furki, Anegondi and one of the two Kanakagiris) valued at 1,94,372 K. P. or about Rs. 5,82,000. The total estimated value of these districts ceded was, therefore, 31,13,542 K. P. or about Rs. 93,30,000. If these districts were over-rated by about 25 per cent, their real value would have been Rs. 74,64,000. The allies also took under-valued districts to the extent of 8,73,553 K. P. or about Rs. 26,20,000. If these were under-rated

by 50 per cent, their actual value was Rs. 52,40,000. Thus the actual value of the secessions was probably Rs. 1,27,04,000. Since the real yield of the kingdom was about 290 lakhs of rupees, the ceded territories should have amounted to 145 lakhs. The actual value of the ceded territories was, therefore, 18 lakhs too low, though the allies probably got 8½ lakhs more than they bargained for.

Tipu, on the contrary, retained under-valued districts rated at 52,40,000 rupees and six taluks in the over-rated districts to the amounts of Rs. 5,82,000. The actual revenue of the territories retained by him was 163 lakhs of rupees. Thus, by the device of under-valuing some districts and over-rating others, Tipu appears to have secured 18 lakhs of rupees more than his proper share and 36 lakhs more than his enemies got. He, therefore, to some extent, secured the object for which he had very probably divided his accounts into those of the outlying and of the ancient possessions.

Another consequence of Tipu's action was the difference in the shares really got by the allies. Each ally received, according to the Treaty, districts worth about 39½ lakhs of rupees but the actual values of the shares were far from equal.

	Tipu's valuation	Real value	
	K. P.	K. P.	Rs.
Over-rated Districts ...	5 35,960	4,28,768	12,86,304
Under-valued Districts ..	6,68,005	13,36,010	40,08,030
Profits, duties, etc. ...	1,12,800	1,12,800	3,37,400
Total ...	13,16,765	18,77,578	56,31,734

As discussed in the preceding pages, over-valuation is taken to have been 25 per cent and under-valuation

50 per cent Macleod, one of the British Officers administering the Baramahal District on their secession by Tipu to the Company, records that nine taluks in that district, which were valued at 1,34,000 K. P. in the Treaty, were actually worth 2,47,085 K. P. That is, from this area alone, the Company gained an advantage of nearly 3½ lakhs of rupees.

The Peshwa's share was:—

	Tipu's valuation	Real value	
	K P.	K. P.	Rs.
Over-rated territories .	12,76,062	10,20,848	30,62,544
Under-valued territories	40,604	81,204	2,43,612
Total .	13,16,666	11,02,052	33,06,156

The Nizam's share was:—

	Tipu's valuation	Real value	
	K P	K. P	Rs.
Over-rated districts ...	12,52,722	10,02,176	30,06,528
Under-valued districts ..	63,944	1,27,888	3,83,664
Total ...	13,16,666	11,30,064	33,90,192

While therefore according to the Partition Treaty of 1792 each of the allies received territories yielding about 39·5 lakhs, the actual shares were as below:—

	Rs.
Company	56·3 lakhs
Nizam	33·9 „
Mahrattas	33·0 „

These figures show *the great advantage* the Company got over its allies. Thus the false accounts of Tipu Sultan proved profitable not only to him but to the Company as well, the sufferers being the Nizam and the Mahrattas.

THE CORONATION OATH IN ANCIENT INDIA

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Mr. K. P. Jayaswal was the first scholar to draw the attention of the learned world to the 'coronation oath' and its great constitutional significance in ancient Indian polity. After explaining its origin, nature and effect, he sums up his views in the following words, in his Hindu Polity (Pt. II, pp. 49-50).

"Nations of antiquity and nations of our own times have devised coronation oaths for their kings. But none more forcibly brings to the notice of the new king the all-powerful, the all-sacred position of the country he is going to rule. To offend against the country was to offend against God Himself. Having once uttered this oath it was impossible to forget it. If a Hindu monarch failed to keep his coronation oath he would be *a-satya-pratijña* and *a-satya-sandha*, 'false in his vow,' and he would forfeit his title to remain on the throne."

In view of the great importance of the subject, I thought it necessary to scrutinise the evidence very carefully, and as I happen to differ fundamentally from Mr. Jayaswal I thought it best to open a discussion on this subject in the Oriental Conference.

The fundamental assumption of Mr. Jayaswal is that the oath was a solemn pledge given by the king to the people at the time *of election and formed* the basis *of the* constitutional relations between the ruler and the ruled. Unfortunately *the* evidence which he has cited does not bear this out in any way.

For the Vedic period Mr. Jayaswal has cited a passage from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. 'The coronation oath,' says he as given in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is in these terms :—

"Between the night I am born and the night I die, whatever good I might have done, my heaven, my life and my progeny may I be deprived of, if I oppress (injured) you" (*op. cit.* pp. 27-8).

It would appear from the context and general tenor of Mr. Jayaswal's arguments that these words were addressed by the king to the people. But this is by no means the case. The words are really addressed to the priest who inaugurates the Kshatriya king with the ceremony. Before the inauguration the priest suggests the form of oath to the king, an order obviously, to exalt his own power and to safeguard his own interests. This is clear from the passage preceding the oath which is quoted by Mr. Jayaswal. The priest, in effect, admonishes the king as follows : "Whatever pious works thou mightest have done during the time which may elapse from the day of thy birth to the day of thy death, all these, together with the position, thy good deeds, thy life, thy children, I would wrest from thee, shouldest thou do me any harm."

"The Kshatriya, then, who wishes to attain to all this, should well consider and say in good faith all that is abovementioned (thou mayest wrest from me, etc., etc.,)" (Ait. Br. Translated by Haug, pp. 357-8, Allahabad, 1922). There is absolutely nothing to suggest that the king gave any undertaking to the people or that his pledge had any constitutional significance save and except an abject submission to the priestly or spiritual authority.

There is no other passage in the Vedic literature directly supporting the theory of coronation oath as understood by Mr. Jayaswal. He admits it, but supports his position by pointing to what he considers to be direct allusions to the 'oath' in other Vedic texts. We may

quote his statement in full :—"The king-elect is unanimously regarded to have taken a vow (*dhṛitavrata*) before he is seated on the throne. The vow, promises, or oath is again alluded to in the Taittiriya Br., (I. 7. 10, 1-6) *Satya-sava* 'of true sacrifice,' Satya-dharmā 'of true (or faithful) conduct,' Satyānṛite Varuṇaḥ, 'Varuṇa is authority in truth (or oath) and falsehood (or faithlessness),' Satya-rājā 'true king.' To what engagement do these repeated expressions allude? The vow or engagement is not cited here. But, it is given in the very Indra ceremony in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa. Evidently that was universally adopted, as the testimony of later books and practice proves. It is therefore simply alluded to and not repeated in other Brāhmaṇas (op. cit., p. 27). It is needless to point out that none of the expressions cited by Mr. Jayaswal can be readily taken to refer to any 'vow' or 'oath.' The words '*vṛata*,' '*Satya*,' etc., can be easily interpreted as 'royal duty' or 'principles' as generally understood or laid down in scriptures.

The next evidence cited by Mr. Jayaswal is a passage from the Mahābhārata. After quoting the text of the oath, with English translation, (Hindu Polity, Pt. II, p. 45) Mr. Jayaswal adds: "To the royal oath the people pronounced 'Amen'."

Here, again, Mr. Jayaswal leads his readers to believe that the oath was administered to the king by the people at large. But nothing is further from truth. The passage occurs in the famous episode of Vena and Pṛithu. After killing the wicked king Vena, the *Brahmavādī Ṛishis* (sages) created, out of his right arm, Pṛithu who agreed to follow their behests, whatever they might be. Thereupon the Gods and Ṛishis asked him to promise that he should rule in a righteous manner. This is the passage quoted by Mr. Jayaswal. The context clearly shows that the passage has nothing to do with a coronation oath or even any pledge given to the people in general. Here, again, it is the Brāhmaṇas who extorted the undertaking, and the whole episode, like the passage in

Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, is an undisguised attempt on the part of the respective authors, to demonstrate the superiority of the priestly or the spiritual to the Kshatriya or the royal power.

This is still more forcibly brought out by the passage which immediately follows the solemn promise administered by the Gods and Sages.

" *Vainyas-tatas-tān-uvācha devān-ṛishi-purogamān* |
Brāhmaṇā me mahābhāga namasyāḥ purushārshabhaḥ ||
Evamastv-iti Vainyas-tu tairukto brahmavādibhih
(Śāntiparva, Ch. 59, vv. 109-110).

"Then the son of Vena told the Gods and ṛishis assembled before him 'the Brāhmaṇas, the best and foremost of men, are entitled to my obeisance'. . The Brahmavādins said: 'be it so'."

This last line is evidently the passage on which Mr. Jayaswal based his assertion that "To the royal oath the people pronounced 'Amen'!"

Referring to the whole episode in a footnote (pp. 47-48) Mr. Jayaswal practically admits the weakness of his theory and argues as follows in his own defence:- -

"In this description there is a tendency to appropriate the credit of destroyi (sic-destroying ?) the pseudo-historical tyrant, to Brahma philosophers and *Ṛishis*. There are clear traces of a subsequent brahmanisation of the theory in certain places. All the varṇas, it is said in the beginning of the chapter, went to the Creator for advice on the appointment and election of a king. Why in subsequent procedure, then, should the *Ṛishis* alone figure prominently? The reply may be given that *Ṛishis* were from and represented, all the three Aryan *varṇas*. Yet there is no doubt as to a leaning towards Brahmin prominence."

This argument is extremely, weak. I have not been able to trace the passage, "in the beginning of the chapter," which says that "all the *varṇas* went to the Creator for advice on the appointment and election of a king." But

even supposing they did, it does not follow that they had any share in the subsequent transactions. According to the Calcutta edition of the text of the Mahābhārata which Mr. Jayaswal has followed, it is the Gods who approached Brahmā, and the same text definitely attributes to the Rishis (sages) the destruction of Vena, and the establishment of Prithu with all that accompanies it. And there cannot be any doubt about the underlying motive, which, as I have explained above, is a bold assertion of the supremacy of the spiritual over temporal power. It is no doubt legitimate to deduce from the above passage something about the high ideals of kingship and royal duty, but of any constitutional guarantee such as is implied by the coronation oath, there cannot be any question whatsoever.

Lastly, M. Jayaswal has cited two historical instances to prove "that the coronation oath was not an empty formality." This, in his opinion, "is evidenced by the fact that kings at times said with pride that they were true to their oaths" (op. cit, p. 50).

The first instance cited by Mr. Jayaswal is that of the "Hinduised Rudradāman," who "was anxious to declare in his inscription that he was *satyapratijña*, that he never levied taxes which were not lawful" (p. 50). Mr. Jayaswal evidently refers to the expression "*a-prān-occhvāsāt-purusha-vadha-nivritti-krita-satyapratijñena anyatra sangrāmeshu*" contained in lines 9-10 of the Junāgadh Inscription of Rudradāman (Ep. Ind., VIII, p. 43). The passage has been translated as follows by Prof. Kielhorn who edited the inscription, "who made, and is true to, the vow to the latest breath of his life to abstain from slaying men, except in battles" (Ibid p. 47). No body has yet challenged the correctness of this interpretation, and it is difficult to see how, even by the remotest stretch of imagination, one can detect anything about a coronation oath in the words quoted above.

The second instance cited by Mr. Jayaswal is that of the Maurya king Brihadratha. Thus he says:

"The charge of breaking the oath was at times constructively extended. If the monarch failed to maintain the integrity of the state he was considered guilty of breaking his vow. Bṛihadratha Maurya who was weak as ruler and during whose reign the Greeks made a second attempt at conquering India, was removed from the throne, and was called (*e.g.* by Bāṇa) weak in keeping his *pratijñā* (Pratijñā-durbala)."

The passage in question occurs in the sixth chapter of Bāṇa's Harshacharita, and runs as follows :—

" *Prajñādurvalam . . . . Senānīr-anāryo Mauryaṁ Bṛihadrathaṁ pipesha Pushpamitraḥ Svāminam* " *pp.* 198-9).

The Nirṇayasāgara Press edition from which I have quoted has '*Prajña durvalam*' instead of '*Pratijñā-durvalam* and the texts consulted by Cowell and Thomas had evidently the same reading as they translate the word as 'foolish'. Führer's Edition has also the same 'reading' but even assuming that some editions have *Pratijñā-durvalam*, and that this is the correct word, it can only be taken to mean 'weak and irresolute' and can hardly be taken to refer to the coronation oath, unless there is something in the context to that effect. As there is no such thing in the text before us it is impossible to accept Mr. Jayaswal's views, quoted above.

It would thus appear that no evidence has yet been brought forward, which even gives rise to a reasonable presumption that there was a constitutional guarantee in the shape of a coronation oath in ancient India. The notion has, however, been made very familiar by Mr. Jayaswal's writings, and in the prevailing atmosphere of Indian politics, caught the imagination of the public. I therefore consider it necessary that the whole question should be calmly discussed with a view to find out the truth.

THE CEYLON EXPEDITION OF JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA PĀṆḌYA

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About the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was ruled by two rulers—there might have been others—a Sundara Pāṇdya and a Vīra Pāṇḍya, both bearing the prenomen Jaṭāvarman. The former is the most celebrated of the rulers of the second empire, a great warrior and builder, whose achievements are found recorded in a number of inscriptions in Sanskrit and Tamil. These inscriptions occur in all the Tamil districts and in Nellore and Cuddapah. Sundara Pāṇḍya, whose reign began towards the close of April 1251 A.D. was ably assisted by Vīra Pāṇḍya who came to power about two years later. The inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya, not yet as well studied as those of his elder contemporary, often corroborate and confirm facts recorded in Sundara's inscriptions. We shall consider the more important records of Vīra Pāṇḍya and in particular discuss the relations between the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and Ceylon in this period; incidentally we shall see that the Pāṇḍyas must have maintained a live contact with the Hindu kingdoms across the seas, a contact of which we have only a very few traces left in contemporary records.

Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscription says that he levied a tribute of precious jewels and elephants from the ruler of Ceylon :

tulangoḷi maṇiyuñ-jūḷi vēḷamuṁ
Ilaṅgai kāvalanai-yiṟai koṇḍaruḷi.

In the subjugation of Ceylon that is hinted at here, Vīra Pāṇḍya must have taken a prominent part; and this becomes clear from the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The Ceylonese chronicle *Cūlavamsa* has also preserved data of great value for a correct understanding of the occurrences in Ceylon.[1]

The exaction of the tribute of elephants and pearls from the ruler of Ceylon is mentioned in the inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya from his seventh regnal year, *i.e.* from about 1258 A.D.[2] In the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya, the conquest of Ceylon is briefly mentioned together with that of the Cōla country and the subjugation of the Śāvaka ruler in the words:

"In the tenth year of King Jatāvarman *alias* Tribhuvankacakravatin Śrī Vīra, Pāṇḍya-dēva who was pleased to take the Šōnādu, Īḷam and the Śāvagan's crown together with his crowned head."[3] The tenth year of Vīra Pāṇḍya would be about 1263 A.D. and in an inscription dated the 73rd day of the eleventh year, we find detailed account of the expedition against Ceylon

[1] Attention was drawn to the passages in the *Culavamsa* by Kern in 1896—*Twee Krijgstochten* uit den Indischen Archipel tegen Ceilon (BKI, 1896, pp 240-45), Ferrand was, I think, the first writer to connect the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya with the *Culavamsa* account of the invasions against Ceylon—*JA*: 11 20 (1922), pp. 47-51 and 226-9), I have not seen Krom's article *De ondergang van Śrīvijaya* in the 'Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde'—Deel 62, Serie B, No. 5 (1926) pp. 149-71 —which is characterised by Coedes as 'une remarquable essai de synthese historique' The paper '*A propos de la chute du royaume de Śrivijaya*' (BKI, 1927, pp. 459 ff) of the last mentioned writer is important See also Krom—*Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, pp. 334-5.

[2] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 161.

[3] 588 of 1916. The text (1 1) is Svasti Śrī Kōccaḍaiya-panmarāna tiripuvanac-cakravattigaḷ Śōṇāḍum-Īḻamum Sāvagan muḍiyum muḍittalaiyun goṇḍaruḷiya śrī Vīra-Pāṇḍiya-dēvar-kku yāṇḍu 10—vadu For the meaning of *muḍittalaikoṇḍaruḷiya* see— *The Colas*, i., p. 170.

and of the part of the Śāvaka ruler in it. So far the full text of this account is available in only one copy, that from Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkottah State.[1] This account is part of a long *praśasti* of Vīra Pāṇḍya beginning *tirumagaḷ vaḷar mulai*; but an inscription from Sēndamaṅgalam dated in the ninth year (1262)[2] with this *praśasti* does not contain the long passage relating to the Ceylon expedition; while another version of the same *praśasti* from Āttūr (Tinnevelly District)[3] is of no use, as it is fragmentary and undated. Two other versions of the same *praśasti* have been traced in Daḷapatisamudram (Tinnevelly District) both dated in the fourth year (1257)[4] and neither containing the passage relating to the Ceylon expedition.

Now, all these inscriptions, even those which do not contain the narrative of the Ceylon expedition, give a long list of countries that acknowledged the suzerainty of Vīra Pāṇḍya and sent tributes to his palace; this list includes Kaḍāram[5] besides China and Rāmañña (Arumaṇam). I do not think that the mention of Kaḍāram here has any historical significance. It only means that Kaḍāram was one of the countries known to the composer of the *praśasti*. Hence the occurrence Kaḍāram in the high-flown list of subject countries in 1257 cannot be taken to mean that a conflict between Vīra Pāṇḍya and the king of Kaḍāram had taken place by that time, and that Vīra Pāṇḍya had come out victorious in it. The exact context in which Kaḍāram occurs in these inscriptions will be seen from the following section of the *praśasti*:—

"Gangam, Gauḍam, Kaḍāram, Kāśipam, Kongam, Kudiram, Kōsalam, Māḷuvam, Arumaṇam, Śōnagam,

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[1] 356 of 1906 Pd. 366.

[2] 480 of 1930.

[3] 467 of 1930.

[4] 8 and 9 of 1929. The regnal year of No. 9 is clear in the impression.

[5] ARE. 1912 II 39. 467 of 1930, however, does not include this name.

Cīnam, Avanti, Karunaḍam, Īḷam, Kalingam, Telingam, Pepanam (?), Daṇḍakam (or Daṇḍanam (?), and Paṇḍaram —the kings of these and all other lands, and the strong *maṇḍalikas*, having entered the victorious gate of the palace in the jewelled mansions of which the three drums reverberated, awaited the convenience (of Vīra Pāṇḍya), made obeisance at his feet and presented before him the dark elephants and the treasure (they had brought as tribute)."

It will be seen that this is court-poetry, not histoy; the names of countries have been chosen with a view to euphony and metrical effects, and there is no attempt here to state facts.

The Kudumiyāmalai version of the *praśasti* is, as has been pointed out already, unique in its account of the Ceylon war of Vīra Pāṇḍya. The text is corrupt and not easy to make out in all its details. This part of the *praśasti* opens with a statement of the object of the expedition; there are serious gaps in the text here, but we can see that there was some dispute in Ceylon, that one of the ministers had invoked Pāṇḍyan intercession, and that the king's aim was to uphold in proper form the ancient practice of royalty (*araiśiyal vaḷakkam neṟippaḍu nāṭṭuṅguṟippinuḷ*). Then we learn that among the kings of Ceylon one was killed on the battlefield and all his troops, treasures and paraphernalia confiscated (*araiśu-keḷu-dāyam aḍaiya vāri*), after which the double carp (the Pāṇḍya emblem) was put upon the fine flags waving on the Kōṇamalai and the Trikūtagiri, another king (of Ceylon) was compelled to surrender his elephants as tribute. Finally, the son of the Śāvaka, who had formerly disregarded commands and evinced hostility, came and prostrated (before Vīra Pāṇḍya) and was duly rewarded. The text is difficult here and so far as I can make it out, the Śāvaka's son was presented with the anklet of heroes (Vīrakkaḷal), was taken round in procession on an elephant, and was permitted to proceed at once to Anurāpuri[1]

[1] This important statement is based on what I consider the most likely emendation of an obscure phrase. *Vide* Appendix where I give the text with some notes on readings.

because it was thought (by Vīra Pāṇḍya) that it was only proper that the son should rule the vast land of Ceylon formerly ruled by his father.

So far the evidence of Pāṇḍyan inscriptions. The facts ascertained from them may be set down as follows:—

1255 A.D.—Kaḍāram mentioned in Vīra Pāṇḍya's *praśasti*.

1258 A.D.—Ceylonese king already subject to Sundara Pāṇḍya.

1263 A.D.—Vīra Pāṇḍya's conquest of Īḷam and the Śāvagan first mentioned.

1264 A.D.—Details of the expedition of Vīra Pāṇḍya against Ceylon, its two kings, and the son of the Śāvaga (Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription which like other inscriptions from 1255 onwards includes Kaḍāram among states tributary to Vīra Pāṇḍya)

If these facts were all that we had access to, we should be inclined to disregard the rhetorical mention of Kaḍāram in Vīra Pāṇḍya's *praśasti* as of no historical value, and to hold that the Śāvagan or his son who made his submission to Vīra Pāṇḍya after a futile effort at resistance was a representative of some alien line that had established itself in a part of Ceylon; for we know that the island was for a long time the happy hunting ground of adventurers from different lands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and that bickerings among rival dynasties of Kaliṅga, Tamil and Malayāla and even N. Indian origin, and military risings and civil commotions disturbed the peace of the land.[1]

Let us now turn to the evidence from the side of Ceylon. By Geiger's scheme of chronology, all the dates given above from Pāṇḍyan inscriptions fall in the reign of Parakkamabāhu II, 1236-71 A. D.[2] The *Cūḷavamsa* gives a glowing account of this reign and does not record any reverses experienced by the Ceylonese ruler. To-

[1] Cf. The *Colas*, i., pp. 296 ff., and Codrington: *Short History of Ceylon*, Chh. IV and V.

[2] *Cūlavamsa*, ii., p. xiv.

wards the end of his reign, on the other hand, King Parakkamabāhu sums up his own achievements as follows :—[1]

" From my father I have inherited alone (the province of) Māyāraṭṭha but have now again conquered the two other provinces and brought the three kingdoms completely under one umbrella. All the Damiḷas who were for him invincible, I have vanquished and all the kings of the Vanni dwelling here and there in mountain and wilderness I have brought over to my side. Having spread my fame everywhere also in foreign lands, I have for long held sway in just fashion. I have brought hither king's daughters from Jambudīpa with gifts and thereby made the nobles in the foreign land your kinsmen. The heroes of the Paṇḍus and the Cōḷas, the kings sprung from the dynasties of the Sun and Moon, have sent me diadems and ornaments."

The relation between Ceylon and the Tamil kingdoms depicted here is directly opposed to the evidence of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions ; not only is there no question here of the subordination of Ceylon to Pāṇḍya rule, but there is not even a hint of the campaign of Vīra Pāṇḍya, and the Pāṇḍyan and Cōḷa rulers are said to have honoured the Ceylonese ruler by sending him presents.

The Jāvakas are mentioned twice in this period in the Cūḷavamsa.[2] On both occasions they invaded Ceylon under the leadership of Candabhānu and were repulsed. The first occasion was in the 11th year of Parakkamabāhu II, say 1247 A.D. :—[3]

" When the eleventh year of the reign of this king had arrived, a king of the Jāvakas known by the name of Candabhānu landed with a terrible Jāvaka army under the treacherous pretext that they also were followers of the Buddha. All these wicked Jāvaka soldiers who invaded

[1] CV ch. 87, vv. 24–29.

[2] This is the continuation of the *Mahāvamsa* and often described by that name.

[3] CV. ch. 83 vv. 36–48.

every landing place and who with their poisoned arrows, like to terrible snakes, without ceasing harassed the people whomever they caught sight of, laid waste, raging in their fury, all Lankā. Just as flashes of lightning with floods of water (visit) a place destroyed by lightning with flames of fire, so Lankā which had been harassed by Māgha and others was ravaged anew by the Jāvakas. Then the king sent forth his sister's son, the heroic prince Vīrabāhu with soldiers to fight the Jāvakas. The fearful Rāhu, namely Vīrabāhu, with his terrible appearance completely destroyed (the moon-light, namely) Candabhānu in the fields of heaven, namely in the battle. He placed his heroic Sīhala soldiers here and there and began to open fight with the Jāvaka warriors. The good Sīhala warriors, sure in aim, the archers, shattered in pieces with their sharply pointed arrows, in the battle the countless number of arrows whizzing against them with their poisoned tips which were shot swiftly one after the other by the Jāvaka soldiers from a machine. Going forth to the combat like Rāma, Prince Vīrabāhu slew numbers of Jāvakas, as Rāma slew the Rakkasas. The *Veramba* wind, namely Vīrabāhu, possessed of great vehemence, shattered again and again the forest wilderness, namely the Jāvaka foes. After thus putting to flight the Jāvakas in combat, he freed the whole region of Lankā from the foe."

At the time of the second inroad of Candabhānu, Parakkamabāhu II was no longer ruling actively, but was occupying himself in works of piety after laying the burden of the government on his son Vijayabāhu IV. This means that the invasion took place sometime about 1271 A.D. or a little earlier. "At that time the Lord of men Candabhānu, formerly beaten after hard fighting, having collected from the countries of the Paṇḍus and Cōḷas and elsewhere many Damiḷa soldiers, representing a great force, landed with his Jāvaka army in Mahātittha. After the king had brought over to his side the Sīhalas dwelling in Padi, Kurundi and other districts, he marched to

Subhagiri. He set up there an armed camp and sent forth messengers with the message: 'I shall take Tisīhala; I shall not leave it to thee. Yield up to me therefore together with the tooth relic of the sage, the bowl relic and the royal dominion. If thou wilt not, then fight.' Thereupon Vijayabāhu summoned the Ruler Vīrabāhu, took counsel with him, had a strong force equipped for him and spake: 'Hurrah, to-day both of us shall see the strength of our arms.' Then the two set forth, surrounded the great army of Candrabhānu on all sides and fought a great battle, terrible as a combat of Rāma. Then were the hostile warriors subdued in battle, and weaponless, the soldiers of the foe wandered around, prayed and implored, tortured by fear, were benumbed, trembled, begged for mercy in the fight, whined and grieved full of terror. In their distress certain of the foe fled to the forest, others to the sea, others again to the mountains. After Vijayabāhu had thus fought and slain many soldiers, he sent the Lord of men Candrabhānu flying defenceless. But the loveliest women of his court and all the elephants and horses, the swords and many other weapons, the entire treasure, the trumpets of victory, the banner of victory—all these he sent to his father.

"Having in this way fought the fiery battle, conquered the province and won the Victory, he united Lankā under the umbrella of his dominions".[1]

In 1896, Kern, who first drew attention to these passages in the Ceylonese chronicle, pointed out that in the second half of the 13th century no prince of the name Candrabhānu was known to Javanese history, and that he might have been a prince from Sumatra (also called Jāvaka sometimes) though little was known of the state of affairs in Sumatra at the time.[2] More recently, Ferrand explained the term Jāvaka as applicable to Sumatra;[3] but Bosch has expressed the view that the term must be

[1] CV. Ch. 88. vv. 62-76.
[2] TBG. (VI 2). 46 (1896), pp. 244-45.
[3] JA. 11 : 20 (1922), pp. 163 ff, esp. 172.

taken to stand for the entire island kingdom (het geheele eilandenrijk) ruled by the Mahārāja and in particular, the present Java;[1] Coedes has argued that Jāvaka, though phonetically corresponding to Zābag of the Arab writers, need not necessarily be its geographical equivalent, and that it is best accepted as simply an ethnic name for all Indonesians—simplement un nom ethnique designant les Indonesians.[2]

Krom was the first writer to accept fully Ferrand's identification of Jāvaka with Sumatra, treat Chandrabhānu accordingly as ruler of Śrī Vijaya, and attribute to the unfortunate expeditions of Candrabhānu against Ceylon a large share in bringing about the downfall of the Sumatran empire of Śrī Vijaya towards the end of the thirteenth century;[3] for the empire weakened by the reverses sustained by Candrabhānu was unable to resist aggressions of the Thai of Sukhodaya from the north and of King Kṛtanāgara from Java.

This thesis of Krom was the subject of a critical examination by Coedes[4] in the light of a fresh study of the Candrabhānu inscription of Jaiya (1230 A.D.) first published by him in 1918. He pointed out that there was no reason to consider Candrabhānu a ruler of Śrī Vijaya, as neither Śrī Vijaya nor the Śailendravamśa was mentioned in his inscription of 1230 A.D. On the contrary, Candrabhānu describes himself as of the Padmavamśa or Kamalakula and as lord of the Pāñcāṇḍavamśa, whatever this may mean. It is best to regard him therefore as a local ruler of Tāmbralinga.

Coedes justifies the identification of Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription with Candrabhānu, the king of the Jāvakas, of the *Cūḷavamsa* narrative on two grounds: (1) the inhabitants of Tāmbralinga might well have been

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1 TBG. 64 (1924).

2 BKI. 83 (1927), p. 463.

3 *De Ondergang Van Crivijaya* as summarised by Coedes BKI. 83 (1927), p. 459.

4 *A propos de la chute du Royaume de Crivijaya*, BKI. 83 (1927).

described as Jāvakas, a general ethnic term as pointed out before, because, before the advent of the Thai, they differed little from the people of Sumatra, Jāvaka *par excellence*, and because Tāmbralinga had been for a time a dependency of Śrī Vijaya (Sumatra); (2) both the Candrabhānus are clearly Buddhists.

On the chronology of Candrabhanu's invasions, Coedes accepts a suggestion from Jouveau-Dubreuil, and applying a correction of fifteen years to Wijesimha's dates for Parakkamabāhu II, gets 1225-1260 as the period of his rule and places the two invasions against Ceylon in 1236 and 1256. He finds confirmation of these dates, particularly the second one, in a tradition preserved in the *Jinakālamālinī*, composed at the beginning of the 16th century. While it seems probable enough that the peaceful embassy to Ceylon from Siridhammarāja mentioned in the *Jinakālamālinī* has some relation to the facts mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa*,[1] I am not so sure that the work is of any great value. And the correction of fifteen years made on the suggestion of Jouveau-Dubreuil in the chronology of Wijesimha is somewhat arbitrary. The argument based on the chronology of the Pāṇḍyan civil war is not conclusive, because the chronology of the reign of Rājādhirāja II is involved in much obscurity, and it is by no means clear that the civil war commenced between 1163 and 1168. On the other hand, the scheme of chronology put forward recently by Geiger in his translation of the *Cūḷavamsa* is based on much careful research and, so far as I know, it works very well indeed from the standpoint of South Indian History. On this scheme we have seen that the two invasions fall in 1247 and say 1267-71. Even with these dates, there is no insuperable chronological difficulty in identifying Candrabhānu of the *Mahāvamsa* with his namesake of the Jaiya inscription; but if we assume that the second

[1] 'Il y a certainment quelque rapport entre les faits relates dans le mahavamsa, et., ceux que fait connaitre la *Jinakālamālinī*' Coedes; BKI. ibid p. 465.

invasion took place after the commencement of the reign of Vijayabāhu, *i.e.*, in 1271 or 1272, we get an unduly long interval between the Jaiya inscription and the second inroad.

Coedes finds another justification for his date, 1256, for the second inroad of Candrabhānu, and his line of argument, drawn from Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, is such as to lead him to the conclusion that the *Mahāvamsa* account of the second invasion of Candrabhānu and the narrative of the Ceylon campaign in Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscription are just different accounts of the same transactions. The position he takes is not without its difficulties, and he recognises them fully. He says:[1] " For what reason Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya turned in the sequel against his old ally the Jāvaka king, it is difficult to make out in the midst of the contradictory data furnished by Indian epigraphy and the Sinhalese chronicle. What was exactly the result of the campaign of 1256? The defeat of the king of Ceylon and of the king of the Jāvakas, say the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions;—a victory for the Sinhalese army and the defeat of the Jāvaka, says the *Mahāvamsa*. On a closer view, these answers, apparently contradictory, are in accord on one point: the defeat of the Jāvaka. The *Mahāvamsa*, in fact, speaks only of the defeat of the Jāvakas, without saying anything of their Indian allies, whose pretensions to victory are perhaps not wholly unjustified. It is after all the unhappy Candrabhānu that had to pay the whole cost of his enterprise."

Now let us see how, according to Coedes, the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions support the date 1256. Vīra Pāṇḍya's records fix his Ceylon expedition between 1254 and 1265; but his co-ruler Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions state that his conquest of Ceylon took place before his ninth year, *i.e.*, 1259, so that the actual date must lie between 1254 and 1259; we may therefore conclude that

[1] BKI. *ibid* p. 467.

the Pāṇḍyas who aided Candrabhānu in 1256 were no other than the two rulers just mentioned.

Plausible as this reasoning sounds, a closer analysis of the Pāṇḍyan records makes it difficult to accept it. We have shown above that Jaṭāvarman Sundara claims to have subjugated the Ceylonese ruler before 1258; but the campaign in which the Sāvagan is involved is not mentioned in any of Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscriptions earlier than 1263, and we do not get the details in the *tirumagaḷ Vaḷar* praśasti till the next year, though the praśasti itself occurs in inscriptions of the fourth and ninth years of Vīra Pāṇḍya, *i.e.*, of A.D. 1257 and 1262. We have therefore no reason to suppose that Sundara Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya fought together in the same campaign[1] or that that campaign was fought in 1256. In fact the date 1256 which appeared to Coedes the strongest point in his demonstration is not borne out in fact either by the *Mahāvamsa* or the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions, and that being so, not much importance can be attached to the evidence of the *Jinakālamālinī*.

Again it should be noted that we have no evidence that Candrabhānu and the Pāṇḍya king were friends in the first instance, and that the Pāṇḍya turned against Candrabhānu at a later stage. All that we learn from the *Mahāvamsa* is that before he undertook his second expedition against Ceylon, he recruited soldiers in the Pāṇḍya and Cōḷa countries, *i.e.*, in the Tamil country generally; and we have no reason to suppose that these soldiers were sent by the kings of the land, that, indeed, they were anything more than mere mercenaries in search of adventure and a livelihood.

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[1] See the present writer's *Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, Chh. XI and XII for an account of the reigns of these kings. Sundara was doubtless the principal ruler assisted by Vīra Pāṇḍya, and as Sundara was a great warrior, it is quite possible that early in his reign he fought in Ceylon and won some minor success. We have seen that the *Mahāvamsa* is silent on the Pāṇḍyan inroads.

If we grant that the two Candrabhānus of Jaiya inscription and of the *Mahāvamsa* are identical, and further assume that the *Śāvagan* or the *Śāvagan-maindan* (son of the Śāvaga) of the inscriptions of Vīra Pāṇḍya is also the same person, we get the following data regarding him:

1230 A. D.—Inscription of Jaya

1247 A. D.—First expedition against Ceylon

Before 1263 A. D.—Defeat at the hands of Vīra Pāṇḍya in Ceylon

C. 1270 A. D.—Second war with Ceylon aided by Damiḷa mercenaries.

Let me add that the evidence of Vīra Pāṇḍya's inscription from Kudumiyāmalai shows, not that Vīra Pāṇḍya was at first the ally of Candrabhānu and later on became his enemy and killed him as has been thought,[1] but rather that the Śāvaga was at first unwilling to acknowledge Vīra Pāṇḍya's suzerainty, that subsequently he made obeisance to Vīra Pāṇḍya (*talamirundiraiñja*), and he was duly rewarded by Vīra Pāṇḍya with presents and was allowed to rule Ceylon, perhaps a part of it, on the score that it was but proper that the son should rule the land once ruled by his father. It seems to me that all the facts attested by our sources can be accounted for only on one of two assumptions: either Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription was not identical with the other Candrabhānu, or some years after the Jaiya inscription he must have sought a career in Ceylon and met with a considerable amount of success in his endeavour. In any event, the Candrabhānu of the *Mahāvamsa*, if he was identical with the Ṣāvaga of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions, as perhaps he was,[2] found it possible to put up a big fight after a long interval after the first war with Parakkamabāhu, maintained diplomatic connections with the Pāṇḍyas,

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[1] Coedes, BKI. *ibid*, p. 466.

[2] Candrabhānu is called the king of the Jāvakas in the *Mahāvamsa*, not of Jāvakam. And the Pāṇḍyan inscription speaks of a Śāvagan or Śāvagan maindan.

raised a Tamil army in South India to supplement the strength he derived from the nucleus of Malay adventurers who had gone over with him, and apparently ruled a part of Ceylon by right of conquest and perhaps even transmitted it to his son, though he had to acknowledge Pāṇdyan suzerainty for a time.

Much still remains vague and uncertain; but the history of Ceylon is a confused tangle and the *Mahāvamsa* does not always tell the whole story. Tamil inscriptions also often exaggerate the achievements of Tamil kings of Ceylon. I have only sought to suggest a tentative hypothesis for reconciling all the authentic date we have been able to draw from our sources.

There remains the question whether the Śāvaga opponent of Vīra Pāndya had anything to do with Kaḍāram, and whether we derive any light from the story of Candrabhānu's adventures on the downfall of the empire of Śrī Vijaya Coedes says: 'The inscription of 1264 mentions the victory over the king of the Jāvakas, but does not speak of Kaḍāram; that of 1265 mentions the victory against Kaḍāram, but does not speak of the Jāvaka.' Kadāram then was under Candrabhānu, the ruler of Tāmbralinga, who, it has been shown had nothing to do with Śrī Vijaya or the Śailendras. It is clear that the designation 'king of Kadāram' applied to the Śailendras of Śrī Vijaya in the 11th century came to apply to a local ruler of Tāmbralinga by the middle of the 13th century. If we recall the importance of the possession of Kaḍāram to the prosperity of the maritime empire of Śrī Vijaya, we shall not be wrong in dating the decline of Śrī Vijaya from this period, if not earlier.[1]

It will be seen that the whole argument here rests on the supposed antithesis between the inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh years of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya. This antithesis is however not real; for while both the inscriptions mention the defeat of the Śāvaka, the later record in more detail than the earlier, Kaḍāram occurs

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[1] BKI. *ibid*, pp. 467-8.

only in the later record in an impossible list of states tributary to the Pāṇḍyan king. We have discussed this list already and shown that no historical value can attach to the inclusion of Kaḍāram in such a list. In short, we have no evidence that Candrabhānu of the Jaiya inscription had Kaḍāram under his control. For to include Kaḍāram among his possessions we must be able to establish two propositions: (1) that he was identical with the Śāvaka of the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions and (2) that the Pāṇḍyan records describe the Śāvagan as king of Kāḍaram. The first proposition is probable, though not demonstrably so; the dates on Geiger's scheme raise a doubt on this point. The second proposition seems to have its origin in the somewhat inaccurate summary of the inscription of the 11th year of Vīra Pāṇḍya given in the Madras Epigraphy report of 1912 and reproduced by Ferrand.

The other arguments adduced by Coedes for dating the decline of Śrī Vijaya from 1178 A.D. are left untouched by this result of our examination of the Pāṇḍyan inscriptions.

APPENDIX.

THE KUḌUMIYĀMALAI INSCRIPTION OF JAṬĀVARMAN VĪRA-PĀṆḌYADĒVA (356 OF 1906).

TEXT.

1. Tirumagaḷ vaḷar mulai tiru mārpu taḷaippa[1]
porumagaḷ vanamulai[2] puyam punarndu kaḷippa
nan-moḻi [3]nānmiśaic-conmagaḷ iruppa t-
tiśaigaḷ eṭṭinumiśaima-
gaḷ[4] vaḷara
2. iru mūṉṟu samaiyamum oru mūṉṟu tamiḻum
vēda nāṅkum nīdiyil viḷaṅga
Gaṅgam Gauḍam Kaḍāram Kāśipam
Kongam Kudiram Kōsalam Māluvam
Arumaṇam Śōnagam Śīnam A
vanti
3. Karunaḍam Īḻam Kalingam Telingam
Pepanam Taṇḍagam[5] Paṇḍaram mudali(ya*)
embuli[6] vēndarum igal maṇḍalīgarum
mum-muraiśu muḻaṅgum śemmaṇi māḷigai
kōyir koṟṟa vāyiṟ pugundu
4. kālam pārttuk-kaḷal iṇai panindu
nīla vēḻamum nediyamum kāṭṭa
pūviri śōlaik-kāvikkaḷattu[7] c-
Cōḻan poruda vēḷappōril
madap-piṟṟāṟāk-kadak-kaḷi-yānai
tuḷakka (i*) c-cemboṟṟoḍikkaiyiṟ
5. vaḷaittu mēṟkoṇḍu vāgai pidittu śūḍiya[8]
talaippērāṇmai tanittani-yeḍuttu
kalaikkavirājar kavinpeṟat-tudippa
śeṟṟa[9] mannar titāttiyāmal (?)[10]

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[1] taḷaipaḍa
[2] vaḷarmulai
[3] Read nā-
[4] num Jayamagaḷ
[5] Tandaram
[6] eppuvi (?)
[7] Kāvirikkaḷattu
[8] śūḍi
[9] teṟṟa
[10] tiśaiyaṟiyāmal (?)

oṟṟai-yāḻi-yulagu valamā[1]
ē —
6. nai mannavar iṟaikoḍiṟaiñja[2]
mīnavar koḍi mēruvilōnga[3]
Vaḍuvarikkoḍungūl vaḻangā vannam
naḍuvu nilai śengōl nāḍoṟum naḍappa
ettiśaimannarum irungali kaḍindu
mutta ve —
7. ṉkuḍai muḻunilavu śoriya
oru moḻi tarippap-puvı muḻudundan
mada-mārpu vilanga mani-muḍi śūdi
uraı keḻu (mara*)pil araıśıyal vaḻakkam
neṟıppaḍa nāṭṭum kuṟippinul ...... ṭṭiśain (da*)
tıruppādam śe ... . tirunda mandıri
8. śaranamai tıgalndinıdu nōkkı muranmigu sırappil
Īḻamannar[4] ılaguvarıl oruvanai
vīḻapporudu[5] vinmiśaı-yēṟrı
urimaiccuṟṟamum uykulam pukkut-
tarumaı yāṉmaiyum pala-
9. padaıppuravıyum
kanamanittērum śinavadam(ā*) rum
nagattōdum navamanikkuvaiyum
āḍagattıriyum[6] arı—āśanamum
mudiyum kadgamum muḻumaṉi-yāramum
kodiyun-gudaiyum kulır veṉkavariyum
muraśuñ-jan—
10. gamum tandu mudali(ya*)
arairukelu dāyam adaıya vāri
Kānāmannavar kandu kandēnga
Kōnamalaiyinum Tırıkūdagıriyınum
urukeḻu kodımıśaı-yıru kayoleḻudi
ēnaivendanai ānaı tıṟai koṇḍu
11. panḍ-
ēval śeyyādıgal śeydirunda
Śāva(ga*)n maindan talamı[7]rundiṟaiñja
vīrakkaḻal vira(va*) laraic-cūṭṭit-

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[1] yulaguḷalamara (?)
[2] iḍaṟkodiṟaindu
[3] So Dalapatisamudram version (8 of 1929). Others read *Koḍı-ttēruvılēnga*
[4] Iḻḻa-
[5] viḻḻa-
[6] -kkiriyum (?)
[7] nalām-

tirukkoḷam alaivāppaḍan kaḷittu (?)
vaḷangi aruḷi muḷangu kaḷiṟēṟi
pār muḷudaṟiya ūrva-
12. lañje(y*) vittu
tandai yāṇḍa tadangaḍal-Īḷam
maindaṉ pe......gum[1] marapena ninaippiṭ-
ṭaraisiḍa magindu ānūrpuriccu (?)[2]
viraiyaccelgena viḍaikoḍuttaruḷi
yāgam aḍandai anbudan śātti
vāgai śūda ma-
13. dumaṉagamaḷa
vārndavenkavarin vādalun-deṉṟalum
vēndar viśa vīraśingādanattu
kapakandaḷuviya kāmar valla ....
14 .... da
pori oḍi punaindu malarnda malarkkoḷum
paripuraiccirradi ulagamuḷuduḍaiyārodum
vīṟṟirundaruḷiya svasti śrī ko-
15. ccaḍaipanmaṟāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattigal
śiri Vīrapāṇḍiya dēvarku yandu 11—vadu
173 nāl ..... .

Abstract of contents (with some notes).

Lines 1—4.

To *nediyamum-kātta*—Rhetorical praise of the king's rule Unhistorical Note the list of tributary countries (Gangam to Paṇḍaram) which includes Kaḍāram as the third name, only one version of the *praśasti* omits it.

Lines 4—5.

puviri śolai to *tudippa* A fight at Kāvi(ri)kkalam with the Cōḷa king in which Vira Pāṇḍya captured several elephants, a victory praised by poets in many ways.

Lines 5—7.

śeṟṟa mannar ... mani muḍiśudi, the distress of enemy kings, the power and justice of Pāṇḍyan rule. From this point all versions of this *praśasti* except the Kuḍumiyāmalai one pass direct to l. 12 *yāgamaḍandai, etc.*

Lines 7—12.

Account of Ceylon expedition · opens with an appeal from the Ceylonese minister (*mandiri*) to the Pāṇḍya, and the defeat and death of one Ceylonese king (*oruvanai vīlapporudu viṉmiśaiyēṟṟi*) and capture of his paraphernalia, the setting up of the flag of victory on

[1] These words are omitted in the Pudukkottah text.

[2] Anurāpurikku (?)

the Kōṇamalai and Trikūṭagiri and the subjugation of another king (*ēnai vendanai ānai tiṟaikoṇḍu*), and finally from (*paṇḍēval*) comes the reference to *Śāva(ga) n-maindan*, his initial contumacy, later submission, the rewards he received, the procession on an elephant and his restoration to the kingdom of Ceylon (*taḍangaḍal Īḻam*) once ruled by his father (*tandai-yāṇḍa*).

Lines 13—15.

Rhetorical end.

GOVIND PANT BUNDELA AND PANIPAT

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Govind Ballal Kher, the ancestor of the brave Rani of Jhansi, was largely responsible for the disaster of Panipat. His career has been brilliantly summed up by the late V. K. Rajwade.

Govind Ballal came to the notice of Baji Rao I during his compaigns in the Hindustans. It was Chimaji Appa who first appointed Govind as Kāmisdar about the year 1737. The latter was frequently employed as an envoy to negotiate with the local chieftains, terms of peace and tribute. After the reduction of Bundelkhand by Baji Rao, Govind Pant was appointed as mamlatdar in the same province (*C.* 1746 A.D.).

It was in the period of the third Peshwa, that the dubious nature of Govind Pant was revealed. He was slack in remitting the revenue collections and commissioners of enquiry merely confirmed the suspicion of Govind Pant's corruption and maladministration. He evaded rendering his accounts of his collections for more than two years. Even Sadashiva Rao was put off by idle excuses and specious promises.

During the Panipat campaigns Govind Pant was enjoined to check the movements of Najib Khan and Shuja-ud-Dowla and intercept their possible coalition. But Govind Pant was determined to ruin the cause of his master, and so kept quiet. Not merely did he permit Shuja-ud-Dowla to negotiate with the invader, but, he also failed to keep in readiness a flotilla of boats, as required by Sadashiva Rao. Hence the Bhao found himself unable to move about the Doab freely, for lack of transport

facilities. His one aim was to meet the invader on the frontiers and to have behind himself the full resources of the Gangetic valley. In such a contingency, Abdali would be isolated and be easily vulnerable to the Maratha forces. But, all the fond hopes of the Maratha leader were betrayed and the game allowed to escape by the criminal conduct of Govind Pant Bundela.

Another act of treachery of the Pant was his failure to keep in readiness the revenue collections by him to meet the expenses of the army of the expedition. But the officer defended his conduct by lame excuses. Sadashiva Rao tried various means of extracting money from him and in vain The Bundela was a past master in the art of turning away the wrath of his master. He wrote insinuating letters to the leader who was taken up the sweet words and ample promises of his subordinate. Hence, he escaped drastic punishment from the hands of his superiors. The absence of another man of equal ability to take the place of Govind Pant was also the reason for Sadashiva Rao's failure to chastise the Pant.

It has already been noticed that the Maratha Commander-in-chief was hampered in his movements owing to lack of boats, due to the treachery of Govind Pant. Else, Ahmad Shah Abdali would not have been permitted to gather allies around him, in Hindustan. His forces were not yet formidable, as he was encamped at Sikhandara. And just at that moment he would be no match for the Marathas, only if the latter could command the river fords, in high floods. That was not to be. The next item of strategy was to keep the Rohillas and the ruler of Oudh within their own frontiers by raising troubles and insurrections within. This was also the duty entrusted to Govind Pant, and he egregiously failed to do it.

Then Bhao, captured Delhi and let go the followers of Abdali, with all honours. The possession of Delhi enhanced the prestige of the Marathas throughout the Hindustan. Then the Indian allies of Abdali seriously contemplated deserting his standard, since he was

obviously powerless against the Marathas to occupy the capital of India. Shuja-ud-Dowla repented of his conduct and tried to patch up peace with the Marathas. The invader felt himself betrayed on every side and was also faced with serious discontent in his own army. He preferred safe retreat and sent an envoy to the Maratha camp, to sound for peace terms. But the Bhao did not want half-measures, and so was indifferent to the envoy. In fact, he was burning to avenge for the defeat of Sindhia, six months before, by the hands of the Afghans. Let but the floods subside. the enemy would be brought to his knees, thought the Hindu leader.

The Marathas were encamped in Delhi, during the rainy season of 1760 A.D. In the meanwhile, Sadashiva Rao placed on the throne of the Moghuls, prince Ali Gohur, surnamed Shah Alam, and announced to all Hindustan that the Marathas were the main pillars of the Empire, whereas Najib and Shuja were its chief rebels and enemies. This move of Bhao chagrined his opponents who intended to proclaim Abdali as the Sovereign of India. They were outwitted and outwatched by the Marathas. Thus the strength and prestige of Sadashiva Rao was at its zenith about the end of the year 1760.

Having heard that Ahmad Shah's advanced guard was in possession of Kunjpura, the Marathas resolved upon assaulting the enemy's camp. Sadashiva Rao proposed to lead the force in person and ordered Govind Pant to cut off the communications of Abdali and loot and fire the country around him. The Pant was enjoined not to loiter about the country with idle pretexts; but to bestir himself at least once, in this supreme crisis of history. The aim of the Marathas was to encircle and isolate the enemy on all sides. Thus the task of paramount importance was entrusted to Govind Pant Bundela. If the general had but carried out his allotted task, history would have a different tale to tell.

Sadashiva Rao marched against Kunjpura, in the middle of October. His Sirdars Mehendela and Sindhia

took possession of the advance guard of the Afghan forces. Ahmad Shah was greatly disconcerted and feared being circumvented by his enemy, since all the passes and fords were in the hands of the Marathas. But with courage, he forced his passage across the river at Bagpat and camped himself at Panipat. His position was now extremely critical, being encircled by the Marathas. The only loop-hole, left for his hope was a passage into Rohilkhand, still left open—thanks to Govind Pant. It was this last line of retreat, of help, of hope, that was entrusted for Govind Pant to take possession off and starve in the invader.

Let us see how the Pant carried out his mission. It was his main duty to prevent any help from going to Ahmad Shah, through and from the country of Rohilkhand. This was the key position, master strategy devised by the Maratha Leader. Instead, Govind Pant beguiled himself by besieging forts and places south of the river Jumna; and thus left freely open the communication between Najib Khan Rohilla and Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Maratha officer wasted, several precious critical months in playing at petty sieges and wars. The result was the Durrani's army was fully replenished with all kinds of supplies. Knowing this, Sadashiva Rao, again, sent an urgent message to the Bundela to go straight to his allotted duty of cutting off the supplies to Ahmad Shah Abdali. "You must go at once, to capture the communications of the enemy. Do not put off the task by idle pretexts or excuses. This duty has long been neglected by you. Plunder Rohilkand, attack Ahmad Shah from behind or from any flank. Though it has been repeatedly urged on you, it is surprising that you have failed in your duty. If you fail even now, you are a brazen coward" wrote the Bhao.

Yet, in spite of the Bundela's folly, the camp of the Durrani Chief was reduced to sore straits. He was in constant terror of the Marathas and would not move about freely. His resources also were getting exhausted. In

the meanwhile, there was an encounter between the two sides, and the Marathas came off with flying colours. Sadashiva Rao was now full of confidence that the game was almost with his grasp. But the only Achilles' heel was Rohilkand. So, he again wrote to Bundela in November 1760: "You make vain promises to go towards your post of duty. You have never once acted up to your words. I am tired of writing to you, about this. This is unworthy of you. Abdali is almost within our grasp, here in Panipat. We have trained our guns ready against him. But he is daily receiving supplies, from the country-side. None prevents them from moving about. If you fall upon them, then, the enemy will be greatly disheartened. But you are always proving yourself un-trustworthy. Despatch money and come at once for help."

But nothing would bring Govind Pant to a sense of duty. He trod gaily, the path of prevarication and procrastination. He let slip the most crucial time for the complete encirclement of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Sadashiva Rao was cheated of certain victory by his own disloyal servant. His own forces were strong, well supported by a pack of artillery. His men were brave, loyal and patriotic. So he did not lose his courage due to treachery of this solitary Maratha Judas Iscariot.

Soon, the besiegers became the besieged. Famine appeared in the Maratha camp. Several of his loyal chieftains sacrificed their lives for their country's cause. Then came the news that the Great Peshwa himself was coming north with a succouring army. On this Govind Pant bestirred himself to activity. He tried to forage the country behind the Shah. Now he met his reward of treachery, being killed in an encounter with Ahmad Shah's forces. Thus his own delay and prevarication cost him his life. He let slip thousand and one chances of victory; and at last fell a victim to the overgrown forces of his enemies, whom it was in his power to nip in the bud. His death destroyed also all hope of immediate help to the famished Maratha camp at Panipat.

KṚISHṆA DÊVA RĀYA AS YAVANA-RĀJYA-STHĀPANĀCHĀRYA

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Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya was the greatest of Vijayanagara Emperors. His brilliant military achievements against the Deccan Musalmans broke all previous records. All the same, Ferista does not even mention him by name. If we are to pin our faith on Musalman writers only, we will have blotted out from our memory many extraordinary episodes of the time and very much disturbed all historical perspective. Among many, one such is Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's claims to the title of Yavana-Rājya-Sthāpanāchārya. Three inscriptions of which one is dated 1514 and the other two 1516, draw our attention to this unprecedented title. The earliest among those available so far being that of 1514, we are led to conclude that it should have been assumed by him in that year or in the years previous to it. "Yavana" at this period of Indian History could refer to none but one or the other of the Deccan Chiefs. Keḷadi-Nṛipa-Vijaya, a Kannaḍa work, relating events which happened as late as 1763, gives a detailed account of an expedition led by Sadāśiva-Nāyaka, Chief of Keḷadi, under the orders of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya. In brief, it narrates the details of a battle between him and some Khans who acted according to the directions of Nizam Shah Bhairi. Among these Chiefs, two at least can be identified, one Dastur Khan, as Chief of Gulburga, and the other Sanjar Khan, as General of Adil Shah. The battle is said to have happened at a place called

Jambu-Khandi, in which Sadāśiva-Nāyaka triumphed in the end. After victory, he is said to have pressed forward and captured first Kalyāṇi and then Kalburgi also. Having carried out his master's orders, he seems to have rejoined him at a place called Jalaya-Palu or Jalihalu. From here Sadāśiva-Nāyaka is reported to have been again sent, this time, against Barid Shah whom also, after having defeated he brought as prisoner to the Rāya. That this cannot be a creation of poetic imagination is proved by the titles which the descendants of another Chief, Ere Kṛishṇappa Nāyaka, later on the founder of Belur Principality, claim for him in the Epigraphical records of their family. "Banda-Saptānga-Haraṇa" and "Turuka-Daḷa-Vibhāḍa" as applied to this person can only mean that he should have distinguished himself in Imperial Service, in all probability on the occasion in which Sadāśiva-Nāyaka also made a name for himself. "Kṛishṇa Rāya Vijayamu" a Telugu work finished about the middle of the 17th century and "Rāya Vāchakamu" another in the same language, to all appearances a nearly contemporary record, refer to Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya's victory over Barid. A fugitive verse also attributed to Peddana, the favourite poet of Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya makes a reference to his capture of Kalburgi and attack on Bidar. Another in "Amukta-Mālyada," said to be from the pen of Kṛishṇa himself, adds its own weight to the above by repeating that he annihilated the Musalman forces at Kalburgi. We may add to this list, if necessary, another from the dubious records of the Chitaldrug Chieftain where Thimmanna Nāyaka also is said to have marched according to the Emperor's orders and captured Kalburgi. All these, taken together, will be quite enough to substantiate our theory that some time or other in his reign, Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya captured Kalyāṇa, Kalburgi and Bidar.

As for the date of this campaign, we have to arrive at it from various sources. Our investigation has to start with Kṛishṇa Dēva Raya's accession to power. One Kadajan Manuscript fixes this towards the close of 1509

A.D. The weight of Epigraphical evidence carries the date forward by a few months into 1510. It must be somewhere between these two dates that he actually succeeded to the throne. For the present let us take it as C. 1510. According to Nuniz, Krishṇa Dēva Rāya did not move out of Vijayanagara for a year and a half after his accession Other sources of information also, predominantly Portuguese, confirm this statement of Nuniz. "Krishnaraja Vijayamu," "Rāya Vāchakamu" and the Portuguese records as well, tell us that the first expedition he led in his reign was against Ummattūr and Sivanasamudram. An inscription from Bukkapatna in Penukonda Taluk, tells us that he was engaged in State business at Śivanasamudra in 1512. According to the above Telugu works, Krishṇa is said to have marched into the territories of Adil Shah and taken Mudgal, Raichur and other places after closing his Śivanasamudra affair. His presence at Raichur about this date is noticed by Ferista also, though he calls him by the name of "Tim Raj." "Krishna Rāya Vijayamu" and "Rāya Vāchakamu" tell us, that after this campaign against Adil Shah, he marched against Kutub Shah. The anonymous writer of the history of Golkonda, records his presence close to Pangal about this date only. On the authority of the above two works and a few more we learn that he proceeded against Udayagiri and other places from Golkonda Territory. Nuniz tells us that Krishṇa Dēva Rāya spent nearly two years in his campaign against the Gajapati King, in the course of which, he captured Udayagiri, Kondavidu, Kondapalli and many other places. We have an inscription of date 1513 to mark his return home after the capture of Udayagiri. So all these years from 1510 to nearly 1514 we find him engaged either at Vijayanagara or with one enemy or other south of the Krishṇa. If, at all, his army could be relieved of engagements in these places and sent northwards to capture Kalyāṇi and other forts, it could only be possible after 1513. As Sadāśiva Nāyaka's reign begins towards the middle of 1513, from this point of view

also it should have happened after this date. As the above event is mentioned at the very beginning, it may be taken to have happened in 1514 or 1515. While relating the events that happened in the Deccan about 1514 A.D., the author of Burhan-i-Masir throws out a hint that from this time forwards "the devastation of the territory of Islam and Musalmans became a regular custom." This specification of a new kind of war, in the midst of what was happening every year among the Shahi Chiefs, can but refer to the war with Vijayanagara. As "Rāya Vāchakamu" and "Kṛishṇa Rāya Vijayamu" emphasize the fact that Kṛishṇa Dêva Rāya renewed his hostilities, with the Gajapati King after the capture of Bidar, we have to date the latter before the first date of his second campaign against Gajapati. This is made clear by an inscription at Ahobalam dated early in 1516. Thus, while from one side we are carried after 1513, from the other we are pushed behind 1516. Inasmuch as the first inscription prefixing the title of "Yavana-Rājya-Sthāpanāchārya" to his name is in 1514, it seems safe to fix this year only as the year in which he led his army to the north.

As for the causes that might have led him to interfere in Deccan affairs, more than one can be traced. Mahamood Shah Bahamani II had become but a plaything towards the end of his reign. Both Adil Shah and Barid did their best to get hold of his person, so that they might usurp all power over and against other chiefs. Thus, we see this poor old Bahamni Monarch dragged by his vassals this way and that, every now and then. In 1514 A.D. Barid led an expedition to Bijapur, in company with Nizam Shah Behri, Kutub Shah and others. But he failed in his object as he was finally defeated and driven out of the field. Mahamood Shah and his sons having fallen prisoners into Ismail Adil Shah's hands, a matrimonial union was arranged between the two families and celebrated at Kulburga, when it was re-captured by Adil Shah. After this, a contingent of Bijapur

accompanied Mahamood Shah to his capital Bidar. The disappointed Barid fled from this place also and once again started negotiations with Nizam Shah and other Chiefs to regain his lost hold on the Sultan. Accordingly at the news of the approach of the Nizam Shahı army, the Bijapur force deserted Mahamood Shah Bahamani and retired. It must be about this time and while the control of the Bahamani States swayed in the balance, that Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya took advantage of the situation to re-establish the Bahamani Sovereignty. In spite of the suppression of this important fact by Mussalman writers, we have to admit the part played by Kṛishṇa Dēva Rāya for the first time in 1514. It is this that evidently gave him the claim to the title of *Yavana-Rājya-Sthāpana-chārya.*

PĀLA EXPANSION IN THE FAR SOUTH OF INDIA

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From the dawn of authentic history the far south of India beyond the Krishṇā and the Tuṅgabhadrā constituted a world by itself. As pointed out by Dr. Vincent Smith it was ordinarily so secluded from the rest of the country that its affairs remained hidden from the gaze of other peoples Enterprising rulers even in this region cherished, however, the ambition of universal Indian dominion and poets now and then sang of a southern prince who led expeditions to the north and was believed to have extended his sway, temporarily at any rate, over the massive plain decked with the Ganges as with a pearl necklace.

sa sāgarāmbarām urvīṁ
Gaṅgā mauktikahāriṇīṁ
babhāra suchiraṁ vīro
Meru-Mandāra kuṇḍalām.

At times northern invaders would push through the rugged valleys of the Narmadā and the Mahānadī, the Godāvarī and the Krishṇā, carry their arms deep into the lands of Kāñchī and Karṇāṭa and thus lift the veil in which the mysterious realms of the far south were shrouded. The most famous among the invasions from the north were those led by the Mauryas in the third or the fourth century B.C. and the Guptas in the fourth century A.D. That a third dynasty which for a time held its court in the old imperial city of Pāṭaliputra, also

claims to have overrun the far south of India, is not so well known to students of antiquity. The line of kings referred to is the famous Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār. In the Monghyr Plate of Devapāla his father Dharmapāla, a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarchs who ruled in the latter half of the eighth century A.D., is said to have undertaken a *Digvijaya* or conquest of all the regions in the course of which his followers visited several holy spots including Gokarna, apparently in North Kanara.

Kedāre vidhinopayukta-payasāṁ
Gaṅgāsametāmbudhau
Gokarṇādishu chāpyanushṭhitavatāṁ
tīrtheshu dharmyāḥ kriyāḥ

Devapāla himself is said to have had Karṇāṭas among his *sevakas* or servants and is credited with having 'enjoyed' the whole earth from the source of the Ganges to Rāma's Bridge in the Far South.

ā-Gaṅgāgama-mahitāt
sapatna-śūnyām
āsetoḥ prathita-daśāsyaketu-kīrteḥ
urvī māvaruṇa-nike
(ta) nāchcha Sindho-r
ālakshmī kulabhavanāchcha yo bubhoja.

The Bādāl Pillar inscription makes specific mention of the fact that Devapāla humbled the pride and conceit of the lord or lords of the Draviḍas.

utkīlitotkalākulaṁ hṛita-Hūṇagarvaṁ
kharvīkṛita Draviḍa-Gurjara-nātha
darpaṁ.

There is undoubtedly a good deal of exaggeration in these eulogies. But are they to be regarded as absolutely without any foundation? Is there no substratum of truth behind these claims? Have we no corroborative evidence that rulers of Eastern India whose territories embraced Magadha actually figured in the politics of the far south of India in the eighth and ninth centuries A.D., the period to which Dharmapāla and his son Devapāla must be

assigned? Curiously enough certain Pāṇḍya records furnish interesting information on the point. The Vēḷvikkuḍi grant of about 769-70 A.D. informs us that a Pāṇḍya official named Māṛangāri "the crest jewel of the *Vaidyakakula*" took part in a fight when "*Pūrvarājar*" or eastern kings rose up and put to flight at Venbai the powerful *Vallabha* king—apparently a Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor of the Deccan—on the occasion when the excellent daughter of Gangarāja was secured and offered to a Pāṇḍya king. The defeated emperor may have been Krishna I who was encamped at Manne in the Ganga territory in 768 It is not an improbable hypothesis that the expression *Pūrvarājar* is equivalent to "*Pūrvakshiti-dhra*" of the Pāla records and was used to denote the rulers of Eastern India. The defeat of Krishna I at the hands of the Pālas and his failure to secure a Ganga Princess for himself or one of his sons probably afford a clue to the well known hostility of Krishna's descendants towards the Pālas and the Gangas. The alliance of the eastern kings with the Pāṇḍyas did not however last long. We learn from the Sinnamanūr Plates that the Pāṇḍya king Srī Māra Śrīvallabha (who ruled about A.D. 815-862) repulsed a confederation of Gaṅgas, Pallavas, Cholas, Kaliṅgas, Magadhas and others at a place identified by Tamil scholars with Kumbakonam. The last mentioned document clearly establishes the presence in the Tamil country in the ninth century A.D. of warriors from Magadha who had as their allies the Kaliṅgas of the Orissa coast and the Gangas of the southern Kanarese region, besides other peoples. It will be remembered that about this time the Pālas exercised sovereignty in Magadha. They claimed to have conquered Orissa. They had Karṇāṭas among their servants and had measured swords with a ruler or rulers of Draviḍa in the far south of India. The expression *Draviḍanātha* cannot have sole reference to the contemporary Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor as has been suggested by some scholars. It may be taken to denote some Tamil potentate as well.

In this connection it is interesting to note that a part of the Tamil country embracing portions of the Salem and Arcot districts actually came to be known as Magadai-maṇḍala and a famous city in South Arcot bore the name Pāṭaliputtiram. It is for scholars to find out whether the names Magadai and Pāṭaliputtiram are reminiscent of the Pāla invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. or of the earlier inroads of the Mauryas and the Guptas. The extant records of the Mauryas have, however, not yet been found beyond the Chitaldrug district of Mysore, and the Guptas do not seem to have penetrated beyond Conjeeveram. In view of these facts and the late appearance of the name Magadaināḍu or Magadaimaṇḍala in the South Indian epigraphs, it is not improbable that this territorial designation has something to do with the Pāla invasions of the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. It is also important to recall the fact that the final overthrow of the Pāla sovereignty in Bengal was the work of a line of South Indian princes (*Dākshiṇātya kshauṇindra*) who were originally feudatories hailing from Karṇāṭa and the *Vāidyakakula* to which the southern ally of the eastern kings mentioned in the Velvikkuḍi Plates belonged, reminds us of the small Vaidya community of Bengal who have not been a negligible factor in the social, political and intellectual life of the province since the days of the Pāla kings.

DECCANI DIPLOMACY AND DIPLOMATIC USAGE IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

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Introduction.

There is a remarkable book, the Riādhu'i-inshā, two copies of which are extant in Hyderabad[1] which contains some of the letters written by the great Bahmanī minister, Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ, and other correspondence entered into by him on behalf of his Bahmanī master, as well as the replies of certain well-known figures of the middle of the fifteenth century. Except for the late Mr. Azīz Mirzā, once the Home Secretary of the Nizam's Dominions, who refers to these letters in his life of the Minister, these letters have not been utilised by any one except as a model for flowery and conventional Persian style, and Mr. Azīz Mirzā himself has not attempted to draw on them as the source of Deccan history. Reference was made to the collection by the writer on the present paper on another occasion[2]; here they are utilised for showing the diplomatic usage current in India in those far off days and the renown which the Kingdom of the Deccan had attained at the hands of Mahmūd.

[1] One at the Asifiah State Library (Inshā, 148), the other at the Daftar-i Mulkī (Record Office).

[2] Sherwani Kḫwāja-i Jehān Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's campaigns in the Mahārāshtra, Indian Historical Congress session, Poona 1935.

The compass of the letters dealing with diplomatic and foreign relations extends from the reign of Nizām Shāh (1461-1462) till about the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah (1462-1482), and before dealing directly with the actual diplomatic correspondence it would be well to give a short sketch of the political map of India about this period in order to present a perspective of the conditions under which the correspondence was entered into.

The Bahmani Sultanate.—After Humāyūn Shāh Bahmanī's death in 1461, his son Nizām Shah succeeded to the throne at the age of 8 with his versatile mother, the dowager queen, Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ Nargis Bēgam as regent. The ministerial honours were equally divided between Khwâja-i Jahān Turk, governor of Tilangānah and the Maliku-t-tujjār Mahmud Gawaṇ, governor of Bijāpūr. Nizām Shāh reigned only about eight months, but during this short period his kingdom had to deal with the Rāi of Orissa in the east and the formidable Mahmūd Khiljī of Malwa in the north. The eastern campaign was a success, the Raja having to pay a large indemnity, but the northern campaign resulted in the defeat of the Bahmanī forces at Qandhār, the temporary shifting of the Bahmanī capital from Bidar to Fīrōzābad and the capture of Barār, Bīr and Daulatābād by the Malwese. By a great stroke of diplomacy Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ invited Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujrat to help the Deccan, and the Malwese had to recross the border.[1] Maḥmūd Khiljī of Malwa again attacked the Deccan in 1462, but returned forthwith on hearing that the King of Gujrāt was still an ally of the Bahmanī ruler.

On Nizām Shāh's sudden death in 1463 his younger brother Muḥammad ascended the throne at the age of nine.

[1] There is quite a large correspondence between the three parties in the Riādh as well as in the Burhānu'l-Mlāthir, the photograph of the Mss., of which was lent to me very kindly by Mr. Hashini, Assistant Home Secretary, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government. *Vide* infra, pp. 13 and 14

It was not long after that the co-minister, Khwāja-i Jahāṇ Turk was murdered in open court, and the sole conduct of administration devolved on Maliku't-Tujjār Maḥmūd Gāwān who was created Khwaj-i-Jahān and controlled the Government firstly during the regency of the dowager queen and then during the direct rule of the king from 1468 right up to his own tragic death in 1481. A great change had taken place in the Bahmanī power during the last five or six years, and the Government felt powerful enough to send an army to the territory which was in dispute between Mālwā and the Deccan, *i.e.*, the district of Kherla, and it was only the appeal of the Khiljī king to past traditions and his avowal to sue for peace that a formal and final treaty was entered into in 1466, so that there was no further quarrel with the nothern neighbour.[1]

Orissa.—In the east a great diplomatic success was achieved when the Bahmanīa supported Hamīr Rāi against Mangal Rāi in his struggle for the throne of Orissa, overthrew Mangal Rāi and made Orissa a protectorate of the Deccani Sultanate annexing the long coveted district of Rajamandri and Kondavir as the price of this successful interference. In the south the King himself led a campaign against Vijayanagar and repaired an outpost of the Deccani Empire. The western campaigns of Maḥmūd and his master have been dealt with elsewhere[2] and are here mentioned as they take up a considerable amount of space in the correspondence entered into chiefly with non-Indian potentates.[3]

Malwa.—Mālwa was governed right through the ascendency of Maḥmūd Gāwaṇ at Bidar by that remarkable man, Maḥmūd Khiljī, who reigned at Shādiābād Māṇḍū

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[1] *Vide* Burta Leaf 83 and Ferishta. The former contains a more detailed description as well as the letter from the Bahmanī ruler in which he orders the withdrawal of the army from the district.

[2] *Vide* N. 1, *supra*.

[3] Thus, *e.g.*, in the letter to the Sultān of Gilan.

from 1436 to 1475. It is said that Maḥmūd was the greatest of the Muslim kings of Malwa[1] and there is no doubt that his ambitions knew no bounds. Himself not of the royal stock of Malwa, he came to the throne after poisoning his own brother-in-law, Muhammad Shāh, tried to annex the capital of the Nothern Empire, Delhi, and of the Southern Empire, Bidar, and, was a perpetual enemy of Gujrāt where he had to face another great ruler, Maḥmūd Bēgaṛhah who almost invariably held the day against Malwa either by force of arms or by his diplomatic tact. In the north, where he could not overpower the might of Bahlōl Lōdī, he made friends with him and promised to furnish him a large army against the pretensions of Husain Shāh, the Sharqī king of Jāunpūr. It was mainly due to his ambitious and diplomatic nature rather than to his success on the field of battle that he was so well known all over the world, was honoured by the shadowy Khalīfan of Cairo, el Mustanjid Bi'l-Lāh,[2] with the bestowal of a robe of honour, and had diplomatic relations with Tīmūr's grandson, Abu Sa'īd Mīrzā, ruler of Central Asia.[3]

Gujrāt —This was a period of great men in central and southern India, and Gujrāt was no exception to the rule. The king with whom we are chiefly concerned here is Maḥmūd II, Bēgaṛwah,[4] who came to the help of the Bahmanī kingdom so many times and who in fact, saved the Deccan from falling under the tutelage of the Khiljī of Malwa. Maḥmūd was the sixth king of his line and ruled from 1458 to 1511. He was a real friend of the Deccan, and though it was mainly through the efforts of Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ and the Queen Makudūma-i-Jahāṇ that he stepped in to check the onslaughts of the Mālwese king, still his conduct as a chivalrous man is

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[1] Camb. Hist of India, III, *Chap*, IX.

[2] 1460—1470.

[3] 1451—1468.

[4] Maḥmūd was nicknamed 'Bēgaṛhah' probably because of his capture of the great forts of Girnār and Champanēr.

shown by a letter he wrote to Mahmūd Khiljī saying that it was not proper to attack a kingdom with a child ruler.[1] He fought many battles, but wherever he fought, he did so with great acumen and bravery and extended the borders of his State from Malwa to Sindh and from the Siwāliks to Malkāpūr in the Deccan. He was the man who allied with the Mamlūk Sulṭān, Malik Ashraf Qansh-el-Gauhrī (1500-1526) resulting in the utter rout of the Portuguese under Laurenco de Almeida at Chaul in January, 1508. Like Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwa, Maḥmūd of Gujrāt was greatly respected by contemporary sovereigns not only in India but overseas as well, and he received ambassadorial missions from Shāh Isma'īl the Great of Persia and Sulṭān Sikandar Lōdī of Delhi.

Jaunpūr.—The last Indian ruler mentioned in Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ's correspondence is Husain Shāh, the Sharqī king, who reigned at Jaunpūr from 1458 right up to the dissolution of his kingdom in 1479. Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ seems to have been particularly anxious that the Bahmanī monarchy should ally itself with the Sharqīs of Jaunpūr, mainly because Jaunpūr was the neighbour of Mālwa in the north in the same way as Gujrāt was its neighbour in the west and Husain Shāh was known to have ambitions to make Jaunpūr a Deccani power by making Orissa its protectorate, and at the same time to extend his sway to the borders of Delhi. It was really this latter venture which cost him his throne, as Sulṭān Bahalōl Lōdī proved to be more than a match for him, annexing the kingdom to Delhi Sultānate in 1479.

NON-INDIAN STATES.

Gīlān.

It is only natural that Maḥmūd Gāwāṇ carried on diplomatic correspondence with States bordering on the Bahmanī kingdom to a greater extent than with those

[1] Mentioned in Camb. History of India, III, p. 305.

which were distant from it, such as Jaunpūr, and the only two States outside India which find a place in the collection mentioned above are the land of his birth, Gīlān, and the greatest Muslim Empire of those days, Turkey. Gīlān was a country bordering on the Caspian Sea and was independent under its own rulers since 1227 right up till the reign of the Persian Emperor, Shah Tihmāsp Sefevī (1526-1576) (who is well known to readers of Indian History as the host of our own Emperor Humāyūṇ in his wanderings) who annexed it to the Persian Empire in 1567. The ruler of Gīlān in the days of Mahmūd Gāwāṇ's greatness was Sulṭān 'Alāu'd-dīn Abū Saīd Gūrgan, and Maḥmūd, with the greatness of heart which he had, is ever protesting his fidelity and homage to the successor of the rulers who were the patrons of his own forbears, and when the Sultān requested him to come and serve his erstwhile country, he replied that with all the kindness shown to him by the Indian Sultans of the Bahmanī kingdom, he felt it his duty to continue serving his adopted land till his last breath. At the same time he did all he could to recount to the Sulṭān of Gīlān the great work the Bahmanīs were doing to pacify the country and make it law-abiding, and enumerating the deeds of bravery shown by the Indian Muslims on the field of battle.

Turkey.

Such is also the burden of the letters which the *Khwāja* wrote to the Sulṭān of Turkey. It is evidently wrongly stated in the collection that the letters were written to 'Sulṭān Murād Khāṇ er-Rūmī,' as Murād, by whom is no doubt meant Muṛād II, who ruled from 1421 to 1451, while we are aware that the *Khwāja* did not come to India till 1455 and did not attain any eminence till the accession of Humāyūṇ Shāh Bahmanī in 1457. We know from other sources that it was the son of Murād II, Muḥammad II, Conqueror of Constantinople, who corresponded with eminent men as Maulānā Jāmī and *Khwāja*

Maḥmūd Gāwān,[1] and there is no doubt that it was this emperor to whom the letters in the collection were addressed. As we are aware Muḥammad was one of the greatest Sulṭāns Turkey ever had, and it was he who not only conquered the 'Imperial City,' annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and beseiged the island of Rhodes, but his armies actually crossed the Adriatic, storming the castle of Otranto near Brindisi on the Italian mainland and virtually annexing a large part of southern Italy. Although it was still some years before Sultān Selīm I formally proclaimed himself the Khalīfah of Islām, still the greatness of such conquerors as Murād II and Muḥammad II had caused them to be regarded as the bulwark of Islam in the West, and the Khwāja corresponded with Muḥammad as he wanted to show the Conqueror of the West the feats of the Deccani Kingdom.

THE KHWAJA'S STYLE.

We would now give a *resume* of some of the diplomatic letters mentioned above, but before doing so, it would be better to give a short account of the method of the Khwāja's letter writing. The letters written by him are mostly couched in fine flowery phrases and sentences, interspersed with couplets not only from Arabic and Persian poets but with Qurānic verses, the Apostolic Traditions and his own poetic compositions. Except for the letters addressed to Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwa and his plenipotentiaries, they are almost invariably very long and in case of the Sulṭān of Gīlān and the Ottoman Emperor, even the beginning, continuing their names and titles, runs sometimes to a number of pages. Some letters in the collection are supposed to be written on behalf of the Bahmanī Sulṭān, but in case of letters written during the minority of Nizām Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, they

[1] Stanley Lane-Poole, "Turkey," Chap. 7, where it is related how the Sultan used to send annual presents to Jāmi and the "Indian Khoja Jahan." I regret there is no reference to any authority in this connection and I am not aware of the source of the learned author's information.

must have been written by the Khwāja in the name of the King perhaps at the instance of the Dowager Queen. In giving a summary of these letters we would slip over the more conventional paragraphs and only summarise such parts as would throw some light on the diplomatic conduct in those remote times.

I. To Maḥmūd Shāh of Gujrāt.

1. [1](pp. 34 ff)[2] :—

Reply to a letter written on behalf of the great and good Sulṭān, Muḥammad Shāh el-Bahmanī to the Sulṭān of Justice, Muḥammad Shāh el-Gujrāti (*the names of neither the writer nor the addressee are mentioned therein, according to custom*) :—

[Strategy. Malwese envoys. Their names. Alliance between the Deccan and Gujrāt.]

It should be plain that in the presence of him in whom are gathered all goodness and kindness, His Highness Safdar Khān, the foundations of love and alliance have been laid on the basis of mutual promises and contracts, and it is with the Grace of the Almighty that our conquering armies are preceded by banners of good will . . . Our action is according to the Apostolic tradition that 'Paradise lies in the shadow of the sword,' and we have taken up arms in order that we might cut off the knot of disorder and opposition and wipe away all the filth of darkness and waywardness, and so that the earth may be rid of that accursed Khiljī. If at this time the all conquering army were to appear before the province of Asīr, there is no doubt that the crafty, fire-breathing traitor would go to the lowest portion of hell and our joint armies would enter his country which has been the cause of so much cruelty, disorder and opposition, causing our mutual alliance to shine like the very Sun before the eyes of the denizens of the East and the West . . . The rest will be related to you by the chiefest of our friends, Khān-i A'zam Tamar Khān.

2. [3] (pp. 47 ff.) :—

[Malwese envoys arrive with pourparlers. Reference to a former envoy from Gujrāt. Reference to the proposal for the partition of Mālwā.]

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[1] This letter must have been written after the battle of Quandhar in 1462.

[2] References are to the manuscript of the Riadhu'l-Insha in the Asafiah Library (148, Insha) unless otherwise stated.

[3] This letter must have been written after the retreat of the Malwese army in 1462.

All our thanks are due to the Almighty who caused the world-shining sun of the alliance of pious rulers to clear away darkness from this world . . It should be known that Qāzi-Zahir and Is-hāq-Zāhir have arrived here on behalf of the Khiljī and are thoroughly ashamed of the hold the Devil has had on him recently. The Khiljī wants that all traces of opposition from among the followers of Islām might disappear and the light of mutual understanding might shine with all its effects. These envoys have also said things which are outwardly well-meaning and in accordance with the Islamic spirit. We must remember at the same time that he is still burning with the fire of vengeance and there is no confidence left in the action of that crafty traitor. But the learned men, Syyids, good persons and those versed in the Law are telling me that according to the Qur'ānic verse, ' And if they bow in a sincere manner, you should also bow,' it would be according to the dictates of Islam to send some one to Mālwā with the above-mentioned envoys. When Shaikh Dāwud [1] came here last year, his message was duly conveyed to Your Majesty, and it was regarded as fit and proper that if in the division of the country regard is paid to the rules laid down by past Sultāns it would lead to the ending of all quarrels between the followers of Islām. It is for this reason that Qāzi Sukhan and Qāzi Ahmad, Censor and Deputy Censor, are being sent along with these envoys in order to find out which is the best policy for our future relations with the enemy.

3. (pp. 56 ff.) :—

[Proposal of an alliance with Jaunpūr.]

Whatever has been written about Sultān Husain Shāh of Jaunpur is the exact truth, as any help given to him would lead to the strengthening of the foundations of the Faith, the end of those who are wont to create disorder and sweeping away of those who side with the wicked or oppress the pious . . . [2]

4. (pp. 114 ff.) :—[3].

[Reply to the letter from the King of Gujrāt, in which the latter is informed of the demise of the Dowager Queen, Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ.]

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[1] *Vide* letter IV (2), *infra*. "The message" was from the king of Mālwa, and it was conveyed to the king of Gujrāt, perhaps because it was regarded proper that peace should be concluded only when the two allies agree.

[2] Probably written after V, *infra*.

[3] This letter must have been written after the Mahārāshtra campaign of 1472, as it was then that the Queen died.

5. (pp. 124 ff.) :—

[End of the Malwese danger. Proposals for a permanent union.]

Thanks without limits of thought are due to the Creator—may His Greatness increase and may His Benevolence be further distributed, that all traces of the burning spark of the treason of sedition-mongers has already been extinguished and swept off by the continuous rain of the might of pious and just kings and the sharp swords of puissant rulers, causing the Sun of friendship to rise from the East according to the Qur'ānic verse 'And so they became brothers through His Grace, ridding the sphere of this earth and the extent of the habitable Fourth from the darkness of cruelty and blackness of disorder and enmity . . It should further be known that it is necessary for courageous Sultans to cleanse the distance of the earth by all traces of the disorder and seditious disturbances by the strength and support of the Faith and to destroy the serpent of the curse of their existence by the edge of the sword of the great Faith and the rain of the arrows of following the path of the Chief of the Apostles . . . Malik Ashraf will carry a message to your royal ears, which would be based on these principles founded on the true aims of Islām, and proposal for mutual union . . .

II. *From the King of Gujrāt.*

(pp. 128 ff.) [1]

[Names of the Deccani and the Malwese envoys. Strategy.]

Your Majesty's letter has been received through its bearer, Khān-i-A'zam Islām Khan, [2] carrier of all the appurtenances of embassy in the most auspicious of times and owner of all the necessary qualities of his office, and forthwith the folds of the sky of union began to shine with the stars of love and regard . . . At the same time Syyid of the Syyids, the rising place of the star of good qualities, Syyid Muzaffaru'd-din, who had in his hands the high banner of the goodwill of both the parties . . . was sent, so that he might open the chain of alliance and amity with the keys of truth and cause the hearts of the friends of both parties with the scent of kind words . . . Secondly, it is incumbent on successful kings to eliminate all disturbing factors caused by the recalcitrant, . . . so according to the adage, 'In postponement are troubles if you were to pay attention to the removal of the chief obstacle immediately by the action of the victorious army which is now at the fortress of Gulnār, then the chronicle of time will

[1] Probably a reply to I (1), *supra.*

[2] The Khān-i A 'Zam is named Tamaz Khan in (1), *supra.*

be ornamented by the seal of good acts and the blessing of this cure of old wounds would result in the fulfilment of the rest of our ambitions, so that our victorious arms will be able to conquer the forts and fortresses of the enemy with ease . . .

III. To Maḥmud Khilji of Mālwa.

(pp. 129 ff.)[1] :—

[Exchange of mutual envoys.]

Written on behalf of the just Sultan Muhammad Shah el-Bahmani, in reply —

It should be made clear and plain that letters of friendship and beautiful proofs of union have been received on the arrival of that link in the chain of the great and the venerable, the source of all that is good . . . At present . . . [2] is being sent for Your Majesty's companionship, for he is one who unites the marks of leadership in himself, puts forward his opinions with sincerity and courage, in order that the rules of friendship might be the foundation and cement of love which should shine like a glittering and a highly ornamented palace.

IV. To Maḥmud Khiljī's Envoys.

1. To el-Mendâwī.[3]

(pp. 119 ff.) :—

[Conditions of mutual alliance. Purity and sincerity in foreign relations. Threat.]

2. To Shaikh Dāwūd.

(pp. 48 b.ff.) [4] :—

[Greatness of the Bahmanī dynasty. Former Khiljī enjoys. Anti-Bahmanī party at the Mālwese court. Condition of alliance. Definition of purity. Threat.]

V. To the Sulṭān of Jaunpūr.[5]

(pp. 113 ff.):—

[Need for mutual union. Importance of envoys. Names of envoys.]

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[1] Chronologically this should come after I (2), where the envoys are named Qâzi-Zâhir and Ishag-Zahir

[2] *Vide* letter I (2), *supra*, where the names of the Bahmni envoys are described.

[3] Written probably after the campaign of 1463. *Vide* Letters I (2) and III.

[4] Written probably after the campaign of 1462. *Vide* Letter I (2).

[5] Probably written before December 1470. *Vide*, next letter VI.

Written on behalf of the great Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh el-Bahmanī to the just Sulṭān Husain Shāh el-Jaunpurī.

VI. To a minister.

(pp. 57 ff.):—

[Reception of the Jaunpūr envoys. Royal letter to the King of Jaunpūr. News from the western front.]

To the chairman of the Headship of the Paved Court.[1]

VII. To 'Alī el-Yezdī.

(pp. 29 b. ff.)[2]—

[Envoys from Gīlān. General conditions of Gīlān.]

VIII. To the Sulṭan Gīlān.

(1) (pp. 35. ff.)

(2) (pp 50 ff.)

[Reasons for leaving Gīlān. Treatment at the hands of the Bahmanīs.]

(3) (pp. 76 ff.)

[The Raingnah campaign. The fortifications of the Rāi of Sangēssar. Reasons for taking out a campaign in the Mahārāshtra. Operations round Māchāl. The march to Goa.]

IX. To Sultan Murad (sic.) of Turkey.

[Importance of the Sulṭānate.]

(1) pp. 16 B. pp.)

To the greatest Sultan, Owner of the neck of nations the Sulṭān Muḥammad Murād er-Rūmī.

(2) (pp. 97 ff.)

Arrival of the Turkish envoy.

To the great Sultan, the most beneficent and just, Sultan, son of Sultan, Muḥammad Murād er-Rūmī.

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[1] '*Suffah*', literally, 'Paved Court' was a name given to the place where the pre-Islamic meccans held their meetings of their republican council. Later the name was given to the council itself.

[2] This letter gives an account of the condition of Mahmūd Gawāṇ's birth, Gīlāṇ, about this period. Evidently the Government there was in inefficient hands, and that was probably why he was so anxious about his son.

Letters from the Burhanu'l-Mathir.

Leaf 74:—

Extract from a letter [1] from Queen Makhdūma-i Jahāṇ to the King of Gujrāt.

Leaf 75 ff.:—

Nizām Shāh to Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt [2]

Importance of alliances.

Leaf 78 ff.—

Nizām Shāh to Sultān Maḥmūd of Gujrāt [3]:—

[Letter written after Maḥmūd Khiljī's flight. Blessings of alliances and curses of disunion.]

CONCLUSIONS.

As will be seen, the letters mentioned above (several of which could not be detailed here for want of space), are interesting in a number of ways. In the first place they show that the Deccani Government rightly differentiated between their natural friend and foe and had definite and prolonged friendly relations not only with Gujrāt which could strike easily and well against the great adversary of the Deccan, Mālwā, owing to its peculiar geographical position, but also with Jaunpūr, situated as it was just north of Mālwā much in the same way as the Bahmanī Kingdom was situated in the south and was a kind of counterpart to the southern kingdom in its relations with it. Moreover, as has been mentioned above, the more ambitious kings of Jaunpūr had a natural desire to reach the Bay of Bengal and thus to envelop the kingdom of Mālwā from the east. It was this stroke of diplomacy, that of utilising the western as well as the potential eastern

[1] This letter was written after the queen and the young king Nizām Shāh had to leave the capital, Muḥammadābad Bidar in the face of the attack of Maḥmūd Khiljī of Mālwā in 1462. This really comes before all the letters included in this paper.

[2] This was probably written before letter I (1) *supra*.

[3] This letter, in point of date, ought to follow letter I (4) *supra*.

neighbour of Mālwā which was the real cause of the final success of the Deccanese and the rout of the enemy.

Most of the letters detailed above relate to this conflict, and what is interesting is that they throb with the pulse of their writers and are the pen pictures of the innermost recesses of the diplomats of those distant days. It is certain that there were no permanent envoys at the court of the various rulers dealt with, although there seems to be a continuous despatch of envoys by allied states such as Gujrāt and the Deccan and to a lesser extent, between the southern kingdom of Bidar and the northern kingdom of Jaunpūr. We may liken this to a state of affairs if at the present day there were no ambassadorial appointments but diplomatic correspondence were to be carried out by means of couriers of note and responsibility. As a matter of fact the great distance of those days precluded the possibility of resident ambassadors, because it would not be possible to take an initiative in all complicated matters without reference to the central government which would necessitate the sending of special couriers in any case who would have to be equally trusted and responsible diplomats as the ambassadors themselves. It seems therefore, obvious that it would be far easier and less costly if ambassadorial couriers were to go from one capital to the other with the latest news and instructions.

When responsible couriers were sent from capital to capital, it is only natural that they contained not only diplomatic matters but confidential military advice as well, such as places which the address might strike and the military programme of the party communicating. Moreover, it is interesting that although Mālwā was the direct antagonist of the Deccan and it was the Deccan which sought the help of Gujrāt, still, when Mālwā was on her knees, the Deccani kingdom did not see its way to make peace without a direct and detailed consultation with Gujrāt. This leads us to the enunciation of the principles of clean diplomacy so well set forth by Maḥmūd

Gāwān in his two letters to the Mālwese envoys who had come to sue for peace after the disaster to their arms and prestige, when he puts down the highly laudable doctrine that sincerity should be the very root of all diplomatic conduct, a principle which is, alas, such a desideratum these days. The length to which the court of Bīdar could go in this direction was seen in the return of Kherlā to Mālwā on the basis of former possession.

The last thing which might be noted here is the complete accord between the queen-mother and the minister in the matter of policy, and it redounds to the credit of the queen that she saw the direction in which the wind was blowing, and not only agreed with Maḥmūd Gāwān that Gujrāt should be approached as against Mālwā, but herself set the ball rolling by writing a personal letter to the king of Gujrāt. The letters written in the name of Maḥmūd and Nizām to the king of Gujrāt must have been written by the minister in consultation with the queen.

The letters from Mahmūd Gāwān to the king of Gīlān and the Sulṭān of Turkey fall into a different category in that these countries are beyond the direct concern of the Bahmanī kingdom. We have given extracts from the letters addressed to the Sulṭān of Gīlān, although there are actually ten letters (all very long) in the Riādhu'l-inshā, mainly because the burden of all of them is practically the same. We are here concerned chiefly with the accounts of the Bahmanī victories given in these letters, for Maḥmūd does a service to the land of his adoption by informing the ruler of the land of his birth the great strides taken by the latter and the place it holds in the estimates of the people of India.

In his letters to the Turkish sovereign, one of the greatest Turkey has ever had, he is profuse in his compliments on the continued success achieved by him in the western lands, at the same time letting him know how his own adopted land has progressed under him and is doing its mite in the cause which the great conqueror

himself holds dear. There is even a mention of a Turkish envoy coming to Bīdar in one of the letters addressed to the Ottoman Emperor. Thus, while in the case of the Indian states the Bahmanīs actually took sides and played off one neighbour against the other, in the case of non-Indian states they achieved the same and by showing them how great their state was and the way it was expanding on all sides.

NOTE.—The following is the list of letters utilised in this paper in their probable chronological order :—

I. Letters relating to the Deccani-Malwese War :—

1 Paper, p. 13. Queen Makhudūma-i Jahān to Maḥmūd of Gujrat *Burhān*, leaf 74. (Cruelties of the enemies of the Deccan) 1462.

2 P 13. Nizām Shāh Bahmanī to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. *Bur* 74. (Importance of alliances) 1462.

3 P. 7. Nizām Shāh to Mahmūd of Gujrāt. *Riādh.*, leaf 34. (Strategy. Mutual envoys Their names. Alliance between Deccan and Gujrāt.) After the battle of Qandhar

4 P. 8. Mahmūd of Gujrāt to Nizām Shāh. *Riādh*, 128. (Reply to the above. Names of Deccani and Malwese envoys. Strategy) 1462.

5 P 7. Nizām Shāh to Maḥmūd of Gujrāt. *Riādh.*, 47. (Malwese envoys arrive with pourparlers. Reference to a former envoy from Mālwā. Reference to proposal for the partition of Malwa). Written after the final retreat of the Malwese army.

6 P. 8. Nizām Shāh to Mahmūd Khiljī of Mālwā. *Riādh.*, 129. (Exchange of mutual envoys) 1462.

7 P. 98. Maḥmūd Gāwān to Shaikh Ḍāwūd, the Malwese envoy. *Riādh.*, 48. (Greatness of the Bahmanī dynasty. Former Khiljī envoys. Anti-Bahmanī party at the court of Māndū. Moral bases of alliances. Definition of purity) 1462.

8 P. 9. Maḥmūd Gāwān to el-Mendāvī, the Malwese envoy. *Riādh*, 119. (Condition of mutual alliances. Purity and sincerity on foreign relations. Threat) 1462 or 1463.

9 P. 8. Nizām Shah to the king of Gujrāt. *Riādh.*, 124. (End of the Malwese danger. Proposal for permanent union with Gujrat) 1463.

10 P. 13. Nizām Shāh to king of Gujrāt. *Bur.*, 78. (Blessings of International alliances) 1463.

II. Miscellaneous letters :—

11 P. 11. Maḥmūd Gawān to the Sulṭan of Gīlān. *Riādh.*, 35. (Bahmanī victories. Theory of obedience and authority.) About 22nd September, 1470.

12 P. 11. Maḥmūd Gāwān to the Sulṭān of Gīlān. *Riādh.*, 50. (Reasons for leaving Gīlān. Good treatment at the hands of the Bahmanis).

13 P. 10. Muhammad Shāh Bahmanī to Husain Shāh of Jaunpūr. *Riādh.*, 113. (Need for union. Importance of envoys. Their names.) Before December, 1470.

14 P. 7. Muhammad Shāh to the king of Gujrāt. *Riādh.*, 56. (Proposal for alliance with Jaunpūr.) About the same time as 13 above.

15 P. 12. Mahmūd Gāwān to a minister. *Riādh.*, 57. (Reception of the Jaunpūr envoys. Royal letter to the king of Jaunpūr. News of the western front.) Before December, 1470.

16 P. 8. To the king of Gujrāt. *Riādh.*, 114 (News of the demise of the dowager queen) 1472.

17 P. 20. Mahmud Gāwān to 'Alī el-Yezdī *Riādh.*, 29. (Envoys from Gīlān. General condition of Gīlān)

18 P. 12 Mahmūd Gāwān to the Sultān of Turkey. *Riādh.*, 16. (Importance of the Sultānate.)

19 P. 13. Mahmūd Gāwān to the Sultan of Turkey. *Riadh.*, 97. (Arrival of the Turkish envoy).

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON IN MYSORE

By *Rājakāryaprasakta Rao Bahadur*
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Colonel Arthur Wellesley the famous future Duke of Wellington and who in Tennyson's language, 'gained a hundred fights nor ever lost an English gun' came to India in 1796 and accompanied the British army which invaded Seringapatam in 1799. His first contact with Tippu's troops was at the battle of Malavalli. In a letter he subsequently wrote to his brother, Lord Mornington, Colonel Wellesley while testifying to the excellent behaviour of the Mysore army ascribed the cause of the total destruction of Tippu's troops in this action to the lack of co-ordination between the different branches of the army —infantry, cavalry and artillery.

Before the main British army took up its position before Seringapatam on the 5th April, it was found that between the camping place of the British army and the walls of Seringapatam stretched a considerable portion of broken ground interspersed with jungly bushes with granite rocks and ruined hamlets affording excellent cover for annoying the British lines with rockets and musketry. At the extremity of this and distant one mile from the city was a grove of betel trees named Sultanpet *tope* from whence rockets were thrown into the tents of the British army. General Harris deeming it necessary to expel the Mysore troops from this position entrusted this task to Colonel Wellesley. Wellesley, however, was unsuccessful in an attempt he made on the night of the 5th April. But in a second attempt on the following morning

Wellesley succeeded in dislodging the Mysore troops from their position.

On the 4th May, the fort of Seringapatam was stormed by the British troops and the city was captured before night fall. On the day following the funeral of Tippu, Arthur Wellesley was appointed to the command of Seringapatam and the first thing he did after his assumption of charge was to send guards to the houses of the principal men of the town to secure saftey for their families and established military posts in various parts of the town to afford protection from the ravages of marauding gangs. Notwithstanding these measures, there was no cessation of plunder in the town. Wellesley, however, in the end was successful in vigorously suppressing the disorders incidental to a town captured by storm and in restoring tranquillity.

On Lord Mornington deciding to reinstall the old Hindu Royal Family on the throne of Mysore, it was considered that regard for the feelings of Tippu's family required that they should be removed from Seringapatam, and Vellore was chosen for the purpose. Colonel Wellesley was entrusted with the execution of this delicate task, as he was believed to combine in himself both feelings of humanity as well as prudential precautions.

Notwithstanding the vigorous enforcement of suitable measures to maintain tranquillity, it became necessary to start military operations against some of the free-booters and palegars who infested the country. Of these freebooters the ablest was Dhondoji Wagh. Having escaped from the fort of Seringapatam where he had been kept a prisoner by Tippu, he began to commit depredations in various parts of the country. He possessed himself of Shimoga and parts of Bednore. On 10th September 1800 Colonel Wellesley overtook him at a place called Konagal in the Nizam's territories and Dhondoji was killed. Wellesley at this time took under his protection a young son of Dhondoji four years old who was found concealed among the baggages.

A body of Mysore troops was placed for service under Colonel Wellesley in the Second Mahratta War and he expressly referred in his despatches to the services rendered by the Mysore Cavalry under their commander Bishtopunt at the battles of Assaye and Argaum. He also referred to the services of a Mysore officer by name Govinda Rao who carried on all diplomatic negotiations with astuteness and tact.

Wellesley left India for good in March 1805. He was presented with an address on the eve of his departure by the native inhabitants of Seringapatam. In this address they gave expression to their regret for his departure from their midst and to their gratitude for the tranqullity, security and happiness they enjoyed under his protection. Wellesley replied from Fort St. George on the 4th March 1805 assuring the citizens of Seringapatam that he would not cease to feel the most lively interest in everything which concerned them.

Before his departure Wellesley addressed a farewell letter on the 2nd March 1805 to Purnaiya expressing his great satisfaction with the success that had attended the administration of Mysore under him and assuring also of his continued support upon every future occasion. Wellesley while recommending to Purnaiya to persevere in the laudable path he had till then followed and impressing upon him the necessity to make the prosperity of the country his great object continued as follows :—" Protect the raiyats and traders and allow no man, whether vested with authority or otherwise, to oppress them with impunity. Do justice to every man and attend to the wholesome advice which will be given to you by the British Resident. You may depend upon it that your Government will be as prosperous and permanent as I wish it to be . . . . "

Some observations of General Wellesley which have a bearing on the subsequent events in the history of Mysore are interesting and justify Tennyson's description of him in later years as 'great in council and great in war.'

Dearth of Money.

"The great want in the country is that of money. There is plenty of everything to bring it into the country. But as it is entirely cut off from the sea and has no navigable streams, there is no commerce and accordingly in many parts of the country the revenue is paid in kind and the common purchases are made by barter. As the Company will take nothing but money in payment of subsidy, I am always afraid that Government will at some time or other be reduced to borrow upon the crops from the Madras sharks, and the first time they do they take a stride towards their downfall which will soon be followed by others."

[Letter to Henry Wellesley, 10th October 1801.]

Desirability of placing Mysore under the Supreme Government.

"In respect to Mysore, I recommend that a gentleman from the Bengal Civil Service should be Malcolm's successor there. The government of that country should be placed under the immediate protection and superintendence of the Governor-General in Council. The Governors of Fort St. George ought to have no more to do with the Raja than they have with the Subha of the Deccan or the Peshwa. The consequence of the continuance of the existing system will be that the Raja's Government will be destroyed by corruption, or if they should not be correct, by calumny. I know no person either civil or military at Fort St. George who would set his face against the first evil or who has strength of character or talents to defend the Government against the second. In my opinion, the only remedy is to take the Raja under the wing of the Govenor-General and this can be done effectually by appointing as Resident, a gentleman of the Bengal Civil Service and by directing him to correspond only with the Governor-General. To fill this office with advantage to the public will not require

any extraordinary talents when this arrangement shall be made. Good character and decent, respectable manners will be far more important."

[Letter to Major Shaw with the Supreme Government, dated 14th January 1804].

THE AGE OF ŚAṀKARA

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The 7th and 8th centuries of the Christian Era, in India can with justification be styled a glorious period of literary and philosophic activity unsurpassed even by the period of the so-called Gupta Renaissance. The chronological position of the numerous writers who turned out monumental works on Nyāya Vaiśēshika, Jaina, Bauddha, Advaita, Mīmamsa, Vyākarṇa, is of extreme importance for the history of Indian culture, and unfortunately its significance has not been properly appreciated by the writers on Indian philosophy and literature. This period indeed deserves to be aptly described as the Augustan age of Indian Philosophy.

To begin with the Jaina scholars, Samantabhadra has been assigned by some to the 7th century on very slender grounds. He is on all accounts earlier than Pūjyapāda, the contemporary of Durvinīta and Bhāravi who should be assigned to the last quarter of the 5th century.[1] Jinēndrabuddhi Pūjyapāda quotes from Samantabhadra's grammatical works. Samantabhadra's work on astrology is quoted by Bhaṭṭōtpala in his commentary on Varāhamihira and Ugrāditya refers to Samantabhadra's medical works in his *Kalyāṇakāraka*. Samantabhadra was such a formidable opponent by the 7th century that Kumārila attacks him again and again.[2] Samantabhadra therefore, cannot be placed later than the 5th century for

[1] Cf. the Hebbaṭa grant and Avantisundarīkathāsāra

[2] An. Bh Or. Inst., 1931.

Pūjyapāda had as his disciple Vajranandin who founded the Drāviḍa Sangha in Southern Mathura when 540 years had elapsed from the death of Vikrama, according to the *Darśanasāra.* It is interesting to note that in a colophon to the Āpta Mīmaṃsā (printed in Kannaḍa), Samantabhadra is said to have been the son of a ruler of Sōragapura, the ornament of Phaṇimaṇḍala, which is probably Nāgarakhaṇḍa. But Sōragapura cannot be definitely identified.

Pūjyapāda, the contemporary of Durvinīta must have lived before 540 A.D. and was the contemporary of Jayasimhavallabha, husband of the daughter of Durvinīta, who helped the Chālukya to regain his *anvaya rājya* by defeating a Kāḍuveṭṭi (Karikāla ?). Bhāravi who lived long before Ravikīrti (630 A.D.) was therefore not the contemporary of Simhavishṇu and Kubja Vishṇuvarndhana (as some scholars try to make out) but of Simhavarman of Kañchi and Jayasimha (who has another title Vishṇuvardhana, according to Ranna's *Gadāyuddha*) and therefore of Durvinīta who commented upon Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya as well as Pūjyapāda's Śabdāvatāra.

Akalaṁka is placed in the middle of the 7th century according to a verse in *Akalaṁkacharita* (V. S. 700= 642 A.D.)[1]. and this is a reasonable date, for he was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti, whom he criticises and is criticised by Kumārila also.[2] Kumārila attacks also Dharmakīrti's theory of Apōha, and Śāntirakshita comes to his rescue. Kumārila was the uncle of Dharmakīrti according to Tibetan tradition. Anyhow he was the contemporary of Dharmakīrti, whether he became a Buddhist (as the Tibetan authorities say) in his old age or not. Even orthodox tradition says that Kumārila studied for a time under the Buddhists. About his end there is some mystery. Kēraḷa tradition asserts that it was Prabhākara who prepared himself to be burnt alive. Some Advaita works assert that Kumārila became a sannyāsin in his later

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[1] E. C. II. Introduction.

[2] An. Bh. Or. Inst., 1931

days and wrote some works in the *turīyāśrama.*[1] Similiarly Mr. Rāmakhṛishṇa kavi points out that Prabhākāra also became an Êkadandin sannyāsin. Kēraḷa tradition claims Prabhākara, Maṇḍaṇa and Padmapāda as natives of Kēraḷa.[2] Kumārila was the native of Ṛāḍhapurī in Vidarbha according to Ānandagiri's Śaṁkaravijaya, and Maṇḍaṇa of Vidyālaya, which is called Bijjaḷa Bīdu by the inhabitants. Bhāskarāchārya in his Siddhānta Śirōmaṇi refers to Bijjaḷa Bīdu, identified with Bīḍ by Mr. Ketkar. It can safely be assumed that Maṇḍana is a different person from Surēśvara, who in his previous āśrama' was known as Bhavabhūti and Viśvarūpa, for the commentary on Bālakrīdā equates the three. Similarly Ānandānubhava in his *Nyāyaratnadīpāvali* refers to Bhaṭṭa Viśvarūpa as Surēśvara in the last āśrama. Since Vidyānanda criticises and quotes from Surēśvara's Bṛhadāraṇyavārtikā, they were contemporaries, for Vidyānanda was the successor of Akaḷaṃka.

As to the date of Gaudapāda, his Kārikas are quoted by Bhāvavivēka, (600 A.D.) who is different from Bhāvivikta the Naiyāyika (criticised by Kamalaśīla). Whether the first chapter of the Mandūkyakārikas, taken as geniune *śruti* by Madhva and Kūranārāyaṇa, is Gauḍapāda's own work or as asserted by some, even the Māṇḍūkya Upanishad itself, (together with the kārikas) the work of Gauḍapāda, it is clear that Gaudapāda is earlier than the 7th century. This bhāshya on Sānkhya kārikas (translated into Chinese in C. 560 A.D.) is a genuine work of Gauḍapāda.[3] The date 550 A.D. is a reasonable date for him, and his *praśishya* Śaṁkara is placed by me between 568 A.D. and 640 A.D.[4] and hence a contemporary of Dharmakīrti (620 A.D.) from whose work Saṁkara quotes (Bhāshya on Br. Sū II—2—28).

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[1] J. An. H. R. III.

[2] I. H. Q., 1929.

[3] Not Mātharavṛtti as assumed by Belvalkar, J. O. R., Vol. 3.

[4] Q. J. M. S. 1930. Note on date of Samkara.

Saṁkara's latest date is indicated by that of Bhavabhūti (720 A.D.) the contemporary of Yaśōvarman and Lalitāditya, who knows Saṁkara's *Vivartavāda*, and by that of Akalaṁka and Vidyānanda the gurus of Prabhāchandra. As already said, Vidyānanda attacks Surēśvara as well as Dharmakīrti's Trilakshaṇahētuvāda in his Tattvārtha Ślōkavārtikālaṁkāra (written after Kumārila's Slōkavārtikā). Sāntirakshita (720 A.D.) attacks Vidyānanda while Prabhāchandra the disciple of Vidyānanda defends his guru against the attacks of Śāntirakshita Sāntirakshita's disciple Kamalaśīla refers to Ubēyaka who commented on Kumārila's work. Śāntirakshita is aware of the Advaitic position as he says that there is only a slight error in it from his point of view. Similarly Vidyānanda Pātrakēsari (the two are identical) [1] is also aware of the Advaitic criticism of Śyādvāda. Therefore it is quite clear that Saṁkara lived before Vidyānanda and Śāntirakshita in C. 640 A D. at the latest and that he lived for more than eighty years. Dr. R. G. Bhaṇḍarkar was inclined to assign Sarvajñātman, the contemporary of a Manukulāditya to the 7th century and Saṁkara to "about the end of the sixth century" (Collected works, Vol II. p. 15), a date in conformity with my own. Saṁkara quotes from Dharmakīrti, but not from Kumārila. The same kārika from Dharmakīrti is quoted by Sālikanātha in his commentary on the Bṛhati (p. 79) of Prabhākara, who is criticised by Prabhāchandra in his *Pramēya kamala mārtaṇḍa* composed earlier than Jinasena II. Prabhākara was the younger contemporary of Kumārila. Vidyānanda also refers to Prābhākaras (Tatt-Sl Vā, p. 264). Māṇikyanandin in his *Parīkshāmukhasūtra* refers to Prabhākaras. (III-56). Kamalaśīla, Vidyānānda and Prabhāchandra criticise Surēśvara's view of vivarta.

That Surēśvara and Viśvarūpa are the names of the same individual is the most probable view. But the question of Ubēyaka Bhavabhūti is uncertain; that he is different

[1] See contra An Bh Or. I., XI. and Introduction to Pravachanasāra by Prof. A. N. Pādhye.

from Maṇḍana (on whose Bhāvanāvivēka he wrote a commentary pointing out various readings and putting forward his own contrary opinions) and later than Maṇḍana is also clear. His name is Uvēyaka in Tattvasaṁgraha and in the commentary on Ishṭasiddhi, (p. 420) it is Ubbēka, (whose āchārya Kumārila), is referred to. Uvēyaka refutes the views of Prabhākara.

Prabhākara therefore is later than Dharmakīrti and earlier than Vidyānanda Pātrakēsari. We determine exactly the date of Vidyānanda by Jinasēna II the guru of Amōghavarsha, who wrote his Jayadhavaḷa in Ś. 759.

The date, though no week-day is mentioned, is probably Monday, 28th February, 837 A.D. Jinasēna II in his other work (Mahāpurāna) mentions Prabhāchandra—the author of Chandrōdaya, and Bhattākalamka, Srī Pāla and Pātrakēsari Vidyānanda obtained the name Pātrakēsari because of his Pātraparīksha refuting Trilakshṇavāda of Dharmakīrti. Vidyānanda is indebted to Akaḷamka whose work Ashtaśatī was amplified by him into Ashtasāhasrī. Prabhāchandra was the disciple of both Akaḷaṃka and Vidyānanda (the other gurus were Māṇikyanandin and Padmanandin). This Prabhāchandra of Chandrōdaya can never be a contemporary of Bhōja of Dhārā as he is earlier than Jinasēna II. Prabhāchandra in his boyhood was the disciple of Akaḷamka and later of Vidyānanda and Māṇikyanandin. Prabhāchandra thus alludes to Vidyānanda and Akaḷamka in Pramēya Kamala Mārtāṇḍā—(p.44).

Prabhāchandra defends Akaḷamka and Vidyānanda from attacks of Śāntirakshita (720 A. D.) whose younger contemporary he must be, for he is earlier than Jinasēna II Again another disciple of Vidyānanda was Mahāvīrāchārya who wrote his mathematical work to instruct the boy-king Amōghavarsha. (Gaṇita Sāra Sangraha.)

Hence Vidyānanda Vādīndra must be placed earlier than Śāntirakshita (C. 720 A.D.) and Akaḷamka earlier still (C. 650. A.D.). Since Vidyānanda quotes from Surēśvara who perhaps was his older contemporary, Surēśvara's date

would be about 675 A. D. Surēśvara condemns Maṇḍana who was the disciple of Kumārila along with Prabhākara. Dharmakīrti is attacked by Kumārila as well as Prabhākara as already pointed out. Dharmakīrti's date is 635 A.D. Hence within a period of forty-years we have to place Bhartṛihari (died in C. 645 A. D.), Kumārila, Prabhākara, Maṇḍana, Śaṁkara, Surēśvara, Vidyānandin, Māṇikyanandi, Prabhāchandra and Vimuktātman. Therefore it is rather difficult to accept the theory that in 720 A.D. the individual known as Bhavabhūti Ubēyaka had not as yet become Surēśvara. Neither could it be possible that Ubēyaka retained his old name and continued to be addressed so, even after he became Surēśvara unless there was more than one Ubēyaka.

Following another line of reasoning, Bhartṛihari who lived upto 635 A.D. at least, on the authority of Itsing is referred to by Kumārila, Śāntirakshita, Prabhākara, Vidyānandin, etc., who quote from Vākyapadīyā. The author of Kāśika Jayāditya died in 660 A.D. and the Nyāsakāra on the *Kāsika* in C. 700 A.D. In this connection, we should note a tradition embodied in the Kannaḍa work *Pañchatantra* of Durgasimha based upon Vasubhāgabhaṭṭa. In a story relating to Vikramāditya Sāhasānka of Ujjayini it is said that Vāmana and Jayāditya were at his court and probably authors of a *Sūktimuktāvalī.*

"Gupta vaṁśa vasudhādhīśāvaḷī rājadhāniyan, Ujjainiyanaidi . . . Guptānvaya jaladhara mārga yabhasti māliyum, *Vāmana Jayāditya* pramukha mukha Kamala vinirgata *Sūktimuktāvalī* maṇi Kuṇḍala maṇḍita Karṇanum . . . . Vikramānkanam Sāhasāṁkam." (Panchatantra II—270 ff.)

One work Sūktimuktāvaḷī is by Sōmaprabhāchārya of Tapāgachha in the 12th century (R.G. Bhandarkar: Report on Skt. Mss., p. 48. in collected works, Vol II). Since we have the testimony of Itsing as to the date of the Kāśika, little value need be attached to Durgasimha's statement. Vāmana in his *Lingānuśāsana* speaks of Jagattunga Sabhā. The earliest Jagattunga among the Rāshṭrakūta

emperors was Govinda III, whose rule began in 793 A.D., though the unreliable Deoli and other records give the name Jagattunga to several earlier rulers. Vāmana and Prabhāchandra quote from Māgha who is therefore not later than 700 A.D. Similarly *Kirātārjunīya* is quoted in the commentary of Prabhākara Bṛhati, as well as by Jayāditya and Jinendra Buddhi (Kāśikā I—3-23, p. 59). (*Brhatī*, p. 242). I have shown elsewhere that Durvinīta and Bhāravī could not be later than C. 550 A.D.

Now the resulting chronological position of the various poets and scholars is as follows: Gauḍapāda is followed by Bhāvavivēka (600 A.D), who therefore was contemporary of Gōvinda of the Advaitic tradition. Dharmakīrti (635-650 A.D.) was the contemporary of Kumārila; and Prabhākara and Maṇḍana of Śamkara. Śamkara's disciple Surēśvara was the older contemporary of Ubēyaka who commented on Maṇḍana's works. Ubēyaka (if he is the same as Bhavabhūti) must even in C. 700 A D. be in the earlier *āśrama* seeking the patronage of kings of Kashmīr. It is not likely that this Bhavabhūti in his old age took sanyāsa and became Surēśvara in about 725 A.D., for Vidyānanda and Śāntirakshita already reckon Surēsvara as a formidable rival. Viśvarūpa Bhavabhūti who became Surēśvara, was in all probabality an earlier and different person from Ubēyaka Bhavabhūti, the poet, for Bhāvabhūti is a title and the poet's real name was Śrīkaṇṭha[1] (cf. *Mālatī Mādhava*) and one *of his teachers was* Jñānanidhi, probabaly an advaitāchārya.

Surēśvara's disciple Sarvajñātman refers to Vimuktātman, the author of Ishtasiddhi. There is no reason for legitimate doubt. Vimuktātman cannot therefore be referred to the 11th century, or even to the middle of the ninth (as Mr. Hiriyanna does) but must have been the younger contemporary of Surēśvara himself and his guru. Avyayātman was perhaps a direct disciple of Śamkara

[1] Bhavabhūti's native place Padmapura is identified on the authority of the Mohalla Plates of a Vākāṭaka prince with Padmapura in Berars. (I. H. Q., 1935.)

himself. Sarvajñātman it was suggested by Prof. S. V. Venkatēśvara, occupied the Sarvajñapīṭha of Kānchī. (The pretensions of Śaṁkara the god, according to Bauddhas and Jainas are exposed from their respective points of view in the Sarvajñaparīkshā of Śāntirakshita and Vidyānanda's Āpta and Pātraparikshās. Perhaps their attacks were also directed against the philosopher Śaṁkara whose followers claimed omniscience to him). Sarvajñātman besides mentioning a Manukulāditya, gives an allusion to Viśvadēva (Viśvarūpa Dēvēśvara) and to Pratyag-Vishṇu. One Pratyag-Vishṇu was later than Chitsukha and commented on his works. In the *Āchārya digvijaya* of Ānandagiri several Vishṇus are mentioned as the disciples of Śaṁkara. (There is no reason to doubt the equation of Dēva with Sura as Mr. Chintamaṇi does. J. O. R., III, p. 50) M. M. Kuppuswami Sastri says that Ishṭa Siddhikāra is the *guru* of Ānandabōdha (though Professor Hiriyanna seems to doubt it) and that this *same* Ānandabōdha wrote a commentary on Prakāśātman's Śabdanirṇaya. Prakāsātman is assigned to the 12th century. Prakāśātman the pupil of Ananyānubhava also calls himself Svaprakāśānubhava. He is earlier than Amalānanda, the contemporary of Yādava Krishṇa and Mahādēva (C. 1250) who alludes to him. Amalānanda's guru's guru was Ānandātman, and his vidyāguru was Sukhaprakāśa. Ānandabōdha who commented upon Prakāśātman's work should be later, and the older contemporary of Amalānanda. Anandabōdha's guru was Ātmāvāsa and therefore the expression "*etadevōktaṃ gurubhiḥ*" cannot be interpreted to mean that the pupil of Ātmāvāsa was also the pupil of Vimuktātman, until we have more confirmation. Vimuktātman is later than Surēśvara but earlier than Sarvajñātman. In the Ishṭa siddhi there is no clear reference to Bhāskara's views, as such can possibly have been those of previous Bhēdābhēda and Samuchchayāvādins. Bhāskara however is earlier than Vāchaspati (whose date 898 is refered to Śaka, not Vikrama, era by Prof. S. V. Venkatēśvara, but the accepted date 841 A.D.

is more reasonable).[1] Prabhāchandra seems to have criticised Bhāskara's notion of salvation also.[2] This view is attributed to Bhāskarīya vēdantins. If this is true. Bhāskara should be later than Śaṁkara and earlier than Prabhāchandra, and therefore the contemporary of Vidyānanda and Surēśvara and perhaps of Vimuktātman. Therefore there is no insuperable difficulty in Vimuktātman's probable criticism of Bhāskara, and of Ubēyaka. Maṇḍaṇa disagrees with Kumārila and Ubēyaka with Maṇdana and Surēśvara also with Maṇdana. Therefore Maṇḍana is not Sureśvara or Ubeyaka. The chronological sequence that emerges from the above discussion is as noted in the next page.

[1] Jinasēna II seems to allude to Vāchaspati, who was defeated by his guru Vīrasēna.

[2] Prameyakamala Mārtāṇḍa, p. 88.

Date A. D.	Advaita	Mīmāmsa	Kāvya	Bauddha	Jaina	Vaiyākaraṇa
525	...	...	Bhāravi	...	Pūjyapāda	
	...	...	Bhāmaha	...	...	
	...	...	...	...	...	
550	Gauḍapāda ...	...	Subandhu	...	...	
600	Govinda ...	...	..	Bhāvavivēka		
		Kumārila	Daṇḍin	Dharmakīrti		
625	Śamkara ...	[Maṇḍana]	Bāna	...	Akalamka	Bhartṛhari
650	Padmapāda ...	Prābhākara	...	...		
	Hastāmalaka ...	Śālikanātha	Māgha			
		Mahōdadhi	..	...		
		Rēvana.				
C. 700	Surēśvara ...	Ubeyaka	[Bhāskara]	...	Vidyānanda	
		Vāmana.				
725	Vimuktātman ...	...	Bhavabhūti	Śāntirakshita	Maṇikyanandam	
	Sarvajnātman ...	...	Vākpati	Kamalaśīla	Prabhāchanda	Jayāditya
C. 778	...	...	...	..		
837 A.D.	...	...	...	...	Vīrasēna	
800 to					Jin sēna I	Vāmana
	Vāchaspati ...	...	..	...	Jin śēna II	
841 A.D.						

THE ORIGIN OF THE EASTERN GANGAS

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Introduction.—In my Telugu work called *Kalinga-desacharitra*, published by the Andhra Historical Research Society of this place in 1930, I gave an account of the origin of the E. Gangas.[1] Since then, the publication of works like *Kadambakula* and *Rashṭrakūṭacharitra* has led me to publish a series of articles on the *History of the E. Gangas* in the journals of the A.H.R. Society during the years 1932-34. I read a paper on the *Ganga Era* before the last Oriental Conference held at Baroda with good results and so I propose to read this small paper which relates to both the Mysore and Andhra Histories before the 8th All-India Oriental Conference to attract wider attention and to invite discussion on this important topic.

Object—European scholars like Fleet and Rice stated in their works that the E. Gangas had descended from the Western Gangas of Mysore. Some Indian scholars have followed suit. But recent researches have revealed the fact that they as well as the W. Gangas belonged to the same stock which originally—probably till the beginning of the third century—dwelt in the Gangetic valley. A study of the classical accounts as well as the inscriptions of both the Eastern and the Western Gangas would prove the same.

Ancient History of the E. Gangas.—The Eastern Gangas, as opposed to the Western Gangas of Mysore,

[1] *Vide* p. 475.

ruled over Kalinga—the whole coastal region extending from the river Godavari in the south to the river Ganges in the north from the close of the fifth century A.D. (495-496 A.D.) to about the middle of the 15th century (1434 A.D). Very little was known about this illustrious dynasty until the author produced his work with the help of several thousands of inscriptions (both copper-plate and stone). There are several outstanding problems in the E. Ganga History which await final solution and the origin of the E. Gangas is the most important.

The Gangas are first mentioned in the Greek and Roman writings of the period extending from the 4th century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. as a Gangetic tribe living in the Gangetic Delta and a part of Bengal and Bihar under the Nandas, Mauryas and their successors. They are later mentioned in the inscriptions found in Mysore as ruling therein from the 2nd century A.D onwards and in the C. P. grants found in Kalinga as rulers of that country from the 5th century onwards. The former are called the W. Gangas and the latter the E. Gangas. In Ptolemy's map of India, published opposite to p. 329 in I. A., Vol. XIII, the Gangaridai are shown as living at the mouth of the Ganges in the Deltaic portion. Their royal city was called *Gange*. It is described in Periplus as a great commercial centre on the Ganges. Along with them lived the Prasii on the E. bank of the Ganges. Pliny calls them the Gens Novissima. They are also called the *Gangaridae-Calingae* or *Kalinga Gangas* and credited with much military force. Their name is still preserved in the Ganghirs of Bihar, Gongay is of W. Bengal and Gangareddis of Ganjam, Vizag and Godavari districts. Trilingon near the mouth of the Ganges, Tosali on the river Vaitarani and Dandagala on the river Vamsadhara are all mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy as great cities of these Kalinga Gangas.

In *Mahabharata*, we get references made to the Kalingas three times and on each occasion in the company of different tribes. Probably, one of the tribes was the Ganga Calingae and earliest reference to them is found in

the works of classical writers like Pliny, Arrian, Strabo and others who based their writings on *Megasthenes Indika* which is no longer extant. Quintus Curtius Rufus in his *History of Alexander*[1] states that Alexander heard from prince Bhagala that on the further bank of the Ganges lived two great nations, the Gangaridai and the Prasii whose king Agrammes kept in the field 20,000 cavalry besides 2,000 chariots and 3,000 elephants This account was confirmed by Porus who also stated that the then king was of the very meanest origin, his father being a barber. Diodorus Siculus in his *Bibliotheca Historica*[2] states that Alexander obtained from Phēgelas (Bhagala) an account of the country beyond the Indus—a desert and then the river Ganges and finally the dominion of the nation of the Prasioi and Gandaridai (Gangaridai) whose king Xandrames had an army of 20,000 horse, 2,00,000 infantry 2,000 chariots and 4,000 elephants. Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*[3] states that Alexander's army refused to advance to the Ganges because the kings of the Gandaritai (Gangaridai) and the Praisiai were reported to possess a very large army and so Alexander erected altars for the Gods and retired. McCrindle states of the *Gangaridai* thus:[4]

"This people occupied the country about the mouths of the Ganges and may best be described as the inhabitants of Lower Bengal. The likeness of their name to that of the Gandaridai the people of Gandhara whose seats were in the neighbourhood of the Indus and the Kabul river has been the source of much confusion and error. Fortunately, the notice of them in the *Indika* of Megasthenes has been preserved both by Pliny and Solinus from whom we learn that *they were a branch of the great race of the Calingae*, that their capital was Parthalis, (Burdwan?) and that their king had an army of 60,000 foot, 1,000 horse,

[1] McCrindle's Ancient India, pp 221-227.

[2] *Ibid* pp. 81-283.

[3] „ pp. 310-311.

[4] „ pp, 364-365—Note Co.

and 700 elephants. They are mentioned in Ptolemy's *Geography* as a people who dwelt about the mouth of the Ganges and whose capital was Gange. The name of the Gangaridai has nothing corresponding with it in Sanskrit nor can it be, as Lassen supposed, a designation first invented by the Greeks for, Phegelas (Prince Bhagala) used it in describing to Alexander the races that occupied the regions beyond the Hyphasis. According to St. Martin, their name is preserved in that of the Gonghris of S. Bihar with whom were connected the Gangayis of N. W. and Gangrar of E. Bengal. These, he takes to be, but the variations of the name which was originally common to them all. Wilford, in his article on the *Chronology of the Hindus* (Asiatic Researches, Vol. V, p. 269) says that the greatest part of Bengal was known in Sanskrit under the name of *Gancaradesa* or country of Gancara from which the Greeks made Gangaridesa. But this view must be rejected on the same ground as Lassen's. The Gangaridai are mentioned by Virgil (George III—27). As their king, at the time when Megasthenes recorded the strength of the army which he maintained, was subject to Magadha, we may infer that Sandrocottos treated the various potentates who submitted to his arms as Alexander treated Taxiles and Porus, permitting them to retain as his vassals the power and dignity which they had previously enjoyed."

From the classical accounts mentioned above we learn that, in Alexander's time (325 B.C.), the Calinga Gangas and the Prasii or Prachya Magadhas were living side by side in the Gangetic Valley and they were ruled by Agramanes. This is confirmed by the Jain work *Parisishta-parvan* and the Buddhist work *Mahabodhivamśa.*[1] The latter work called the first Nanda by the names of Ugraśêna and so his son Augrasainya is called by certain classical writers as Agramanes or Xandramanes which term is wrongly identified by some with Sandracottos or Chandragupta. The Puranas describe the first Nanda as *Mahā-*

[1] *Vide* Raychaudari's *Pol. Hist. of India*, pp. 140 and 141.

padma Nanda and *Śūdragarbhōdbhava* and *Sarva-kshatrāntaka* and *Êkacchatra.* Pargiter states[1] rightly that he destroyed all the old Kshatriya dynasties including the Kalingas. The first Nanda Emperor was thus rightly called Ugrasena and his son Dhana Nanda Augrasainya, identified by classical writers with Agramanes. It is clear from the above accounts that the Nandas were ruling in or about 325 B.C. over several tribes of the Gangetic valley including the Gangaridai or the Gangas or Calinga-Gangas. These people occupied Vanga or Lower Bengal and were subject to the Nandas and afterwards to the Mauryas and to their political successors until, after the Gupta rule ended 495 A.D., they could establish their political independence.

From the classical accounts we learn that they occupied the country lying between the rivers Ganges in the north and Damoder in the south and Magadha in the west and sea-coast in the east. The Ganges formed their eastern limit and they are credited with the possession of vast forces including several large-sized elephants. Owing to this, Alexander did not make war on them.

Pliny in his *Natural History* locates the Brachmanae in the lower part of the Ganges and states the Macco-calingae were included in them and occupied the country nearest the sea. The final part of the Ganges flowed through the country of the *Gangarides.* The royal city of the Calingae was called Parthalis which is identified by some with Burdwan. The Gangas were a branch of them and their capital was called Gange. According to St. Martin, these tribes were at first non-Aryan but gradually became Aryanised. Virgil and Diodorus Siculus state that they were a powerful tribe owing to the large multitude of war elephants they had. Coming to later sources, we get the C. P. inscriptions of Anantavarma Chodaganga (1076 A.D. to 1147) which state[2] that the 6th member of

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1 *Vide* his *Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 25.

2 *Vide* his C. P. charters dated Śaka 1034 and 1040 published in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. I, pp. 106-124 and Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII,

the dynasty called Tūrvasu, being childless, prayed to Goddess Ganga and had a son Gāngēya and hence the dynasty was named after him. This tradition regarding this origin and name of the dynasty is evidently a later invention intended to discover a way to explain the same. Probably, the later Ganga kings of the 11th century and onwards did not know their own origin and early history as known fortunately by us from the several classical accounts mentioned above. In proof of this, we can state that the genealogy and chronology as given in the copper-plates of Chōdaganga lack uniformity and certainty. They differ from one another and also from those given in the charters of the preceding and following kings.[1] It is therefore better to think that the Gangas were so called because they were a Gangetic tribe. Their capital Gange on the river Ganges is a further proof of the same. The inscriptions of Chodaganga state further that the 16th king in descent from Gāngēya had his capital at *Kolahalapura* in *Gangavadivishaya* and after 81 kings ruled there, Vīrasimha came to the throne and *conquered the whole of south India including Karnataka*. After his death, his brother usurping the throne, his five sons had *to go eastward and settle on Mahendragiri*. After defeating Balāditya, they subdued Kalinga and made, Dantapura their capital.

This account records some correct historical traditions. From the statement that Vīrasimha's sons went *Eastward* and settled on Mahendragiri and subdued Kalinga, we learn that Gangavadi and its capital Kōlāhalapura were situated in the west probably between the Mahanadi and Ganges valleys. However, certain Euro-

[1] The C. P. grants of Vajrahasta do not at all mention the origin of the E. Ganga line. It is only the C. P. grants of the 11th C. belonging to both the Eastern and Western Ganga dynasties that give full details of the origin of the dynasty but they differ with regard to names and dates. Further, while the Western Gangas are said to belong to the Solar line, the Eastern Gangas are said in their own charters to belong to the Lunar line.

pean scholars like Dr. Fleet wrote that Kōlāhalapura should be identified with Kolar in Mysore and Gangavadi with a part of Mysore over which the Western Gangas ruled. These writings were due to certain misconceptions regarding the origin of the Gangas. Dr. Fleet and others thought that the Eastern Gangas commenced their rule in the 8th century A.D. and because, by that time, the Western Gangas were fairly settled in Mysore, a portion of them, they thought, migrated from Mysore to Kalinga and settled to rule there. If this view were correct, then, the inscriptions of Chôdaganga should state that Vīrasimha's sons proceeded northwards or north-eastwards. They should also mention Kuvalāla (modern Kolar) as their capital city but not *Kōlāhala*. One of their ancestors called Kōlāhala is said to have built Kōlāhalapura in Gangavadivishaya and a temple for *Hari* in it. As a matter of fact, this Kolahala is not mentioned at all in any of the Western Ganga inscriptions nor the worship of Hari.

Now, let us examine some of the Western Ganga inscriptions.[1] These belong to the 11th and 12th centuries and they record the following account of the origin and history of the Gangas of Mysore:

Ikshvāku of Solar line had a son Dhananjaya. His son, Hariśchandra had a son Bharata whose wife Vijayamahādêvi bathed in the Ganges at the time of conception and *the son born was named Gangadatta and his descendants were called the Gangas*. In his line was born Vishnugupta who lived in *Ahicchatra* and who had two sons, *Bhagadatta* and *Sridatta* between whom he divided his kingdom giving the former *Kalinga* and the latter the ancestral kingdom (Ahicchatra). Thus, *Bhagadatta became Kalinga Ganga.* (But his name is not mentioned at all in eastern Ganga charters.) Sridatta's descendant, Padmanabha, being defeated by Mahipala of Ujjain, sent out his two sons, Dadiga and Madhava, with

[1] *Vide* Insc. No. 35 of Nagar Taluk and Nos. 4 10 and 64 of Shimoga. Also *vide* pp. 29-32 in *Mysore and Coorg.*

the five Royal Emblems *to the south.* They met the Jain Guru Simhanandi in Ganga Perur in Cuddapah District and he helped them to found *Gangavadi* (in Mysore) with the capital *Kuvalâla.*

From the foregoing account, it is clear that the Ganga tribe was so called because it lived on the banks of the Ganges, and was a northern tribe that originally dwelt in the Gangetic Delta, Bengal and Behar but gradually spread into the Kalinga country in the East and ruled over it. The Later Western Ganga Inscriptions would make us believe that, while Bhagadatta went to rule over Kalinga, his brother's line, after ruling over the ancestral Gangavadi in the north, was defeated by the ruler of Mālwa and forced to found a new kingdom *named after the ancestral one*, in Mysore, in the South. This Mysore Dynasty endured independently from the third century A.D. to the tenth century A.D. The break-up of the Andhra Empire probably facilitated this course. In Kalinga, however, the Kalinga Gangas remained politically subordinate till the break up of the Gupta Empire at the close of the fifth century A.D., when they became independent. Under the Nandas, Mauryas, Chedis, Andhras and Guptas who are all known to have ruled over Kalinga, which was one of the provinces in their Empire, the Gangas remained tributary. It is only from the close of the fifth century or the beginning of the sixth century, as attested by the presence of their several plates published so far, that they became a Sovereign Power. The historical as well as the palæographical grounds revealed in the two published plates[1] of Indravarma and Prithvimula would confirm the same conclusion. The fact that no mention is made of the earlier Ganga kings in the genealogies contained in the grants of the later Ganga kings is to be explained as being due to the later kings having lost all knowledge of the history of the earlier

[1] Vide the Jirjangi C. P. Grant of Indravarma in J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, part I, and the Godavari Plates of Prithvimula in J. Bo. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 116.

kings. This view receives support from the fact that the genealogy given in some plates of Anantavarma Chodaganga does not tally with that given in those of his grand father Vajrahasta, and further with that given in some of his own.[1] This is due to the fact that the traditions of the whole line from the beginning were not kept up fully or remembered correctly. Some scholars like Dr. Fleet identified, while editing the plates of the later eastern Ganga kings, Gangavadi and Kolahalapuram mentioned in them, with Gangavadi (the kingdom of the same name founded in Mysore by Western Gangas, early in the third century A.D.) and its capital Kuvalālapuram respectively. But these identifications are wrong. Now, from the plates of the Eastern Ganga kings, it is clearly known that the ancestral kingdom was called Gangavadi or the land of Gangas. When one line of the Gangas migrated *to the south*, they naturally called their new kingdom after their old one in the north. Similarly, when another line marched to the east, they created a kingdom and called it also after their old one in the north. In the plates of Anantavarma, Chodaganga, Kamarnava I, the founder of the Eastern Ganga line, is described *as leaving Gangavadi* and *going to the East* showing thereby that his ancestral kingdom of Gangavadi lay to *the (North) West and not to the South.*[2] Similarly, he is described as referring to Kolahalapura, and not to Kuvalalapura in Mysore. There is mention made actually of a Kolahalapura situated in the Ganjam,[3] as being the capital of Prithivivarmadeva, a king of Kalinga Ganga line. Hence, it must be known that the Gangas of Kalinga were a

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[1] *Vide* Ep. Ind., Vols. III, p. 222, IV, p. 183, IX, p. 94 and XI, p. 147, Also Ind. Ant., Vol. XVIII, pp. 161-165 and 172, 176. Also pp. 50–65 in the supplement to Kalingadesa Charitra edited by me in Telugu.

[2] Strictly stating, the Gangas of Mysore must be called the Southern Gangas.

[3] *Vide* Prithvivarma Deva's Ganjam plates edited in Ep. Ind., Vol. 4, No. 26.

northern race who had little to do with the Gangas of Mysore, after they left the ancestral home of Gangavadi in the north and migrated to Mysore in the south.

This conclusion receives good support from the following facts :—

(1) While the early Ganga kings of Mysore were Jains and belonged to Ikshvaku dynasty and Solar line and professed Kanvayana Gotra. all the earlier as well as several later Ganga kings of Kalinga were ardent worshippers of Paramêśvara (Śiva) and belonged to Lunar line and professed Atreya Gotra.

(2) In the Copper-plate Grants of the later Ganga kings of Kalinga, there is no mention made that they migrated from Mysore in the south. Nor do we find any resemblance between the names of the kings found therein and those found in the inscriptions of the Mysore Ganga kings.

(3) While the seals of the Grants of the Mysore Gangas and Kadambas contain the emblems of elephant and lion respectively, those of the Kalinga Gangas and Kadambas contain bull and fish respectively.

(4) While the Gangas and the Kadambas of Mysore were related to each other, the Gangas and the Kadambas of Kalinga were also related to each other. And it is known, from the existence of Ganga and Kadamba villages and clans in Orissa feudatory states even at the present day, that these tribes gradually settled in various parts of the country and gave their ancestral name to them. While one line migrated to Kalinga and another to Mysore, more adventurous branches founded independent kingdoms in Ceylon and East Indies. (Mahāvamśa).

THE DATE OF RĀJARĀJA NARĒNDRA, THE EASTERN CHĀLUKYAN KING

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The date assigned to Rājarāja by Dr. Fleet and others is 1022-63 A.D. His Nandampuṇḍi grant gives the date of his coronation as 16-8-1022 and he is said to have ruled 41 years.

But there are reasons to think that the date 1022-63 for Rājarāja is wrong. There are grants of Rājarāja's 37th and 41st years which fell in Śaka 980 and 983 (Plava) the latter date being equivalent to 1061 A.D. Secondly, Rājarāja's father Vimalāditya ascended the throne on 10-5-1011 according to the Ranastapuṇḍi grant. Vimalāditya ruled for 7 years. So he must have died in 1018 A.D.

There are also two more evidences. In his Pamulavaka grant Vijayāditya the brother of Rājarāja says that he usurped the throne in Śaka 952 which, he says, was the 12th year of Rājarāja's reign. Secondly, Vijayāditya had his son Śaktivarman crowned in Ś 983 (1061 A.D.) according to the Numiyavāḍa grant of the latter. Śakti died a year later and Vijayāditya resumed his rule. According to the Chellūr grant of Vira Chōḍa, Vira Chōḍa was crowned on 23-7-1078 and before him ruled his brother Rājarāja for a year. Rājarāja was crowned on 27-7-1076 and the Chellūr grant gives 15 years for Vijayāditya's viceroyalty which must have commenced therefore about 1061-2 A.D. So, Rājarāja must have died in 1061 A.D. having ruled for 41 years from 1018

A.D. after allowing for two years of usurpation by his brother Vijayāditya who issued his Pamulavaka grant in the second year after his usurpation.

Thus, we may build up the following chronology from the available evidences :—

Śaka 933 Coronation of Vimalāditya A D 1014--Vimalāditya in Tiruvaiyār.

Śaka 940 Death of Vimalāditya.

Śaka 940 Rājarāja's 1st year.

Śaka 940-4 Civil war?

Śaka 944 (16-8-1022) Rājarāja's coronation.

Saka 952 (9-7-1030) Rājarāja's 12th year and Vijayāditya's usurpation.

Śaka 952-4 Vijayāditya's rule

Śaka 955 Rājarāja's 12th or 13th year

Saka 975 (28-11-1053) 32nd year of Rājarāja. Nandampuṇḍi grant

Śaka 980—Rājarāja's 37th year (M. E R. 1920, No. 663).

Saka 983 (Plava)—Rājarāja's 41st year (M E. R 1920, No. 671).

Śaka 983—Vijayāditya's usurpation and Rājarāja's death.

Śaka 983 (expired)—Śakti II's coronation (18-10-1061).

A.D. 1062—Śakti II died.

A.D. 1062-76—Vijayāditya viceroy.

A.D. 27-7-1076—Viceroy Rājarāja's coronation (Sewell).

A.D. 23-7-1078—Viceroy Vīrachōḍa's coronation.

PURUSHŎTTAMA GAJAPATI

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Notwithstanding the investigations of several prominent scholars, certain problems connected with the reign of the Orissan monarch, Purushōttama Gajapati demand further elucidation. The date of his accession, the circumstances in which he came to power, and the hardships which he had to face in maintaining his authority are not properly known. A proper understanding of these problems is necessary for forming a correct estimation of the character of this monarch, and the part he played in the history of the Deccan and South India during the 15th century.

I

The first problem that deserves re-consideration in dealing with Purushōttama's reign pertains to the date of his accession. When did Purushōttama ascend the throne? The late Mr. M. Chakravarti, after a study of all the inscriptions available to him at the time, deduced that his first regnal year, *i.e.*, the second anka fell in 1469-70 A.D. "With the help of anka inscriptions," says he, "the precise year of Purushōttamadēva's accession can be found out. The anka dates are—

2nd anka or 1st year	..	...	1469-70 A.D.
3rd anka or 2nd year	...	...	1470-71 A.D.
4th anka or 3rd year	.	...	1471-72 A.D.
17th anka or 14th year	...	...	1482-83 A.D.
19th anka or 16th year	...	...	1484-5 A.D.
25th anka or 21st year	...	...	1489-90 A.D.
32nd anka or 26th year	...	...	1494-5 A.D.
∴ 1st year was			1469-70 A. D.[1]

[1] JASB. 1900, p. 1893.

It is not possible to accept this as the correct date of Purushōttamadēva's accession; for Mr. Chakravarti's conclusions are based on inaccurate premises, and consequently he was obliged to make certain unjustifiable corrections in the chronological data supplied by the inscriptions in order to derive what he believed to be 'the precise year of Purushōttamadeva's accession.' Mr. Chakravarti seems to have started with the belief that Purushōttamadeva ascended the throne only after the death of Kapilēśvara which took place in 1469-70 A.D. Therefore, he came to the conclusion that Mesha Śu 12 Thursday of the 2nd anka of Parushōttama corresponded to April 12, 1470 A.D.;[1] but as this date did not agree with the data given in the inscriptions found at other places, he introduced the necessary modifications to make them tally with the date of accession fixed by him.

An inscription of Purushōttama inscribed on the 49th pillar (north face) of the Śrī Kūrmam temple is dated in the 7th anka corresponding to Śaka 1392 Āśvija Śu. 1 Tuesday[2] (25th September 1470 A.D). Another epigraph on the 2nd pillar (north and west face) of the same temple is dated in the 7th anka corresponding to Saka 1393 Āshāḍha Śu 2 Tuesday (June 4th Tuesday 1471 A.D.).[3] A third inscription on the 41st pillar (north face) of the same temple is dated in the 37th anka corresponding to Śaka 1417 Rākshasa Kārtika Śu 13 Saturday (October 31, 1417, Saturday).[4]

As the chronological details given in these inscriptions do not agree with the date fixed by Mr. Chakravarti for the commencement of Purushōttamadeva's reign,

[1] JASB. 1900 p. 182. It may be noted in this connection that the chronological data adopted by Mr. Chakravarti cannot be relied on; for Babu Rajendralal Mitra gives a different version of the same in his Antiquities of Orissa, Part II, p. 165, and there is no means of verifying the readings of either writer as neither had taken the trouble of publishing the facsimile.

[2] MER. 365 of 1896.

[3] Ibid 274 of 1896.

[4] Ibid 347 of 1896.

he altered their anka years to 3, 4, and 32 respectively, so that they might not militate against his date. As a matter of fact, however, a dispassionate study of Purushōttamadēva's inscriptions suggests an earlier starting point for his reign. The following inscriptions which furnish all the necessary details to fix the date of the commencement of his reign definitely may be considered in this context:—

No	Place	Anka	Śaka date	Eng equivalent	Reference
1	Srikurmam	7	1392 Āsvija Su 1 Tuesday	25th September 1470 Tuesday.	MER 365 of 1896
2	Do .	7	1393 Khara, Chaitra Ba 10 Sunday.	14th April 1471 Sunday	MER 366 of 1896
3	Do	7	1393 Āshāḍha Śu 2 Tuesday.	4th June 1471 Tuesday.	MER 274 of 1896
4	Do ...	37	1417 Rākshasa, Kārttika Śu 13 Saturday.	31st October 1495 Saturday.	MER 347 of 1896

It is evident from these that Purushōttamadēva's 7th anka or 5th regnal year fell in 1470-1471 A.D.; similarly his 37th anka or 30th regnal year fell in 1495 A.D. Therefore, his first regnal year, that is, second anka must correspond to (1470-71—5; 1495—30) = 1465-66 A.D. Purushōttama must have begun to rule in A.D. 1465. Now this date is in agreement with the chronological data contained in all the other inscriptions excepting the three Puri inscriptions which form the foundation of Mr. Chakravarti's chronology. It is not possible to reconcile the chronological data of the Puri inscriptions with the data supplied by other inscriptions, unless we assume one of the following hypothesis:—

(1) The starting point from which the regnal years are reckoned might have varied with the locality, thereby yielding more than one set of regnal years. In that case the dating of the inscriptions in any given region must conform to a single starting point. But the difference in the chronological data furnished by Purushōttama's

inscriptions cannot be reconciled on this hypothesis; for from his inscriptions found in the same region, say Orissa, two starting points for his reign can be derived. Whereas his Puri inscriptions point, according to Mr. Chakravarti's calculations, to 1470-71 A.D. as the first year of his reign the copper-axe inscription in the possession of Bhuñyas of Orissa shows that the first year was not 1470-71 but 1466 A.D. This charter records a gift of the king made on Mesha di 10, a Sōmavāra, Grahaṇakāla in the 25th anka of the reign[1] corresponding to March 6, 1486, Monday. It is evident that the copper-axe inscription agrees with all the inscriptions of Purushōttama excepting the Puri epigraphs regarding the date of the commencement of his reign. Therefore, the hypothesis of two starting points has to be discarded.

(2) The difference mentioned may be explained by presuming the existence of a flaw either in the decipherment of the epigraphs, or in the calculation of the chronological data contained therein. It may be pointed out in this connection, that the text of the Puri Epigraphs, as given by Rajendralal Mitra in the Antiquities of Orissa, does not contain the chronological details noted by Mr. Chakravarti. Rajendra Babu's version is not, it is true, perfect; but Mr. Chakravarti's interpretation cannot be completely trusted, as he shows a tendency to correct the data given in the inscriptions where they come into conflict with his views. In the absence of facsimiles, it is not possible to decide what the correct readings of the texts are. Therefore, the only safe course is to leave the Puri epigraphs out of account for the present, and to accept 1466 A.D. derived from the reliable records, as the year of his accession.

II

The inscriptions of Purushōttama are not evenly distributed over all the years of his reign, as shown by the following list:—

[1] Gait: JBORS, iv, p. 363.

Reference	Anka	Śaka Year	Eng. Date	Place
JASB LXII i p. 91 ...	2nd	Mēsha Su 12, Thurs.	.....	......
Do ...	Do	Mēsha Su. 12—Thurs. . .	.....	......
Do p 90-91.	3rd	Mārgaśira—Ba. di 13 Tues. .	......	......
365 of 1896 .	7th	1392 Āsv. Śu 1. Tues	25th September 1470 Tuesday.	Śrīkūrmam
366 of 1896 ...	7th	1393 Khara chaitra ba 10 Sun. ...	April 14 Sun. 1471 .	Do
274 of 1896	7th	1393 Āshādha Śu. 2 Tues. ...	June 4 Tues 1471 ...	Do
285 of 1899 ...	...	1394 Nandana Kārtika Śu. 13 Wedn. ...	Wedn 14 Oct. 1472	Simhāchalam.
JASB 1893 LXII i p. 100-1.	19	—Simha Śu. 8 Thurs.	Aug 22 1482 Thurs	Puri.
JASB do ...	19	— ba 2 Tula	Octr. 14 1482? ...	Bhuvanēśvar
IA i, JBORS iv p 363	25	—Mēsha di 10 A. Mon. Grahanakāla ...	6 March 1486	Gṛihapada.
LR 42 p 323-4 .	28	1141 Kīlak-Bhādrap Śu. 5-Fri. ...	9 Septr 1489 ..	Koṇḍaviḍu.
MER 1900 ii p. 24 ...	...	1141	1489	Ganti in Gōdavari.
EI XIII ...	30	1412 Saumya kārtika Śu. 15 ...	Nov. 7 1489 ...	Potavaram in Guntūru.
MER 432 of 1893 ...	34	......	1494 ...	Draksharam.
MER 273A of 1896 ...	35	Vriśchika Sankarānti Śu 1 Thurs. ...	1494 Oct. 30 Thurs.	Śrīkūrmam.
MER 156 of 1896 ...	36	......	1495 ..	Kavalūru near Bezwada.
MER 347 of 1896 ...	37	1417 Rākshasa Kārtika Śu. 13 Satur. ...	Octr 31 1495 Satur.	Śrīkūrmam.
MER 469 of 1915 ...	...	1418 Naḷa Vaiśākha Śu. 11 .	April 23 1496 A. D.?	Santaravun Bapatla.

They are fairly continuous from the 2nd to the 7th or probably 8th anka, *i.e.*, from 1465 to 1472 A.D.; but they come exclusively from the northern part of his dominions, Simhāchalam in the Vizagapatam district being the southernmost limit. Then there is a break of nearly ten years. No inscription of his reign from the 8th to the 19th anka has been discovered so far. There are only two grants of the 19th anka; and these also come from Orissa. Then there is a second break of nearly five years between the 19th and 25th anka; from this year onward, the inscriptions are continuous up to the 37th or even the 38th anka, and from their provenance, Purushōttama is seen to have been ruling over the whole of the east coast from the Ganges to the Gundlakamma in the south of the Guntūr district during the last ten years of his rule.

The foregoing examination of the provenance of Purushōttama's inscriptions shows that during the first six years of his reign his authority was confined to the northern half of his dominions, then it seems to have suffered a sudden eclipse for ten years. Though it appears to have been revived for a short time in 1482 A.D. it disappeared once again, to reappear only in 1486 A.D., some four years later. Are the changes in the fortunes of Purushōttama, as indicated by the inscriptions, authentic? Or are they merely chimerical? Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to consider what the Muhammadan historians have to say on the subject. Ferishta gives a connected account of the affairs of Orissa during this period; and his narrative is supplemented by the fragmentary but useful information furnished by Syed Ali.

From Ferishṭa's account and some of the couplets that he quotes,[1] it is clear that in A.H. 876 (1470-71 A.D.) the king of Orissa, *i.e.*, Kapilēśvar, having fallen ill died and that a Brahman, his adopted son, ascended the throne. He had a paternal uncle's son, Hambar by name,

[1] Tarikh-i-Ferishta. Mugala, iii, p. 350.

who was celebrated for his bravery. This Hambar who was ill-disposed towards the new king called Mangal, rose in rebellion against him; but being discomfited in battle, he was obliged to take refuge in the hills and the jungles. With the object of overthorwing his successful rival, he appealed to the Bahmani Sultan, Muhammad Shah III for help, promising to pay tribute every year; and Muhammad Shah promptly sent assistance under Malik Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri. Hambar joined Nizam-ul-Mulk on the frontier, and they defeated Mangal who came to oppose them. Hambar then became the king of Orissa, and helped Nizam-ul-Mulk to conquer the forts of Rajamandry and Kandanir and the territories dependent upon them. Hambar thereon returned to his capital and Nizam-ul-Mulk began to rule the districts of Rajamundry and Kandanir as a viceroy of Muhammad Shah.

According to Ferishta, therefore, the succession to the throne of Orissa was disputed after the death of Ḳapilēśvara in 1471 A.D.; and the quarrel between the rival claimants, Hambar and Mangal gave an opportunity to Muhammad III to conquer the Godāvari delta. Now do we get any information about these princes from other sources? Who was this Hambar? Why did he oppose the accession of Mangal? Sewell correctly identifies Hambar with Hambira, the father of Dakshiṇa-Kapilēśvarakumāra Mahapatra[1]; but he leaves Hambira's relationship with king Kapilēśvara undetermined. The inscriptions, however, leave no kind of doubt regarding their relationship. An inscription at Bandarigate of Warangal fort dated 1460 A.D. records that in the year Pramadin, Ambira, the son of Gajapati Kapilēndra captured the fort of Warangal.[2] An undated epigraph of Zakkampudi in the Bezwada taluka records that Ambiradēvarāja, the son of Kapilēśvara granted the village of Zakkireddipalli to the shrines of Papavinasadeva and

[1] Historical Inscriptions, p 224-5.

[2] The Bharati: XII., p. 426-32, p. 6 of No. 6, June 1935.

Rudradeva of Bezwada.[1] It is thus evident that Ambira or Ambideva was a son of Kapilēśvara. The name of the festival 'Ahamvira bhoga' which Dakshiṇa Kapilēśvara Mahapatra had instituted in honour of his father in the temple of Munnur[2] suggests that Ambira was also known as Hamvira. As a matter of fact, Hambira or Hamvira figures in some records of the time of Kapilēśvara. An undated epigraph of Pamarru in the Gudivada taluka of the Kistna district mentions a certain Hambira of the Gajapati family.[3] Another record of Yenkipadu in the Bezwada taluka, alludes also to Kumara Hamviradeva Mahipatra.[4] The word Kumara or Komara which is attached to his name seems to indicate that he was a son of the king. The names Hambira or Ambira are but variations of the word Hamvira, which is identical with Hambar of Ferishta. Therefore the inscriptions make it clear that Hambira was a son of Kapilēśvara and not a nephew as the Mussalman historians seem to have believed.

Hamvira was a great soldier. He helped Kapilēśvara in defeating the Mussalmans in Telingana; and he also led the Orissan army in a triumphant march from the bank of the Krishnā to the shore of the Southern ocean. It is not unlikely that he was recognized by his father as heir-apparent. Notwithstanding his ability and position, Hamvira was not able to ascend the throne of his father, without external assistance. He was prevented from making good his superior claim to the throne by Mangal, a person, who was yet unknown to fame.

Who was Mangal, and how did he succeed in seizing the throne of Orissa after Kapilēśvara's death? The author of Bahamannamah calls him 'adopted son' of Kapilēśvara and nothing is heard of this Mangal outside Muhammadan histories. He is said to have been ruling over Orissa at the time of Nizam-ul-Mulk's invasion of

[1] M. E. R. 148 of 1913.
[2] M. E. R. 51 of 1919.
[3] *Ibid* [illegible] of [illegible].
[4] *Ibid* 157 of 1913

the Godāvari delta in 1472 A.D. The king of Orissa at this time, according to the inscriptions, was Purushottama Gajapati. No less than seven inscriptions attest to his rule over Orissa from 1466 to 1472 A.D.[1] And then his authority suddenly disappears. He seems to be identical with Mangal who was the king of Orissa in 1471-72 but whose power was overthrown in that year by Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri on behalf of Hambar. According to Kaṭaka-rājavamśāvali, Purushōttama was born to Kapilēśvara by a mistress,[2] whereas the Sarasvatīvilāsam of Pratāparudra Gajapati makes him a son, born of his queen Pārvatī.[3]

The circumstances under which Purushōttama rose to power are not known. The following facts may, however, be noted in this connection. (1) Kumāra Hamvīra led a victorious expedition to the South in 1464 A.D., and returned home probably in the same year. (2) A rebellion broke out in Orissa against Kapilēśvara's authority in 1464; and it assumed such proportions that Kapilēśvara was distressed. He thus gives vent to his wounded feelings in one of his inscriptions: 'Oh Jagannātha, thy servant informeth the high officers of the kingdom. From soldiers and servants . . . I looked after (all) from boyhood, now they have forsaken me. I will treat them as they deserve. Lord Jagannātha judge the correctness or incorrectness of mine acts."[4] (3) Purushōttama who was not heard of until then began to rule the country from 1465 conjointly with Kapilēśvara.

Had Kumāra Hamvīra any connection with this rebellion? Was the royal favour withdrawn from him as an act of punishment? It is not possible to answer these questions: but Purushottama's rise to power appears to have been connected directly or indirectly with the suppression of this rebellion. Whatever be the true course of events, it is certain that Kapilēśvara not only chose

[1] See the list above.

[2] Mackenzie Mss. 15-6—48.

[3] Sarasvativilasam. The Adyar Mss. Lib.

[4] J. A. S. B., LXII, Part i, pp. 95-96.

Purushōttama as his successor but also crowned him king of Orissa during his life time. Though this was not agreeable to Hamvīra, he bided his time until the death of his father. Then he rose up against his brother in rebellion ; but being defeated in battle was forced to take refuge in flight. He appealed to the Bahamani court, as noted already, for help, promising to sacrifice as a price for the support the whole territory conquered by his father in the Telugu country. The Bahamani Sultan seized the opportunity and by sending an expeditionary force under Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahari to the help of Hambar, established his authority over the territories of Warangal, Kandanir and Rajamundry.

III

The position of Purushōttama.—Purushōttama who was crowned as the king of all the dominions of the Gajapatis, lost everything after six years of rule owing to the machinations of Hambar. Nothing is known of him from the inscriptions during the next ten years. Traces of his rule become visible once again from 1482 onwards. What happened to Purushōttama during this interval? Though it is not possible to describe the events of his career during this period with certitude, he seems to have made efforts to recover his throne. The Sarasvatīvilāsā asserts that Purushōttama forced his great foe Hamvīra to bow before his feet.[1] This certainly indicates Purushōttama's ultimate victroy over his rival, and after this, he must have wrested the throne and the kingdom from his vanquished foe. He had to remain contented wtih Orissa : the Mussalmans who held the Telugu country were still too strong at the time to try conclusions with. A favourable opportunity soon came. A severe famine prevailed throughout Deccan for two years from 1474-76 A.D. Tanks and wells dried up, many inhabitants of the Bahamani kingdom died of famine ; large numbers of people emigrated for food to Malwa, Jajanagar, and Gujerat. In the

[1] Sarasvati Vilāsa : The Adyar Mss. Library.

Bahamani dominions no grain was sown for two years. When it rained in the third year, 'scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the land.' Muhammad Shah III was obliged to remain, contrary to his inclination, in the capital with the army.[1] The outrageous conduct of the Bahamani officers forced the people of some parts of the Godavari delta to rise up in rebellion. The commandant of the fort of Kandanir was so high-handed in his behaviour that the garrison was obliged to put him to death. They surrendered the fort to an Uriya nobleman called Hambar, who was also a subordinate of the Bahamani Sultan; but Humbar entered into negotiations with Purushōttama, and had agreed to help him to recover his hereditary possessions in the Telugu country, on condition that he would be allowed to hold undisturbed the fort of Kandanir. Purushōttama, having accepted the proffered help of Hambar, collected all his forces and advanced upon Rajamundry.[2] Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, being unable to oppose the Uriya monarch in the field, fled to Wazirabad, leaving the garrison at Rajamundry to defend the city as well as it could. Purshōttama marched to Rajamundry unopposed, and having laid seige to the fort, captured it. The Sāḷuva chief Narasimha who appears to have acquired mastery over a large part of the Kṛishaṇā-Gōdāvarī doab during the period of confusion in the Gajapati kingdom, marched towards his northern frontier, for what reason, it is not known.[3]

Purushōttama offered a direct challenge to Muhammad Shah III, by his invasion of the Telugu country and the capture of Rajamundry. As soon as the Sultan obtained intelligence of what happened in the Telugu country, he hastened with all his troops towards Rajamundry. On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Rajamundry, the Hindu kings are said to have fled, without giving any chance to the Sultan to engage them in a battle. Sāḷuva

[1] Brigg's Ferishta 11, pp. 492-493.

[2] (Bhaman namah) Tarik-i-Ferishta Muquala, iii, p. 353.

[3] Burhan-i-Ma'sir I. A. XXVIII, p. 288.

Narasimha abandoned his fortified camp and retired to the South; Purushōttama crossed the river Gōdāvarī and retreated towards his dominion; and Hambar who was assisting him withdrew to the fort of Kandanir. Muhammad Shah proceeded to Rajmundry without opposition, and having laid siege to the fort reduced the garrison to extremities. The commander of the fortress having discovered that further resistance was useless, surrendered and he was enrolled among the Turki, Telangi, and Habshi slaves of the Sultan.[1]

Sultan Muhammad next marched into Orissa in order to punish Purushōttama, for having invaded the Gōdāvarī delta and captured Rajamundry. He is said to have devastated the country and slaughtered its inhabitants. Purushōttama purchased peace by surrendering twenty-five elephants belonging to his father which he prized next to his life.[2] The Sultan then proceeded against Kandanir, and invested it closely for six months. Hambar who was hard pressed agreed to surrender the fort, provided the Sultan granted him pardon. The Sultan accepted the condition, and the fort capitulated. Then he returned to Rajamundry where he remained three years consolidating his conquests. Notwithstanding the efforts of Purushōttama to recover the Telugu districts, he was not able to achieve his object. The authority of the Bahmani Sultan appears to have been established more firmly than ever.

IV.

The confusion into which the Bahmani kingdom had fallen after the death of Muhammad Shah gave Purushōttama another opportunity to achieve his object. Muhammad IV who succeeded his father on the throne of Bidar was a weak monarch. He was not able to enforce his authority over his nobles. Consequently the royal power rapidly declined. Nevertheless, Telingana and the Gōdāvarī delta remained under the officers of Muhammad

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Brigg's Ferishta*, ii, p. 495-496.

IV until 1487 A.D. At the time of the death of Muhammad III (1482 A.D.), Adil Khan Deccani held the governorship of Warangal, and Kawam-ul-Mulk, the junior, was in charge of Rajamundry. This arrangement remained in force until 1486 A.D. when on the death of Adil Khan Deccani at Warangal, Kama-ul-Mulk marched upon that city, and occupied it without the king's permission. Nizam-ul-Mulk Bahri, who was the prime minister, marched to Warangal, accompanied by the Sultan in order to chastise him; but Kawam-ul-Mulk hastily retreated te Rajamundry, as soon as he heard of the approach of the king and the minister.[1]

The activities of Kawam-ul-Mulk subsequent to his retirement from Warangal are not known; but he could not have remained there long without molestation. Purushōttama who must have been closely watching for a favourable opportunity, appears to have moved southward sometime in 1488,[2] and occupied the Gōdāvari delta ejecting Kawam-ul-Mulk and the other Muhammadan officers. By a favourable turn in the wheel of fortune, Purushōttama was at last enabled to recover part of his patrimony which he lost during the early years of his reign. Nevertheless, his task was only half accomplished. The territory to the South of the Kṛishṇā comprising the two dandapadas of Kondavidu and Udayagiri, still remained in the possession of Sāḷuva Narasimha. Purushōttama did not appear to have wasted much time. Sāḷuva Narasimha was not then so invulnerable as he was before His usurpation of the throne of Vijayanagara some two years earlier had increased the number of his enemies inside his own kingdom; and under the circumstances, he was not in a position to offer as stubborn a resistance as he could have done a few years earlier. Therefore, Purushōttama seems to have launched his attack without hesitation.

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[1] *Ibid* pp. 525-526.

[2] M. E. R., 1900, ii, p. 24.

The history of this campaign is nowhere recorded But Purushōttama's inscriptions which are found in the territory south of the Krishṇā show that he had succeeded in capturing Koṇḍavīḍu. An epigraph of the king at Koṇḍavīḍu dated 1489 A.D. gives us an idea of the extent of his dominion to the south of the Krishṇā at the time It records a royal edict abolishing the marriage tax which the people of the eighteen castes inhabiting Koṇḍavīḍu, Kandravāḍi and all other countries had to pay.[1] A copper plate grant of SS 1412 (1489-90) registers the king's gift of the village of Potavaram in the Ammanabroli Simha to the temple of Liṅgōdbhava Mahādēva of Chadalavāḍa on the banks of the Brahmakuṇḍi (Gundlakamma).[2] It is evident from these records that before the middle of 1489 A.D. Purushōttama had conquered the country between the Krishṇā and Gundlakamma.

The Conquest of Udayagiri, 1490 A.D.—Though the inscriptions of Purushōttama and his subordinates are not found in the south of Gundlakamma, the fort of Udayagiri and the territory depending upon it appears to have been subjugated about the same time. It is stated in the Sarasvatīvilāsam, that Purushōttama captured Narasimha, the king of the Karnāṭakas alive, and set him at liberty, as he humbly begged for his life.[3] The Anantavarman copper-plate grant dated A.D. 1500 gives more information about this incident. According to this record, 'Narasimha, the king of the Karnāṭakas, who was trembling with fear, offered to Purushōttama the fort of Udayagiri and begging protection, secured his own release.[4] These passages make it clear that Sāḷuva Narasimha who probably came to defend the province of Udayagiri was defeated by Purushōttama in battle and taken prisoner, and that he purchased his freedom by surrendering the fort of Udayagiri. The evidence of these records is confirmed by Nuniz.

[1] L. R. 42, p. 323-4.

[2] E. I., xiii, p. 155.

[3] The Adayar MSS. Lib.

[4] Ugadi Sanchika, Andhra Patrika, 1928, pp. 167-80.

Udayagiri was one of the three forts which is said to have rebelled against Sāḷuva Narasimha, and which he could not retake owing to want of time.[1] It remained under the Gajapatis until 1514 A.D. when Kṛishṇadēvarāya expelled them finally from the south of the Krishṇā.

Purushōttama was, thus, able to recover completely in the last years of his reign what he had lost at the beginning Therefore, he had the good fortune of bequeathing his ancestral kingdom to his son Pratāparudra even as he had received it from his father.

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[1] Sewell F. E., p. 308.

TIPU SULTAN

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Was Tipu Sultan a Tyrant, a Bigot, and a Fool?

This paper is not concerned with an attempt to answer the question. It is intended to suggest a line of thought which may help to arrive at a correct estimate of the Sultan's character.

In the whole of the nineteenth century the opinion of the first few writers like Wilks, Kirkpatrick, and other contemporaries of Tipu Sultan was echoed by the later historians. As Garrat and Thompson have put it, 'Tipu's memory was stereotyped into that of a monster, pure and simple.' In the present century, however, there has been a fairer approach to the subject. A scientific and disinterested attitude has been taken up by all historians, and the impression created about Tipu is that his was a character 'perhaps unique in oriental history' eccentric and fanatical on the one side and *industrious and benevolent* on the other, with an abnormal hatred of the English for reasons best known to himself.

This liberal attitude towards Tipu on the part of historians is due greatly to facts discovered in the Wellesley Papers and other valuable records available in the British Museum and the India Office, and partly also to the researches made in India on the subject. The Mysore Archæological Reports from 1917 have been particularly valuable in this respect.

It is the hope of the author of this essay that Tipu's character may be shown brighter still if we discount the following factors:—

(*a*) The patent drawbacks of an eighteenth century kingship.
(*b*) The character of the people in that century.
(*c*) Current political ideas and practice.
(*d*) Geographical influences.
(*e*) The character of biographers of Tipu in the nineteenth century.
(*f*) Government policy towards historical research on Tipu, until recent times.

A few words of explanation may be considered necessary in each case.

First of all, about an eighteenth century kingship: Was there in that century a democracy or any other form of popular government in Europe excepting England? Was there anywhere in the East any other form of government than a monarchical one, and that a despotic one? Tyranny was the most fashionable institution in the world, and the revolutions of the nineteenth century brought it conspicuously to our notice and revealed the length and width of its operation. Was the administration of the East India Company a non-despotic one? Why should Tipu be blamed for being a 'despot'?

Secondly, about the people's character. They had lost all the fineness, which belongs to a free people, by centuries of oppression under a foreign government. Fear, cowardice, intrigue, and other vices had reduced them to a low standard of civilisation. When Tipu started as a ruler, he was fortunate in having as his subjects those who had the above faults in the smallest degree, *viz.*, the people of Mysore proper. They gave little room for anxiety by their quiet submission to his rule. But he was not so fortunate outside Mysore, partly because Tipu was an utter stranger to them both as a man and as a ruler and partly also they were set up against him by

rival powers. Consequently, Tipu, who was naturally a man of violent temper and awful prejudices, had to be somewhat vindictive towards them. In his anxiety to establish a strong centralised government in the State, which was after all a hotch-potch of the Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Maratha lands lately conquered and incorporated with the old Mysore kingdom, he repressed his subjects on the frontiers. His provincial officials rendered this repression very oppressive and intolerable indeed.

Thirdly, about current political ideas and practice. There were plenty of political theories at the time. But all of them were immature. It may be said from the available evidence that there was no such thing as a Martial Law. But the equivalent to it was ready, *viz.*, Terror. A reign of terror is a common phenomenon in world's history, and Tipu followed the practice of his contemporaries in the administration of terror. Dungeon life, large scale conversions, execution of traitors by throwing them down a precipice, and such others were the forms of terror under his rule.

Fourthly, about the influences of nature. Coorg, Malabar and Canara were so far away from the capital and so difficult of access that a kind of military rule was necessary to keep the West Coast people under subjection. It will be seen that the majority of historians have quoted and depended upon the incidents in the western provinces to establish their theories of Tipu's despotism and fanaticism, forgetting that the East India Company was in sore straits until lately to preserve law and order within those very provinces after they had conquered them from Tipu.

The biographers of Tipu in the last century were interested in depicting his character partially. Having been so close to his person and having participated in the pleasures and pains of a contemporary life with him, the first few biographers could do no better than what they have done, *viz.*, become partisans in the controversy about his character.

Similarly, the Government which succeeded Tipu could not take an academic attitude in the researches in his history. In Bombay, Madras, and Mysore, the administrators were interested in preventing the disintegration of loyalties towards the British rule. The Vellore Mutiny is a good example of the tendencies of a few people towards the extinct dynasty even under restrictions.

Tipu was certainly not so tactful as his father nor so tolerant. But he was a despot of the contemporary type, a fanatic to those who were rebels and traitors, and a fool (in losing a kingdom for no greater or better reason than satisfying his 'vaulting ambition') only in the eyes of his contemporaries. He appears to have been as good or bad as any other ruler of his age.

The author considers the verdict of Mackenize as perhaps the most satisfactory of all · 'While the Sultan, by the creation of fortresses out of number, daily acquired internal strength, he invigorated the whole system by principles of good Government and by an economical management of material resources to which those of any neighbouring power, if State exigencies are considered, bore no comparison. However bigoted to the tenets of the Koran, the vast number of Hindu temples recently decorated throughout his dominions authorise an assertion that his enthusiasm gave way to his ambition and his zeal to propagate the Mussalman faith did not occasion so many acts of barbarity. . . . Although parsimonious in a high degree, numbers of his confidential servants who during the war fell into our hands acknowledged him a lenient and indulgent master; nor have we to boast of many instances where his people were induced by our flattering prospects of success to throw off his yoke and shelter themselves under the benign influence of Christian rulers. . . . Checking the frauds of intermediate agents by severe and exemplary punishments the Sultan protected his raiyats who were chiefly of Hindu religion from the enormities of black collectors.'

VIII. ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By K. N. Dikshit, M.A.,

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Gentlemen and Brother Delegates,

I must express my sense of obligation to the members of the Executive Committee for selecting me to preside over the deliberations of the Archæological Section, which has had the effect of bringing me out into this Conference from the piles of files in an obscure corner of the Imperial Secretariat at New Delhi. In conferring this honour I do not think that the selectors have been wise but the sense of responsibility that their action has generated in me and the indulgence which I may crave from the distinguished and learned delegates assembled here may carry me through the ordeal.

Archæology has always been one of the most popular Sections of this Conference. It has sometimes been separated from 'Chronology' which is its eye, but in this session I find that it has been weaned away from history and geography which is a somewhat cruel operation, inasmuch as without these studies, Archæology will have no legs to stand upon. If Archæology has now been able to claim an ever-increasing number of votaries in this land it is due to the healthy craving for authentic history of our ancestors, which cannot be satisfied with the scanty historical materials left by them for the study of the period before the advent of Islam. The vastness of the

country and the multiplicity of the material have rendered it inevitable for Indian Archæology to include within its scope more branches, than are usually understood elsewhere. Thus Epigraphy and Numismatics have become highly specialised branches of Indian Archæology and further ramifications such as Dravidian or Sanskritic Epigraphy, Hindu or Moslem Numismatics, render it inconvenient for any one scholar, however talented, to master more than a limited portion of the different branches of Archæology. The main body of archæological science in India has, however, not been able to induce that universal attraction in the outside world which the antiquities of, say, Greece, Egypt or the Near East have done. The discoveries in the North-West of India during the last decade have undoubtedly served to remove the outer shell of the world's indifference to India's antiquities, but the amount of interest taken in the further advance of archæological investigation is limited. In small countries like Palestine, which in area and population would not exceed an average district in British India, the intensity of archæological work carried on by interested scholars from different lands may be gauged by the fact that over a dozen expeditions were simultaneously at work last year. Similar is the case with investigations in Syria and to a less extent in Egypt and Iraq where, in spite of the restrictive tendencies of the authorities, a few expeditions still find it possible to conduct field research.

Now what is the state of affairs in India ? The field of research in Archæology, which until a few years ago restricted to Government efforts and financed by Government grants, was suddenly left bare under the stress of financial emergency, and just at a time when organised efforts were bearing fruit, the hand of retrenchment blasted all further hope. By recent legislation, the field has been left open to properly organised non-official workers, but it remains to be seen whether any Indian organisation can take up the challenge and work side by side with the societies from abroad, who have been

already attracted to the field solely for the love and advancement of science. In India there have been instances in the past where private benefactors or societies have come to the help of Archæology, but most, if not all, of the actual work was done through the regular officers employed by the Department of Archæology. Thus the late Sir Ratan Tata financed the excavations at Pataliputra for a number of years. The Varendra Research Society and its Founder-President, Kumar Sarat Kumar Roy of Dighapatia, have also been associated with excavation work in North Bengal for a long time. Apart from these instances, however, oriental research in India has not reached the stage when societies or organizations like Universities can take up the work of archæological excavation, as provided in the recently enacted amendment to the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act. Indian research societies, Universities and other workers in the field are, therefore, on their trial, and if during the next decade India does not wake up to organise well-conducted and disciplined forces of research workers, they will have only themselves to blame and initiative in the discovery and interpretation of new facts in Indian Archæology will pass on to outside scholars who are sure to continue their steady efforts in this direction.

I am, however, confident that the position is not so gloomy and my confidence is based on outstanding facts. In the first place there has been a remarkable awakening of conscious pride in their heritage in the Indian States, and, as a considerable part of the areas, where exploration in future are expected to be fruitful is included in the Indian States, there is no doubt that the existing organisations in the States will grow stronger and succeed in adding to the sum-total of India's work in this field. His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has a wonderfully organised Archæological Department, which, under the distinguished guidance of Mr. Gulam Yazdani has continued to produce excellent work. The work done in the State of Mysore stands in a class by itself, as all of us who have

had the privilege of witnessing it here, can testify. The enlightened policy that has always been followed by the Government of Mysore under the direction of a succession of distinguished archæologists like Mr. Lewis Rice, *Rao Bahadur* Narasimhachar, Dr. Shamasastri and our energetic General Secretary, Dr. M. H. Krishna, the present Director, has been extremely fruitful of results, and we may heartily wish Archæology in Mysore an era of further prosperity. Other States in Northern India where excellent work has been done are Bhopal, who have spent handsomely over the monuments at Sanchi, Gwalior, where the work done during the last twenty years constitutes a record and can well be taken as a model by workers elsewhere, and Kashmir, where unfortunately the State has not been able during the last few years to continue their good work in the past owing to financial stringency. It is good news that during the last two years the progressive States of Baroda and Jaipur have been able to establish their own Departments of Archæology and have been fortunate enough to enlist for this task the services of retired officers who had made their mark in the Archæological Survey of India. Elsewhere as in Travancore and Cochin in the South, as also Jodhpur and Idar in the North, archæological and historical research is maintained as an activity of the State. It is to be hoped that in course of the new constitution of India under the coming Federation, archæological investigation in the Indian States will be further stimulated and more intimately correlated with similar efforts in the Provinces, and while there will be an increased consciousness and pride in local antiquities and local achievements, the whole will be knit together in an atmosphere of co-operation and enthusiasm for the advancement of the cause of archæological research.

The work that has been accomplished in the field of archæology, apart from excavation, by private Societies that take pride in the antiquities of their own Provinces or local areas, is considerable and gives hope of an improvement in the quality as well as the mass of research work

in the years to come. The oldest among such Societies is the Asiatic Society of Bengal, which still leads the way after an active existence of over 150 years. The work of the Varendra Research Society in North Bengal has already been alluded to. In Assam, the Kamrup Anusandhan Samity started over twenty years ago, has done good work, and in spite of considerable handicaps, has continued to keep aloft the banner of research in this corner of India. The Bihar and Orissa Research Society's record has been a particularly brilliant one, thanks to the energy and enthusiasm of its distinguished President. The coming Province of Orissa has already acquired a new sense of inheritance in its unforgettable past, and we can confidently expect special efforts being set on foot in the near future giving expression to the interest of the Oriyas in their past history and monuments. In the Andhra country the Research Society has published several ancient records including inscriptions but have so far taken little interest in archæology proper, which it is hoped will not be long in coming. The ancient glory of the Karnatic still kindles the flame of research in a few breasts at Dharwar, who have kept alive the Karnatic Historical Research Society against severe odds. In Madras the success of the recently started Archœological Society augurs well for the future, and I shall not be surprised if this Society is able to organise systematic field work in the vast and almost untouched field of prehistoric and early historic periods in that Presidency. The Madras Museum under the present Superintendent is particularly active in the matter of exploration and study of ancient remains that are unearthed from time to time. In the Central Provinces, keenness is growing among the research workers (*cf.* the Mahakosala Society), and it is hoped will urge them to more sustained efforts in the field. The scarcity of really good sites for excavation in provinces like Bombay (proper) and the Central Provinces, which are dominated by the great Deccan trap area, is particularly responsible for the apparent lack of enthusiasm in Archæology as

contrasted with their great interest in historical research. In the Indian Historical Research Institute at Bombay, a band of young scholars working under the inspiring guidance of Father Heras has been doing praiseworthy efforts in the historical and epigraphical field. In spite of the general apathy to the importance of archæological work in Bombay, it is gratifying to find that a University Professor in Bombay has recently carried on important work in the States of Western India and brought to light material which is valuable for the study of the Indus civilization. Undoubtedly the most important part of India, which has not so far been properly surveyed for archæological investigation and in which the great secrets of many of our missing links and gaps in our knowledge are still hidden, is the United Provinces. In this province the activities of the Archæological Department were very evident until twenty years ago, but the sensational discoveries in the lower Indus Valley have since tended to throw the field for investigation here in the background. The United Province Historical Society has so far pursued a somewhat chequered career, but it is heartening to know that this society as well as other Research Societies in Benares and Allahabad, are maturing plans for undertaking excavation work. When the vast area and the prime importance of this, the very heart of Hindustan, is considered, the existing efforts may be well nigh compared to a drop in the ocean. It is, however, hoped that the various Universities working in these Provinces will provide the future material for scholarship working in this field. Is it too much to expect that with its wealthy Zamindars and well-endowed Universities, a systematic exploratory survey of the mounds, which is bound to add to our knowledge and fill in the large gaps between the prehistoric and historic periods of Indian Archæology will not be long in coming? In the North-West of India including the Provinces of Sind, Baluchistan, Punjab and the North-West Frontier, archæological activity has been particularly prominent during the last twenty years, but there is no

awakening in the general public for claiming any field for private organizations. The efforts of Government in this region have now been slowed down with the abolition of the Exploration Branch, but it has since attracted at least two organised expeditions from America. There are no hopes yet of any systematic local organization in the Punjab and Sind, and it appears that the Government and outside Societies will have to share the brunt of any work that might be attempted in the near future in these parts. One event I cannot but refer to in summing up the present position in Indian Archæology and that is the departure of Sir John Marshall from India, the scene of his life-long labours. The debt which Indian Archæology in this generation owes to Sir John Marshall cannot be measured in words, and it is sad to reflect that we shall be left without the enlivening presence among us of one who has laid the foundations of systematic Archæology in this country.

Turning to Epigraphy, an important branch of Archæology, it may be not an exaggeration to state that it has not recovered from the effects of the drastic pruning made four years ago, particularly in the region of South Indian Epigraphy. Although Government efforts have thus been slackened, the learned Societies are making progressively greater contribution to this branch of Archæology. In Numismatics, which is the particular subject of the Numismatic Society of India, it is gratifying to know that in this Silver Jubilee year the Society has also added its quota of Jubilees and completed twenty-five years of a useful existence. In the world of Museums the present year is marked by an important event, namely, the coming out of a Committee on behalf of the Museums Association of Great Britian for a complete survey of all the Museums in India. The Committee is already finding that they cannot do adequate justice to over a hundred Museums existing in this country within their specified limits of time. It is hoped that the presence of the Committee will afford the necessary stimulus to the

Museums of India and help them in making greater efforts to improve their collections and organisation. The idea of a Museums Association for India has been mooted for the past few years, but for want of a necessary atmosphere urging the necessity of such a course, the efforts frizzled out. It is hoped that this long-felt want will soon be removed, and Museums in India will take their place in the educational system of the country. In the end I may hope that your deliberations here may succeed in encouraging more workers in the field of Archæology in all its branches and succeed in raising the standard of Indian scholarship in the eyes of the outside world.

NEW LIGHT ON DEOTEK INSCRIPTIONS

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.,

Head of the Sanskrit Department, Nagpur University, Nagpur.

Deotek is now a small village about 50 miles south-east of Nagpur. It contains an old temple in a dilapidated condition and a large inscribed slab. The place was visited by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in the year 1873-74. He has described the temple and the inscribed slab in Cunningham's Archæological Survey Report, Vol. VII, pp. 123-125 From the pencilled impressions Beglar took at the time, Cunningham published an eye copy of the two inscriptions on the slab and his transcript of their texts without any translation or interpretation in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I (First Edition, pp. 28-29). Though the inscriptions are very important and, as I hope to show below, of great antiquity—one dating back to the time of Aśoka and the other to that of the Vākāṭakas—none seems to have so far paid any attention to them. The earlier inscription has not, for instance, been included in the recently published second edition of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. I, nor referred to in any of the books on Aśoka. Again, so far as I know, no scholar has interpreted or even mentioned the Vākāṭaka record so far.[1] The Archæological Department

[1] The two inscriptions are included in his 'List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar' (second edition) by the late R B. Hiralal but beyond stating that 'one of them is in Pali characters' of about the same period as Aśoka's edicts and the other in Gupta characters, he takes no notice of their contents.

erected some years ago a tin shed over the inscribed slab and enclosed it with a wire fencing, but the temple remains uncared for. There is not even the usual notice board to declare that the place is protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

I visited the place in October last and took estampages, which show some better readings than Cunningham's eye-copy. On the other hand, some letters which Cunningham read in the last line of the earlier record have since then disappeared, evidently owing to the peeling off of the surface of the slab which is now used as a seat by village boys and cowherds while tending cattle. The slab, though large and heavy, can and should be removed to a safe place like the Nagpur Museum to prevent further damage of the important inscriptions inscribed on it. As described by Beglar 'the inscribed slab is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzy sandstone, worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting place and seat; the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides;'[1] it bears two distinct inscriptions.[2]

The earlier of the two inscriptions is inscribed lengthwise and is in four lines. It occupies 1′—10″ of the breadth of the stone, leaving the lower portion of about 1′—6″ uninscribed. The characters are of the early Brāhmī alphabet, resembling, in many cases those of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka. Some letters, *e.g.*, *ñ*, *p* and *ch* in the first line and *t* which occurs in the first two lines appear, however, to be somewhat later. It is probably on account of such letters that Cunningham fixed its date

[1] Cunningham's statement (C. I. I., Vol. I. First Edition, p. 28), that the stone is 4 feet long by 2½ feet is incorrect. These dimensions refer to the portion of the slab on which the earlier inscription is incised.

[2] Cunningham's A. S. R., Vol. VII., p. 124.

approximately as B.C. 100.[1] Some of these may be indicative of the current forms of letters of ancient Vidarbha; for, in the present record itself we find the earlier forms of these letters used. The form of *ñā*, for instance, which occurs in *rāñā* l. 4 exactly resembles that of *ñā* in *aññāya* in l. 3 of the Third Rock-Edict at Girnar. Again *ch* which occurs in *āmacha* l. 3 has undoubtedly the same form of the Aśokan *ch*. The letter *t* also has nearly the same form as that of *ñātīnam* in l. 6 of the Fourth Rock-Edict at Girnar. The numerical symbols for 10 and 4 occur in l. 4 and there is in the extant portion one instance of a daṇḍa being used to indicate virāma as in the Mahāsthāna and Ramgaḍh cave inscriptions.

The language is early Prakrit, the same dialect being used as in the Girnar edicts. Most of the words are either identical with those used in the latter[2] or similarly formed.[3]

At least the first three lines of the inscriptions seem originally to have extended to the right hand end of the slab, for traces of isolated letters in the first line, which are in no way connected with the second inscription, can still be marked on the original stone. Besides, the sense of the first two lines, which are fairly legible, appears to be incomplete in the absence of their right hand half.[4] It would again be very strange if the engraver, selecting a large slab nine feet long and commencing to incise it lengthwise, had ended his lines about the middle of it leaving out nearly half of the right end. For these reasons I cannot accept Beglar's view that 'the second inscription was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription, as it does not interfere with or injure

[1] Ibid. p. 29.

[2] *E.g. āñapayati*, *rāñā*,

[3] Cf. *hanamto* and *bamdhamto* in l. 2 with *karoto* (for *karomto*) (Girnar XII. 5) and *samto* (Girnar VI. 7, VIII. 2).

[4] One would, for instance, expect at the end of l 1 the names of animals and the seasons in which their capture and slaughter were prohibited. Cf. Aśoka's Pillar Edict V.

it.'[1] On the other hand, the later inscription seems to be a palimpsest, the earlier one being chiselled off to make room for it.

Owing to the loss of nearly half of this record it is not possible to give a detailed account of its contents. However, there remains fortunately sufficient portion of it to indicate that its object was to record the command of some lord (*Sāmi*) (who is called king in l. 4), prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Aśoka's fifth pillar edict, or, may be, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it. The third line mentions executive officers (*āmachā = amātyāḥ*) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders. The last line contains the date[2] 14, denoting probably the regnal year in which the record was incised (*badhaṁ*).[3]

The contents of the present inscription suggest that it may be referred to the age of Aśoka when there was a wide-spread campaign against the capture and slaughter of animals. There are, however, certain circumstances which apparently go against this view. The commencement of the record is unlike that of the well-known rock and pillar edicts of the great emperor; the word *Sāmi* occurs nowhere in Aśokan records; again some of the characters used in the present inscription belong to a later period as shown above. It may, therefore, be asked if the record could not be referred to the age of some Śātavāhana king, *e.g.*, Gautamīputra who is called Sāmi in the Nasik cave inscription[4] and who undoubtedly ruled over Vidarbha.[5] It may, however, be noted in this connection that the title Sāmi was not distinctive of the

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[1] Cunningham A S R, Vol VII, p 124.

[2] Cunningham read '30 4 3 He pa. l di' but the first may be *lego* (lekho?). There is now no means to test his readings of the rest, the surface of the slab having peeled off since then

[3] For *badham* in this sense of *nibadho savachhare* 24, etc., in the Nasik cave inscription, Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, 73.

[4] See Ep. Ind. Vol., VII. p. 71.

[5] Ibid. Vol. VII, p. 60.

Śātavāhanas. We find it used in the sense of king in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya.[1] In inscriptional literature we find it employed not only in connection with the names of the Śātavāhana kings but also with those of the Kshatrapas of Mahārāshtra,[2] Mathurā[3] and Kaṭhiawaḍ.[4] In one case, where it is used by itself,[5] it refers to a Pallava king, the father of Śivaskandavarman. Besides, we have no other evidence of the prohibition of the capture and slaughter of animals in the records of any Śātavāhana king. These kings, though they made liberal donations to Buddhist Bhikshus, were themselves followers of the Vedic religion. The Early Śātavāhanas performed animal sacrifices like the aśvamedha. In the Nasik cave inscription[6] of the reign of Vāsishthīputra Pulumāvi, his father Gautamīputra is not only called eka-bamhaṇa (the unique Brāhmaṇa) but is said to have stopped the intermixture of all castes. Notwithstanding the somewhat adverse evidence of palaeography, I am therefore, inclined to refer this record to the age of Aśoka.

We know that the great Buddhist Emperor prohibited the slaughter and sacrifice of animals and ordered his officers and provincial governors to set out on tours every five years to see *inter alia* that his subjects abstained from killing animals.[7] In some of his inscriptions Aśoka orders his officers to get his edicts engraved on stone-

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[1] See Arthaśāstra, First Ed by Dr. Shama Sastri, p. 322, etc

[2] Cf. The Junnar cave inscription of the time of Nahapāna. Ind. Ant., VI, pp. 35 f ;

[3] *Svāmisa mahākshatrapasa Śodāsasa savatsare*, etc. Mathura Jain inscription of the time of Mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa, Ep. Ind., Vol. II, p 199

[4] *Rāño mahākshatrapasa svāmi Rudrasēnasa varshe'*, etc. Mulwasar stone inscription of the time of Mahakshatrapa Rudrasena,

[5] Hirahaḍgalli copperplate inscription of Śivaskandavarman, Ep. Ind., Vol. I, p. 2 ff.

[6] Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 60.

[7] Cf. Rock Edict III.

pillars, rocks, and stone slabs, throughout the districts in their charge.[1] These officers must have, accordingly, caused such records to be incised at several places in his extensive empire, though the present is the only instance of its kind that has yet come to light. If my reading of the date in the last line is correct, the present edict may have been issued by a Dharmmamahāmātra in the fourteenth year after the coronation of Aśoka. From the fifth rock edict we learn that these Dharmmamahāmātras were first appointed by Aśoka in the thirteenth year after his coronation, *i.e.*, a year prior to the date of the present record. One of the duties assigned to them was to prevent the capture and slaughter of animals.[2] It is not unlikely that the Dharmmamahāmātra who was in charge of ancient Vidarbha caused the present record to be incised at Chikambari,[3] which seems to have then been a place of great importance, to pro-

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[1] Cf. Rupanatha Rock Inscription—*iya cha athe pavatisu lèkhāpeta vālata! hadha cha athi sālāthabhe silāthambhasi lākhāpetavyata.*

Cf. also the Pillar Edict VII.

Cf. The Sarnatha Pillar Inscription—*āvate cha tuphāke āhāle savate vivāsayātha tuphe etena viyamjanēna*

[2] 'Bamdhana-badhasa patividhānaya' I interpret the expression as above, agreeing with R. B. G. S. Ojha. For the substitution of *b* for *v* we may compare dbādasa in Girnar R. E. iii. 1. The expression is interpreted variously by other scholars 'supporting prisoners with money' (Hultzsch): 'the unfettering—or the release of (any one) who is bound with fetters' (Bhandarkar), and 'taking steps against imprisonment' (Mukerjee). But if these renderings are accepted there would be no reference in the duties of the Dharma Mahāmātras to the prevention of capture and slaughter of animals on which Aśoka had set his heart. Cf. also Kauṭilya—*Sūnādhyakshō. mrigapaśupakshi-matsyānāṃ bamdhana-vadha-himsānām uttabhaṃ daṇḍam kārayet.*

[3] The *i* mark of *ri* is not clear in this inscription, but it is distinct in the other inscription. The place is now called Chikmārā but there are villages in the neighbourhood (*e.g.* Pāndri, Ārmori) whose names end in *ri*.

claim the command of the great Emperor to his subjects, living in the neighbourhood.

The second record is in five lines[1] which are inscribed breadthwise, commencing from the narrow end of the slab. Like the earlier inscription it has also suffered considerable damage. Some letters in the first four lines have either altogether disappeared or become illegible, owing to the wearing away and peeling off of the surface of the slab. Besides a channel 4″ in breadth has been cut right through the middle of the inscription which has evidently resulted in the further loss of some more letters.[2]

Like the Eran inscription of Samudragupta the present record is inscribed in the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the fourth century A.D. As regards individual letters we may note the form of the tripartite *y* in l. 3 and of the unlooped *n* in l. 5. The size of letters varies from 1¾″ to 7½″. The language is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a sanctuary (dharmasthānam) by king Rudrasena at Chikkambari. It may be noted in this connection that there is at present a small plain structure of laterite in a dilapidated condition just near the inscribed slab. 'The temple is small, consisting simply of a cell and its entrance; it may have had a small portico or a maṇḍapa attached, as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks; but it could not have been large and indeed the

[1] There are only two letters *ta* and *ka* of much smaller size incised in the middle of the sixth line.

[2] The channel could not have existed at the time the inscription was incised for, in one case at least (*viz* in vamśa . . . tasya in l.4), we are sure that it has caused the loss of one letter. Beglar also has remarked 'Long ages afterwards when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab, large enough to occupy the breadth of the sanctum of a temple was considered to form into an argha and in the process the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed' . . Cunningham A. S. R., Vol. VII, pp. 124-125.

temple is of the kind usually built without a maṇḍpa.[1] The existing structure is quite plain. The only decoration it seems to have had was in the form of a scroll on its door frame, two fragments of which are lying in front of it. The door seems to have been 4′-4″ in breadth and about 4′ in height. The lintel had in a recess in the middle a small image of two-armed Ganapati measuring 6″ in breadth and 8½″ in height. The roof of the sanctum is formed of intersecting squares and has a pyramidal shape, cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps. Temples of this type can be seen in the adjoining villages of Pānori and Ârmori[2]. There is a large image of Gaṇapati placed in the cell, but it seems to be of a later age. The temple was originally dedicated to Śiva. The liṅga has now disappeared but from the dimensions of the socket in an old argha lying near by, it seems to have been a large one about 13″ in diameter. Such liṅgas are found round about Mansar near Ramtek which was undoubtedly an ancient holy place dating back at least to the time of the Vākāṭakas. There is a broken image of Nandi lying in front of the present temple. Though the present structure cannot date back to the 4th century A.D. to which period the inscription can be referred, it undoubtedly marks an ancient site and may have been erected when the original temple fell into ruins.

The inscription is not dated. The name of the king's family which occurred in the beginning of the 4th line has, unfortunately, been lost; but on the evidence of palæography Cunningham conjecturally assigned the record to Rudrasena I, though according to the notions then prevalent, he called him a king of the Kailakila Yavanas of Vākāṭaka and placed him in A.D. 170.[3] Though this date cannot now be accepted, Cunningham's attribution of the present record to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I, seems to be correct. There were two kings

[1] [illegible] p. 134.
[2] [illegible], pp. [illegible]-136.
[3] Cunn. A.S.R., vol. I, p. 29.

of this name in the dynasty of the Vākāṭakas, viz., Rudasena I who was grandson and successor of Pravarasena I and Rudrasena II, the grandson of the former and son-in-law of Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya. Of these the former was a Śaiva, being a fervent devotee of Svāmi Mahābhairava,[1] while the latter, probably owing to the influence of his wife Prabhāvati-guptā was a worshipper of Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu).[2] As the present inscription evidently records the building of a Śaiva temple it may be ascribed to Rudrasena I.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it is the earliest record of the Vākāṭakas discovered so far and is, besides, the only lithic record of that royal family. Its situation shows that Rudrasēna I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of of Rudradeva, who is mentioned in the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta or North India defeated by Samudragupta, with Rudrasena I, of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.

There remains now the question—why was the inscription inscribed breadthwise and commenced at the narrow end of the slab? As is well-known there was a revival of Hinduism and Sanskrit learning in the age of the Vākāṭakas. They themselves performed animal sacrifices and could have, therefore, had no regard for Aśoka's precepts of Ahiṁsā. When, therefore, Rudrasena I built a temple of his favourite deity and wanted to put up an inscription of his own to record it, he could not have felt any scruples in chiselling off some part of the earlier inscription to make room for his record. The stone was probably placed on the broader end of its breadth and half-buried, leaving only the Vākāṭaka record above ground. The left hand portion of the earlier record

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[1] The adjective 'atyanta-svāmi-Mahā-Bhairava-bhaktasya' is applied to him in the Copper plates of Pravarasena II.

[2] Of his description 'Bhagavatas'—Chakrapāṇeḥ-prasādopārjjita-'Śri.samudayasya.' in the copper-plates of his son Pravarasena II,

was left untouched as the Vākāṭaka inscription, which was commenced at the narrower end of the slab, was finished about the middle of the stone.

There is only one place, *viz.*, Chikambari [1] mentioned in both the records. As pointed out by the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal it is identical with the adjoining village Chikmārā. Chikambari seems to have been a flourishing city for more than six hundred years as both the Mahāmātra of Aśoka and the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena I, thought it fit to incise their records there. In ancient times it must have extended to, and perhaps included in its expanse the site of the modern village Deotek where the inscribed slab lies at present.

Text of the Deotek Inscriptions.

The earlier Inscription (of the time of Aśoka)—

1. *Svāmi āṇapayati* [|*] *chikamba* [*ri*] [*sa*] *sa....*
2. *bhanaṁto baṁdhaṁto vā tasa* | *daṁso jha nādha* (? *dasāparādha*).
3. *āmachā na la . . . naṃ nū*
4. *rāñā legō* (*lekhō* ?) . . . 10 4 *badhaṃ* [|*]

The later (Vākāṭaka) Inscription—

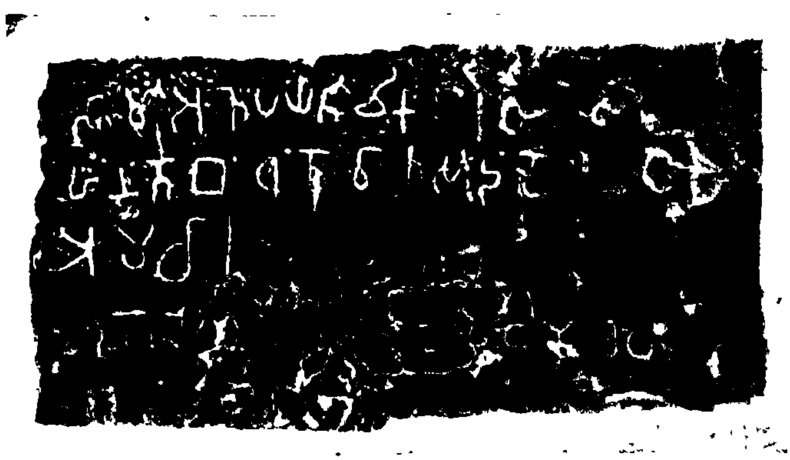
1. *Chikkambu* [*ri*] *sa chi* (?) . .
2. . . *sa* (? *rā*) *jaḥ* . . .
3. . *pravara ma* . . *masyāyō* [*Vā**] [*kāṭaka**] *vaṁśa* [*iā**] *tasyēdaṃ Rudra*—
4. *sena rājñaḥ* [*sva** ?] *dharmma sthānaṃ* [|*].

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1 The name appears as Chikkamburi in the Vākāṭaka record.



Vakataka Inscription on Deotek slab



Early Inscription on Deotek slab

A NEW STATUE OF BALARÂMA

By Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal,

Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

In Northern India the valuable contribution made by the Mathura School of Sculpture in the domain of plastic art stands unsurpassed both in its abundant output and artistic merit. Encouraged by the liberal patronage extended by the Kushān rulers its activities found expression in the production of innumerable images of Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical faiths at Mathura or its neighbourhood which may be considered as the birthplace of Indian iconography. Most of these are now preserved in the Curzon Museum of Archæology at Mathura, but many have found their way to other Museums particularly the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. In fact the galleries of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, are filled with a number of Mathura sculptures and its Jaina and Buddhist sections can rightly boast of some of the finest images of the early Kushān period.

The diversity of images of the Kushān period pertaining to the Hindu pantheon emanating from Mathura bears ample testimony to the harmony in art and religion which was the keynote of the period. The Kushān kings irrespective of their individual faith were tolerant towards the religious aspirations of their subjects. This explains to a large extent the continuous production of innumerable Brahmanical sculptures along with Jaina and Buddhist images installed in stupas and monasteries. These early Brahmanical sculptures have been noticed in detail in a paper on the subject by my friend Mr. D. B. Diskalkar,

published in the Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, Vol. V, Part I, January 1932, pages, 18-56. They represent some fine examples of Brahmā, Vishṇu, Kṛishṇa, Sūrya, Śiva, Gaṇēśa, Kārtikeya, Sarasvatī, Gajalakshmī, Pārvatī, Durgā and Mahishāsuramardinī. From the point of view of artistic technique, these images are generally fashioned in the same style as the Jaina and Buddhist ones and leave no doubt as to their early age.

Here, I would draw the attention of scholars to an example of marvellous skill and outstanding merit which has recently been acquired for the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, and which also comes from Mathura. This represents a red sand-stone image of Balarāma (ht. 2′ 6″) carved in the round. (See Plate). The material used is the well-known red spotted sand-stone of the Rupbas quarries, which was lavishly used for constructing monumental buildings like stupas and monasteries, and also images in the Śunga and Kushān periods. At first sight it appears that the block of stone which had been used for carving this image was primarily cut and intended for making a railing pillar for some stupa, but somehow the original idea was dropped and the block was utilized for carving out the image of an important deity of the Bhāgavata school. We have come across a number of images representing Kṛishṇa at Mathura, but so far no early image of Balarāma, has been brought to light, although we know that Balarāma as Sankarshaṇa was worshipped along with Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva at least from the third century B.C.

The god is here depicted as standing under a seven-hooded canopy, (indicative of his re-incarnation from the serpent Śesha) wearing a loin cloth and a *ghoghi*, *i.e.*, a blanket worn by cowherds in a peculiar style with folds on the head as a protection against rain. The folds formed by the blanket give the appearance of a tastefully tied turban or an elaborate head-dress. He wears heavy ear-rings, necklace with a cylindrical bead and two pairs

of bracelets. Both the hands turned at the elbow are slightly raised to chest. The right hand holds with a firm grip a club and the left a plough. The loin cloth is secured by a girdle terminating in a twisted tassel which hangs down between the legs. The folds of muscles below the breast, the symmetry of the body and the graceful pose of the image combined with an epic expressiveness, rank it among the finest specimens of Kushān art of at least the first century A.D., if not earlier.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF ANTIQUITIES FOUND AT THE PATALIPUTRA EXCAVATION

By the late Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

The word Magadha first appears in the Atharva Veda V. 22, 14 where fever is wished away to the Gandharis, Mujavantasa, Angas and Magadhas. In the Vratya book of the Atharava Veda the Vratya is spoken of with contempt. In a passage of the Ṛig Veda (III 53.14) we learn that Kīkaṭa was the earlier name of Magadha; we also learn that Pramagandha was the name of a king of that territory. Nothing more is known of him but he is mentioned as the founder of the town of Giri Vraja in Magadha. He belonged to the Puru family and claims to be a descendant of the great Kuru dynasty. There is a mention of one Kasu Chaidya in the Ṛig Veda VIII 5. 37. He may be Vasu Chaidya of the Paurānic list.

The Purānas give a list of the Bārhadratha kings from Jarāsandha's son Sahadēva to Ripunjaya, and apparently make Senajit, seventh in descent from Sahadēva, the contemporary of Adisimha Krishṇa of the Parīkshit family and Divākara of the Ikshvāku line. The Bṛihadrathas were overthrown by the Pradyōta dynasty, when Pulika placed his son Pradyōta on the throne of Avanti.

The Purāṇas regard the Śaisunāga dynasty as the second after the Bṛihadratha, but in fact the two dynasties, the Pradyōtas and Śaisunāgas, are contemporary.

From Buddhist literature we learn that the Pradyōtas were kings of Avanti (W. Malwa) and their capital was Avanti. King Prodyōta like Bimbisāra and Ajātaśatru,

the fifth and sixth in the list of Śaiśunāgas and like Udayana of Vatsa and the king Prasenjit Ikshvāku of Kōsala was contemporary with Gautama Buddha.

Intimately connected with Magadha is the history of the Vatsa country whose capital was at Kauśāmbi, the modern Kosam near Allahabad. The kingdom of Vatsa situated in a central position was a great stronghold of early Vedic culture. It is stated in the Purāṇas that when the city of Hastināpura was carried away by the Ganges, Nichaksu—the fourth in descent from Janamejaya, abandoned it and removed his residence to Kauśāmbi. Bhāsa supports the above statement as Udayana, king of Kauśāmbi, is described in the Svapnavāsavadattā as a descendant of the Bhārata Kula.

The kingdom of Magadha was closely connected with two more ancient kingdoms, those of Āvanti and Gandhara. India's communication with the outer world by the land route was through Gandhara; while Āvanti was the kingdom through which Magadha reached important seaports of Bharukachcha and Śurpāraka. The ancient kingdom of Āvanti roughly corresponds to modern Malwa, Nimar and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. It had two capitals—one at Ujjain in the north and another at Māhishmati in the south. The Purāṇas attribute the foundation of Māhishmatī, Āvanti and Vidarbha to scions of the Yadu family.

The Purāṇas style the first dynasty of Māhishmatī as Haihayas, who are said to have overthrown the Nāgas probably the aboriginals of the Narmadā region. The Matsya Purāṇa mentions five branches of the Haihayas, namely, Vītihotras, Bhojas, Āvantis, Kundiveras and the Tālajanghas. On the extinction of the Vītihotras and Āvantis, a minister named Pulika (Puruka) is said to have killed his master and anointed his son Pradyōta by force as mentioned before. In the 4th century B.C. Āvanti formed an integral part of the Magadhan Empire.

The kingdom of Gandhara once included Kashmir. Janamejaya, the son of Parīkshit conquered Taxila and

performed the Snake sacrifice. After Janamejaya's conquest of Takshaśilā there were independent rulers of Gandhara. They were descendants of Druhyu. We learn from Kumbhakāra Jātaka that Nagnajit, contemporary of Nimi, king of Videha, ruled at Takshaśilā. Nagnajit was succeeded by his son Svajit (Sat. Br. VIII 1. 4. 10). In the middle of 6th century B.C. Pukkusati, king of Gandhara, sent an embassy and a letter to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and waged war on Pradyota of Avanti who was defeated. In the latter half of the sixth century B.C. Gandhara was conquered by the king of Persia.

The above short sketch of the important kingdoms of Vatsa, Āvanti and Gandhara gives the idea that Magadha had close relations with old kingdoms established in post-Vedic times on one hand, while through Gandhāra and Malwa (Āvanti) it had probably connections with the earlier pre-Vedic culture of the Indus Valley which extended from Sindh to the Punjab.

From Buddhist literature we get a fair glimpse of the economic aud social picture of India, particularly of Magadha, during the time when Magadha was rising into power. Traders used to start from Benares and crossing the deserts of Rajputana proceeded westwards to the seaports of Bharukachchha, the modern Broach and the sea boards of Sanvira (the Sophir or Ophir) and its capital of Roruka. Westward of these ports there was traffic with Babylon or Baveru.

Merchants in those days traded in various articles of merchandise. Gems of various kinds are named as the quest of special seafarers anxious to discover a fortune (Jataka IV, 21, 139-141). Silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth, cutlery and armoury, brocades, embroideries and rugs, perfumeries and drugs, ivory and ivory work, jewellery and gold—these were the main articles in which the merchant dealt. (Rhys David, Buddhist India, p. 98; Fick Die Sociale Gliederung in Indian, p. 174).

As to the inland routes, the Jātakas tell of Anāthapiṇḍika's caravans travelling south-east from Śrāvastī to

Rājagṛiha and back; and also to the "borders" probably towards Gandhara. Another route running south-west from Śrāvastī to Paiṭhana, with six halting places is given in the Sutta Nipata, verses 1011-13. From east to west, traffic was largely by means of river boats going up the Ganges to Sahajāti (modern Allahabad?) and up the Jamuna to Kauśāmbi. Further westward the journey was again overland to Sind, whence came large imports in horses and asses and to Sanvira and other ports. Northward lay the great trade route connecting India with Central and Western Asia by way of Taxila in Gandhara.

To picture the religion at the time of the rise of the Magadha empire is a difficult task. Literary records of the period give an idea which is far from correct. From the ancient literature we learn that at this time the Vedic religion was dying out and Jainism and Buddhism were in the ascendency. In the excavations at Pataliputra, Rajagriha, Kauśāmbi, Basarh, Bhita, we seldom find antiquity or cult object which is distinctly Vedic, Jaina or Buddhistic.

Among the pre-Mauryan antiquities of a definite religious nature, we may include a large number of terracotta female figurines consisting of head, bust, torso and sometimes complete figurines. Less numerous than the female figurines are the male terracotta figurines, mostly heads or busts but very rarley complete figurines. Next to them we get grotesque or demoniac figurines. After human figurines, come figures of model animals such as bull, elephant, horse, ram, lizard, antelope, tortoise, etc. That they are not all toy figures is pretty clear, some being definitely cult figurines. From a study of the terracotta figurines, we are led to think that the popular religion was definitely Śaktism and the worship of god Śiva probably handed down from the cults prevalent in the Indus valley. There is no doubt that the worship of mother goddess is a deep-rooted religion in India. I quote here the following lines from the great work of Sir John

Marshall "Mahenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization": "For in no country in the world has the worship of the Divine mother been from time immemorial so deep-rooted and ubiquitous as in India. Her shrines are found in every town and hamlet throughout the length and breadth of the land. She is the 'Mother' or 'Great Mother' and prototype of the power (prakṛiti) which developed into that of Śakti."

The existence of the worship of the Mother Goddess pre-supposes the fact that among the population of Magadha before the rise of the Maurya, there was a strong element of non-Vedic or non-Aryan people. There were some minor female deities in the Vedic pantheon such as Diti, Aditi, Srinivali, Pṛithvī; but it is very doubtful whether they attained that popularity as the non-Aryan Mother Goddess and at any rate it is not easy to distinguish between the Vedic goddess and the Śakti female figurines of the earlier population.

In the Pataliputra excavation we have representation of a male deity naked with phallus (urdhvamedhra) exposed. Some of the male terracotta figurines from Mathura have a serpent coiled round the neck. In a plaque found in Bulandibagh there is a representation of a naked male deity holding a deer (*mṛiga*). Śiva represented as Dakshiṇā Mūrti or Yoga Dakshinā Mūrti has deer by his side and the present is probably an early representation of this conception. At Pataliputra we have an example of an aniconic stone object. A ring stone has been found in the pre-Maurya level. A nude figure of a goddess of fertility is significantly engraved inside of it. It is inoribed with the legend "Visakhaśa" in early pre-Maurya characters. The example is a Yōni ring stone which Sir John Marshall considered a distinctly oult image from a similar object he found at Taxila.

There are abundant examples to show that tree worship was prevalent at that time. The representation of Kalpa-Vṛiksha at the Indian Museum is an example on the point. On the silver punchmarked coins we find

representation of branches and tree in railing. Both trees and tree-spirits were worshipped in ancient India. We have innumerable evidence from Jātakas about such tree worship. Animal worship was also prevalent. Elephant, bull, ram, horse, serpent, were among the animals worshipped. Half-man and half-animal composite figures were also held in reverence.

From the above short sketch we get an idea that in the pre-Mauryan period when the Magadha Empire was rising there were in existence kingdoms, which in turn had arisen after the fall of earlier kingdoms prominent in Vedic India. Trade was developing and India was in touch with Asia Minor and Babylon. Although Vedic rites were practised by priests and Kshatriyas, Buddhism and Jainism were gradually becoming important, particularly among Vaiśyas and Kshatriyas. Animism and Śāktism were practised by the mass of the common people.

Owing to the political, economic and religious changes the life of the people was becoming complex. Potteries of gradually changing shapes of terracotta figurines, more developed in form, indicate a rapidly changing world.

Lastly a word about coins. At Pataliputra, Basarh and other places copper punchmarked coins weighing 100 ratis have been found, with four symbols, one of which is the Sun symbol consisting of a dot in centre and a circle round it, another a triangle, a third consisting of three arches side by side and another being the branch of a tree. These copper punchmarked coins were later replaced by silver punchmarked coins. Mr. Durga Prasad's Plate I in his article "Classification and Significance of the symbols on the silver punchmarked coins of Ancient India" published in Numismatic Supplement No. XLV (for 1934), represent some peculiar symbols. These symbols were used on coins at a transitional period when the early empire was passing away and new kingdoms were coming to the front.

AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SULTAN ILTUTMISH—SHOWING THE CONSTRUCTION OF A RESERVOIR AT KHATU (MARWAR).

By M. Abdulla Chaghtai, Chowbak Sawaran,
Lahore.

The Arabic inscription, recording the construction of a reservoir by Sultan Shamas-ud-Din Iltutmish in 629 A.H., is on a squared marble slab measuring about five feet in length. It has been preserved from destruction by fixing it between two pillars of the tomb of Baba Ishaq Marghrabi, who came from Central Asia and settled down at Khatu in Marwar State near Ajmer and died there about two centuries later than the actual date of the inscription. It is thus clear that the inscription does not bear any connection with the tomb, as the local people suppose. I believe that even to this day, Khatu has escaped from the visits of the expert archæologists, because no mention of it has come to light. This particular part of Marwar, known after Ahmad Khatu the great saint, is full of remains mostly of the mediaeval period of Indian history. It is interesting to note that Khatu has one grand mosque under the name of *Masjid Aqsa* built by Iltutmish on the hill, whose exact prototype is the well-known mosque known as *Arhai Din ka Jhompra* at Ajmer built by Qutb-ud-Din Aibak and subsequently completed by Iltutmish.

Iltutmish under Aibak had shown marvellous activity and ability as a great warrior and statesman to bring about [illegible] in his whole dominions. When Iltutmish ascended [illegible] in 607 A.H. and established his authority, [illegible] of all classes assembled from all quarters at

his court in Delhi, where in 589 A.H. Aibak had founded the *Jami Quwwatu-ul-Islam* to commemmorate the capture of Delhi and completed it in 594 A.H. The same *Jami* was doubled in area and a lofty *Minar* was added to it by Iltutmish in 629 A.H., *i.e.*, during the year of the construction of the reservoir referred to above, when Iltutmish according to *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* was marching from Delhi for the conquest of Gwalior. We can safely say that almost all the extant monuments of Iltutmish are approximately of the same period. This shows that when Iltutmish secured his position as a monarch, he diverted his attention to public works, for the welfare of his subjects and thus he built a good many important monuments for the public utility wherever need was felt.

In Marwar, which is situated in the great Indian desert, water is a precious commodity—the scarcity of water prevails particularly in the region around Khatu, the provenance of this inscription. Sultan Iltutmish keeping in view its previous importance had built there mosque, reservoir, etc. Even to this day the reservoirs can be seen here, which bear the inscriptions, though of a later date yet of the seventh century of Hijra (13th century A.D.).

The construction of this reservoir took place under the supervision of one Masud son of Ahmad son of Omar al-Khallaj in 629 A.H.

I have revisited Khatu on my way back home and thus I complete the reading of the inscription. I find that the exact translation of the inscription is not very important when its main purport is noted above, and on the other hand its language is fully ornate.

Transcription of the Inscription.

١ــ امر ببناء هـذا الغديرفی ایام دولة السـلطان
المعظم مالک رقاب الامم مولي .

٢ــ الملوک العرب و العجم ظل الله في العالم المؤيد
من السماء المظفر عل الاعدا .

٣ـــ شمس الدنيا والدين غياث الاسلام والمسلمين اعدل الملوك .

٤ـــ والسلاطين حامي لبلاد الله الراعي لعباد الله الواثق بنصر الله .

٥ـــ معرز ممالک الدنيا مظهر كلمته الله العليا بشهاب سماء الخلافته باسط

٦ـــ العدل والرافة ذی الامان لاهل الايمان وارث ملک سليمان .

٧ـــ صاحب الحاكم في ملک العالم ابي المظفر التتمش السلطان ناصر اميرالمومينين .

٨ـــ خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه واعلي امره وشانه العبد المسعود بن احمد بن عمرالخلج .

٩ـــ اصلحه الله تعالی شانه ونقل بقبول هذالحرم له في شهر المبارک رمضان سنه تسع وعشرين وستمايته .



An unpublished inscription of the time of Sultan Il-tutmish

IX. ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By *Rājacharitaviśārada Rao Sahib* C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.,

Bangalore City.

Ladies and Gentlemen.

It is my privilege this year to invite you into our midst and indicate briefly the present position of research in this branch of human studies. As a humble fellow-worker in the vast field, I value this privilege highly. If I cannot add materially to your deliberations, there is little doubt that I can learn much from them. My connection with this branch of study goes back to 1900. During the past 35 years much valuable work has been done in this country, on both the physical and cultural sides of Anthropology. Many have contributed towards the accumulation of our knowledge in these domains. I need hardly refer to the labours of patient investigators like Risley, Thurston, Rangachar, Hutton, Mills, Hodgson, Bray, Roy, Nanjundaiya, Russel, Hira Lal, Anantha Krishna Iyer and others who have laboured in the field. So far as India is concerned, in the field of synthesis, on the physical side, Risley might be said to hold the ground, especially with European students of Anthropology. But it is undoubted that both his theory and mode of approach have received severe blows from Indian and European Ethnologists alike, while the Mohenjo-Daro discoveries have exploded his conclusions almost to the last degree. Recent writers of note in the Sociological field have done much to advance research on the cultural side. In the pre-historic field, Mr. Panchanan Mitra has produced a

work which is suggestive to a degree. On the descriptive side, we have had a large accretion to our ranks. Besides those who are better known, and whom I have already mentioned, there are a number of younger students, whose earnestness in the field deserves a warm work of commendation. Mr. Karandikar's study of *Hindu Exogamy*, is a notable contribution to the study of an obscure subject, while Dr. Ghurye's work on *Caste and Race in India* is a real addition to the literature on that great topic of sociological interest. Sir Charles Bell's fine work on the *People of Tibet* will rank perhaps as the first systematic description we have from a trained observer of the customs and habits of that really little known people. In the field of Physical Anthropology, Dr. Guha of the Indian Zoological Survey has rendered valuable service. The work of Mr. J. H. Hutton deserves special mention. He has given a real impetus to the study of the tribes in north-eastern India. His studies of the *Angami Nagas* and *Lema Nagas* and other tribes living in the neighbourhood of Assam are typical of the excellent work he has done. Lt.-Col. Gurdon's *Khasis*, the Rev. Sidney Endle's *Kacharis*, Mr. Hodgsons *Naga Tribes* of Manipur and Col. Shakespear's the "*Lushi Kuki Clans*" have added much to our knowledge of the tribes of this region. The latest Report of the Census of India is another valuable addition to our knowledge of the Ethnology of India. In Folklore, we have workers of note, but it still needs greater attention. The inter-continental and inter-hemespheric diffusion of Indian folk-tales has to be worked out in far greater detail, if we are to realise aright the extent to which India has contributed towards world culture early in its life. Apart from the historical value attaching to such diffusion, the scientific importance of the study of folklore in India cannot be over-estimated.

The Late Dr. E. Thurston.

It is our duty on an occasion like this to recall the work of one of these prominent workres who has just passed

away from our midst. Need I say I refer to the late Dr. Edgar Thurston, who, more than anybody else, did much to popularise the study of Ethnology in India many years ago. To a well-trained mind, he brought to bear an assiduity of application that was truly marvellous. Amidst his varied and exacting departmental duties, he found time to take a personal interest in the study of man in the south of India. He travelled widely, inquired patiently, collected carefully, and wrote incessantly during the whole time he was in charge of the Madras Museum. When the Indian Ethnographic Survey was organised in 1902, he was appointed its Director in South India, in which was included the States of Mysore, Travancore and Cochin for anthropometrical purposes. He treated this area as an ethnological block and thought that the physical data should be worked out by one hand to avoid undue variations in the results. I happened to travel with him throughout this State and can say he made a fine companion and a splendid chief. His keen sense of humour saved him from many a pitfall. He believed in hard work and expected nothing but the best that one could give. His labours finally took shape in the seven volumes of the encyclopædic work known as the *Castes and Tribes of Southern India.* His death, though at the advanced age of 80 years, is a great loss to Indian Ethnology, and as a pioneer, his valuable work requires te be remembered.

Advance in Ethnological studies.

Within the past thirty years, a great deal has been done to advance the study of Ethnology in India. The study of the races that make up India, has been pursued with great vigour, though I must say that in recent years, the interest of the Government has somewhat lagged behind. With the completion of the survey inaugurated in 1901, the Government of India and with them the State Governments have shown little inclination to find the funds required to give the next push required for furthering research in our field of study. The survey took some

eight years and as one result of it, we have had Provincial and State volumes of Ethnographic studies almost in every part of India. In our own State, you will be glad to hear that *Diwan Bahadur* L. K. Anantha Krishna Aiyer has just issued the only volume that had been left over in the Mysore series. The volume of these different series lies not so much in the matter they enshrine, valuable though it be, but in the extended vision they have given to the field worker of the work that yet lies before him. The next line of advance must be to intensify study in carefully chosen areas of selected tribes, particularly of the more primitive type. I may say the notes so far collected in most of the volumes of the different series of *Castes and Tribes* have to be further verified and in a great many cases even completely re-written from personal inquiries made by competent scholars or well-trained field associates. On the physical side, the anthropometrical parts call for further attention. Larger data are required, if we are to arrive at anything like satisfactory deductions; on the purely social side, I should like to see an impetus given to the study, on the one hand, of social organisation and religion, and on the other, of social institutions and beliefs. The economics, the law, the ethics and the æsthetic ideas that influence a group or community are other important topics for study, if the social side is to be rightly appreciated. The aspects mentioned can best be studied only if the people and the Government are induced to take a closer interest in the practical importance of the study of man, his environment and what he makes of it or it makes of him. Cultural ideas spread, it is true, imperceptibly, but the racial instinct is there and with it environment plays a great part. The scientific study of man—of Anthropology in its most general aspects and in its several sub-divisions—requires a scheme, an organisation, and a set of trained workers, who should be devoted to their labours. One of the duties of this section should be, I think, to adumbrate a suitable scheme of work; set an organisation and make it responsible for

its being put into operation; and get together a band of students who could be trained for such a work. The Universities in India may be expected to help in this connection, while the Government of India and the Indian Provincial and State Governments may be requested to assist on a basis that may not prove too onerous on them.

The Race Problem To-day.

The Government to-day is confronted by problems in which race, nationality and community are largely concerned. If anything can help to solve what seem the larger issues of the politics to-day--and they are those connected with nationality and race, caste and creed, and community and communalism—it is the further study of man the world over. The West, amidst the many blessings it has conferred, has unfortunately to itself and to the wider world it has influenced and is influencing to-day, treated its own culture as an ultimate fact. The student of man, as the anthropologist is, is bound to take a naturally different view. Judging from the biological point of view, he takes a more universal view of human history. To him civilisation has a relative, not an absolute value. His view is that it is the duty of man to study man in his various environmental spheres and leave it, as Prof. Marett well puts it, to the future to adjust the focus better, to decivilize history, as it were, in the sense of humanizing it more impartially and completely. To illustrate the proposition from a modern example, can we say, with what is happening in Abyssinia, that Italy is more "civilized" than Ethiopia, though it may claim it has no slaves within its own territories? Verily, verily, even Mussolini will have to admit that there is even to-day "the trace of savagery in the most civilized people." The degree of actual civilization attained by any group of people is as nothing compared to the de-humanization it might have undergone in the process, or the elemental weaknesses it might carry with it. Mussolini would perhaps, better appreciate the so-called "savage" if he knew

that racial temperaments vary and that the "savage" Negro may be more musical than the civilized " West." It would, perhaps, be news to him that this is really so according to the physiologists who have given attention to tempermental tests among the races of mankind. The aid that Anthropological studies afford to the practical administrator is great and apart from that aspect of the matter, there is no question whatever that they afford a basis of the liberation of mankind from the *thraldom* of ideas of " inferiority " and " superiority," which, in the racial sphere, have done and are doing such incalculable damage to the advance of humanity along right lines. Attaching himself to no theory of ultimate value, the anthropologist, with the wealth of data he collects and lays bare, points to how man has civilized, how he has dominated the world, how he is able to live longer than other evolved animals, how in his historical evolution through the ages, he has " advanced from a less to a more satisfying kind of experience "—thus enriching the meaning of life. If it were more generally appreciated that mankind, however it may differ to-day, according to its divisions and sub-divisions, has to be traced back to one species—the existing species *Homo Sapiens*—perhaps it would better appreciate the need for the cultivation of a common humanity. How many in a thousand know that the Turki and the Ainu are Caucasie and perhaps Alpine? How many know that the Dravidians of Southern India and Ceylon belong to the Mediterranean Race, which itself belongs to the White or Caucasie branch of Hominidæ? How many, again, know that the Alpine race includes the European Alpine and the Asiatic Armenoid branches, to the former belonging the Swiss, the South Germans, Slavs, French, North Italians, the Persians, Tajiks and the mountaineers of the Pamirs, among whom a type prevails which, according to Seligman, tallies almost exactly with the Swiss representatives of the Alpine race, while the latter branch include, those now inhabitating Armenia, the Levant, Mesopotamia and South Arabia? How many,

again, realize that the Mediterranean Race includes the inhabitants of not only the Mediterranean peninsulas and islands but also a part of Arabia and Africa, north of the Sahara (including the Berbers), and crossing Sahara invades the land of the Negro? And finally how many know that the Japanese represent a large infusion of Ainu blood, themselves belonging to the Caucasie, if not Alpine Race? The point to grasp and stress is that humanity would be saved, if humanity were made to know how intermixed it is in its origins, how intermixed its claims and rights are and how intermixed are its duties and responsibilities towards itself.

Importance of Ethnological Studies.

So much for the student of man who owes to his fellow beings the world over. Nearer home an advance in the Ethnological studies in India itself would mean much for the dissemination of sounder ideas as to the true racial origins of the larger components of the population and how they are interconnected. Such sounder ideas are to-day a crying need. Communalism in politics cannot be overcome except by the spreading of truer ideas as to common origins, ideas which are not only scientific in character but also arrived at after patient investigations by dispassionate students, under conditions which negate pre-possessions and passions of every kind.

Anthropology and the Universities.

I must now pass on to another topic of importance. Is research work in Anthropology receiving the attention it should of our Universities? I am glad to say that the set back that we had some years ago has now nearly disappeared. The pendulum has swung to the right and there is a movement afoot to give better recognition to its value. There is no doubt that much remains to be done. India must take her place beside the other countries in the pursuit of scientific truth in this field as well. How many are there who have studied in this country the subject of

the "descent of man," or the other one of the place of the origin of man, which is still described as "somewhere in Asia"? How many have given any attention to the investigation of "blood groups" about which a great deal was expected at one time by Anthropologists? As the result of research in the directions referred to, the idea of the "missing link," for instance, has been practically given up to-day. That is one result of the study by Anthropologists of what has been unearthed of Palæolithic Man in different parts of the world. It is now agreed that none of the early men so far discovered (Cromagnon, etc.) stands in the direct line of ascent of modern man. The traditional idea of the "missing link" has thus disappeared. Human evolution, as we now understand it, is not, as Keith well puts it, "the simple procession of forms leading from ape to man, as we imagined it to be" in the early Darwinian days. The true picture, according to him, is somewhat different. "We have to conceive," he points out, "an ancient world in which the family of mankind was broken up into narrow groups or genera, each genus again divided into a number of species--much as we see in the monkey or ape world to-day. Then out of the great welter of forms one species became the dominant form, and ultimately the sole surviving one the species represented by the modern races of mankind." The study of "blood groups," to which the American Anthropologist L. H. Syder has given such splendid attention, has resulted in certain very interesting deductions. Some thirty-five years ago it was discovered that there were definite substances in the serum of some bloods that would agglutinate, or clump, the cells of certain other bloods, and it was further shown that on this basis blood can be classified into groups—denominated under the Roman figures, I, II, III and IV with reference to the bodies theoretically causing agglutination. The chief anthropological interest of these groups lies in the varying percentages of each group in different peoples, for it has been found that different populations are not exactly "races"—being characterized by

different frequencies of the four groups. On this footing, the presence in high frequency of group I has been looked as an indication of the degree of isolation of the people in whom it occurs. Very interesting studies among the North American Indians, Australians, the Melanesians of New Guinea and the Negroes of West Africa have been made. Incidentally, as the result of similar researches carried out among the Hungarian Gypsies, it has been found that there is a great similarity of their blood to that of Hindus, amounting as Dr. Seligman points out "to practical identity" though Hungarian Gypsies left their Indian home-lands hundreds of years ago.

An Indian School of Anthropology.

Such are some of the results of research in these different fields of Anthropological study I have drawn attention to them only to indicate the vast field that we have to cover and the varied sort of work that is being done outside India. We have to wake up to a sense of reality, if we mean to progress with the rest of the researchers in this most interesting branch of human knowledge. In this connection, it is our bounden duty to recall with gratitude the great lead that the Calcutta University under the guidance of Sir Austosh Mookerjee, has given to the study of Anthropology in Bengal. Madras is now engaged in organising a Department of its own and it is evidently arranging first to specialize in the study of Indian pre-historic races. Mysore has been in the field for some years now and its work is in the capable hands of Prof. Krishna. Bombay is keen on the cultural side, while the other Universities are yet to make a move in this connection. On the purely physical side, India must hold up its name. Anatomy enters so much into the study of Man that we should like to see trained Anatomists turning their attentions to the study of this subject. The close connection there is between Anthropology and Geology, Biology, Pre-historic Archæelogy, Physiology, Psychology and other sciences is seen when we begin to

seriously pursue the study of Anthropology. The need for workers from among those who have studied these different branches of human knowledge is very real. An Indian school of Anthropology cannot indeed be built up without the aid of these specialists. Pre-historic Archæology is indeed too closely connected with Anthropology to be neglected to any extent.

Anthropology and the Indian Academy of Sciences.

The Indian Academy of Sciences inaugurated under the auspices of the Indian Institute of Science by our distinguished man of Science, Sir C. V. Raman, actively aided by the leading devotees of almost every branch of scientific study in India, ought to prove of immense value to the development of such a school, especially as the extent of co-operation that might be expected from it seems nearly unlimited. Such a school too should desire the united support of the Government of India and the Provincial and State Governments, besides the good-will and active aid of the Universities. A pre-historic survey of India on the Provincial and State basis would be one of the first duties of such a school as I urged. The fear that the pursuit of pure science as such is of little use to the country must be cast aside, for there is hardly any ground for the distinction that is sometimes sought to be made between pure science and applied science. The one really leads to the other; indeed, the one cannot be thought of without the other. What is pure science to-day helps towards industrial advance tomorrow and thus becomes applied science, in the commonest connotation of the phrase. Industrial advance in recent years has been very largely based on the demonstrations of pure science. What is increasingly needed in the country to-day is the encouragement of researchers in pure science so that the country may be fully benefited not only by their work carried out irrespective of immediate results in the applied domain—but also by the cultural reputation that may be built up by them on the solid foundation of the high

scientific work done by them. It is to be hoped that the foundation of the new Academy will mean in time the building up of the needed congeries of Scientific Societies which might help to feed it with membership and itself be the means of help to the sister Societies, especially in matters where its leadership, both in the matter of organization of research and in that of the co-operative handling of larger propositions affecting research, might mean much to the country, if not to humanity itself.

Future Prospects.

There is no doubt that the country is getting ready for the next advance. Our workers are daily on the increase, as a glance through the pages of *Man in India*, so ably managed and edited by our good friend Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy and his associate, well indicates. Mr. Roy has been holding up the banner of progress most energetically and our thanks are due to him for his endeavours to help the cause of Anthropology in India. In this State, the Journal of the Mythic Society has been the means of bringing co-workers together in this field of research. The Society maintains a section devoted to Ethnology and its work has attracted wide attention. Still a great deal remains to be done. The day when our Universities could organise expeditions for the study of Anthropological research as the European and American Universities and learned Societies do is still in the future. Meanwhile, let us hope that annual meetings of this kind will help to create public opinion in favour of increased and unceasing research in regard to the study of Man, his past and present. As the poet puts it, "the proper study of mankind is man" himself and without that study, the progress of man is bound to be halting to a degree. So

> Together let us beat this ample field,
> Try what the open, what the covert yield,
> The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore
> Of all who blindly creep, or sightless soar,
> Eye nature's walks, shoot folly as it flies,
> And catch the manners living as they rise;

Laugh where we must, be candid where we can;
But vindicate the ways of God to man.
Say first, of God above, of man below,
What can we reason, but from what we know?

* * * *

Observe how system into system runs,
What other planets circle other suns,
What varied being peoples every star

BIRTHDAY CEREMONY IN ANCIENT INDIA

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Introductory.—The institution of Birthday in India starts from a hoary antiquity where its origin is lost in the mist of the pre-historic culture of the Indo-Iranians much of which is lost to us. But there are enough materials even extant to this day which can without doubt affirm its existence in the Post-Vedic period, in the Vedic rituals as also in domestic rites.

Reason for the Ceremony —From the literature extant we can easily discover the purpose for which the early Vedic Aryans used to perform the Birthday rites and ceremonies. In the Baudhāyana Gṛihya Sūtra Prayoga Candrikā (Oriental Institute Ms. No 7260) the purposes are enumerated as follows.—

(1) *āyurābhivṛiddhyarthaṃ*— for the increase of longevity.

(2) *apamṛityuparihārārthaṃ*—to avert untimely death.

(3) *śarīre samasta vyādhi nivṛittidvārā kshipram ārogya siddhyarthaṃ*—to cure quickly all kinds of diseases that had assailed the body.

Stress on Longevity in the Vedas. —These are the three definite objects for which Birthday used to be celebrated in the Post-Vedic period. It is needless to mention that much stress has been laid in the early scripture on the importance of life and life-period, and there are a set of Ṛiks or hymnsin the Khila portion of the Ṛig-Veda chiefly devoted to life and longevity. In the Ṛig-Veda itself as

indeed in the other Vedas prayers are often sent to gods to grant the sacrificer the full period of longevity which was regarded as one hundred years.

Power of the Agastya Sūkta.—The Birthday ceremony in the Post-Vedic period chiefly concerned itself with the recitation of the Mantras in the Ṛig-Veda dealing with life and longevity. The belief is that if these Mantras are recited at the proper time on the anniversary of the date of birth, they set up harmonic vibrations, which in a mysterious manner, conduce to the well being of the person for whom the sacrifice has been undertaken.

Connection with Pre-history.—This has certainly connection with the three kinds of medicines practised in the pre-historic times by the Indo-Iranians. According to Schrader's authoritative version, three kinds of medicines for saving and prolonging life, were practised in Indo-Iranian period which roughly corresponds to the Copper Age of hoary antiquity, when the magician, the priest and the medicine-man were combined in one person. In the Avestā the three kinds of medicines are mentioned as "Urvaro Vaeshaza" (healing by plants,) "Kareto Vaeshaza" (healing by the knife), and the "Mathro Vaeshaza" (healing by spells). Thus from very ancient times, say from 5000 B.C. approximately we are acquainted with the belief that the mantras can cure diseases or grant long life, be it of the Vedic, Avestic or the later Tantric type. The celebration of Birthday in which the recitation of the Vedic mantras is the principal item, thus connects itself with the pre-historic magic. Its purpose was, as we have already shown, threefold, namely to grant a long life, to prevent accidental death, and removal of diseases. The Mantras thus become more powerful than medicine which at best can grant freedom from disease and prolong life, but cannot prevent accidental death, which the Mantras are able to accomplish. Verily, it is said in the Tāntrie works,—*kimastya sādhyam mantrāṇāṃ yojitanāṃ yatha* [illegible].

"What is there impossible for the Mantras to accomplish, which have been applied according to prescribed rules!"

Ancient Names of the Ceremony.—Two names are usually met with in Sanskrit literature signifying what is at present known as Birthday ceremony. The first is called the Janmatithi pūjā and the second Vardhāpana. The first is referred to by the celebrated Nibandha author of Bengal, by name Raghunandana, while the second is found in Dharmasindhu, a smṛiti work of high authority in Western India. The Vardhāpana is also found in the Rājanīti-Kaustubha (pp. 378, 379) where the word Abhisheka is also used in the same sense.

Post-Vedic Ceremonies.—But in the Vedic period these names were unknown and we notice the existence of similar ceremonies in two religious functions. The first and the more important is the Nakshatreshṭi. which is a sacrifice and was to be performed in the presence of the public. Such ceremonies were known as Śrauta ceremonies as opposed to Gṛihya or domestic rites. The other is called the Āyushya hōma which was entirely a private or a domestic ritual. A time there was when both were performed side by side and there is no prohibition of any kind against performing the two rites simultaneously or consecutively.

Connected Ceremonies.—In this connection attention may be drawn to two more ceremonies called the Nakshatra hōma or the oblation offered to the Nakṣhatra of birth, and the Graha hōma where oblations were required to be offered to the seven planets of destiny on the day the moon passes over the Nakshatra of birth. Baudhāyana also recommends the performance of the Āyushyacharu ritual at the end of every year or at fixed periods on the Nakshatra of birth. In this ceremony also the Āyushya hymns of the Ṛig Veda are recited. The two things charu and ghee are first placed before Agni, the god of Fire, oblations of ghee and charu are offered to the god. At the end, after a series of hōmas are made with different

things, cows are given away in charity. When the ceremony is over, the whole family should sit to dinner all the while reciting various mantras and partake of the remainder of charu. The person for whom the sacrifice is offered becomes healthy and free from disease.

The Ayushya hōma.—The Āyushya hōma is described in detail in the Āpastamba Gṛhyasūtra Prayōgachandrikā (Ms. No. 7260, fol. 68A. ff.) where the purposes are enumerated for which the hōma is performed. This hōma is required to be performed on the day of the Nakshatra of birth every year or at fixed intervals. Much of the details are of little interest in modern days except to mention that the ceremony is accompanied with the usual Dakshiṇā and betel leaves to the Brahmanas and feasting. One interesting detail of this ceremony consists of seeing the face in a vessel full of ghee which is given over to the Brahmin. This ceremony is what is called the transference of sin through one's own image, and accounts for the health of the sacrificer. In modern days also this practice is continued in the form of Chāyādāna or gift of oil or ghee on which the image of the face is reflected. Such gifts are made either on a Saturday or on the day of eclipse. These gifts are not accepted by good Brahmins but by a class known as Grahavipras or the Brahmins of the Planets.

The Domestic or Gṛihya Ritual.—Now the above relates to the Gṛihya rite of Āyushya hōma which being a domestic ritual is much later than the Nakshatra sacrifice which we propose to deal with presently. This sacrifice as has already been said is a Śrauta rite and is performed with *eclat* and in public involving greater expenditure. The sacrifice according to the prescription of the Nakshatreshṭi Sūtra should be performed throughout life at regular intervals of one year (or other stated periods) on the day the moon passes over the Nakshatra of birth, for increasing his longevity. Baudhāyana is quoted as an authority for giving details of this rite and he is followed in all other Vedic schools. The details of the

ceremony are similar to those of Āyushya hōma already described.

Approximate Dates of the Ceremony.—It is however very difficult to fix the date from which these customs started, but it is possible to surmise that they started at a time when the Aryans had a settled form of existence, and when the Vedas were split up into the different schools. These schools, it may be remembered, developed a series of Sūtra literature for the guidance of their followers, and consisted usually of three treatises, namely the Śrautasūtra, Grihyasūtra, and Dharmasūtra. The earliest Dharmasūtras, namely the Gautama Dharmasūtra is put down to 1100 B.C., the next Vasishṭha to 800 B.C. Under the circumstances we can venture to fix the date of the origin of the Gṛihya and Śrauta rites of Birthday to at least 1200 B.C., that is to say full 3200 years from the present date. The evidence of the Purāṇas and the Smriti Nibandhas will show that the practice of observing the Birthday ceremony continued through the Vedic, the Paurāṇic and Mediaeval periods uninterruptedly.

Paurāṇic Period.—In the Paurānic period however, the Birthday ceremony appeared to have taken a simpler form, and many of the details prevalent in the Vedic period were dropped. Another remarkable feature of the Paurāṇic ceremony was that it has less or no connection with the Nakshatra of birth as it depended on the phases of the moon or the tithi. The star occupied by the moon was of little consequence in the Paurāṇic period,[1] but if the same star fell on the tithi or the phase of the moon at birth, it was only regarded as an auspicious coincidence. It is said that if the star falls on the tithi of birth or the

[1] In this connection, attention may be drawn to the Aśoka inscriptions, where the two Nakshatras Ushya (Pushya) and *Punarvasu* are mentioned without any reference to *tithis*. Kauṭilya also enjoins that on the anniversary of the Nakshatras of the King, prisoners should be released and slaughter of animals should be prohibited. *Tithis* must have gained prominence after the reign of Aśoka, when the Paurāṇic period must have started.

anniversary day, the year passes happily, but if it does not fall on the anniversary day, the year cannot be very prosperous, and if the anniversary day falls on a Tuesday or a Saturday and is not associated with the star of birth many calamities, even death, may befall the native.

Tithi and not Nakshatras in the Purāṇas.—In the Paurāṇic period the birthday anniversary is named as the Janmatithi ceremony or the Vardhāpana ceremony, which was enjoined in the case of both kings and private individuals. The kings were enjoined to celebrate the anniversary of the day of Abhisheka. They were also asked to observe the anniversary of the Nakshatra of birth, but it was not considered necessary in the case of other individuals. In the Purāṇas also we come across the festivals and ceremonies in connection with the birthday anniversaries of historical and mythological personages, such as Rāmanavami and Kṛishṇa Janmāshṭami which we are still observing to-day throughout India.

Ancient Authorities Quoted.—If the detailed procedure of the Janmatithi ceremonies as given in early works and priests' manuals as they are available to-day, is examined it will be found that they quote as authorities such ancient authors as Garga and such ancient works as the Vishṇudharmottara.

Nibandha works.—Evidence of further development of the birthday ceremony is found in the later Nibandha works and in them the Paurāṇic traditions are carried on with some modifications. Some of the Tāntric processes and Mantras also make their appearance in the details of the ceremony for the first time. Thus for instance the Dharmasindhu describes the ceremony of Vardhāpana which is no other than the Birthday ceremony. In the Eastern side, for instance in Bengal, Raghunandana Bhattacharya in his Ashṭāvimśati Tattva gives details of the Janmatithi Pūja.

Summary.—The details of the ceremonies are interesting for our purpose and here we shall make an attempt

to give a succinct summary of the ceremony as observed in some parts of India, especially in Bengal.

The Yellow String.—"On the *Janmatithi* day, the person whose birthday is celebrated should bathe in water mixed with sesamum, and then should wear a new piece of purified cloth. Then he should wear on the wrist a yellow string with grass, guggul, neem leaves, white mustard, etc., with the appropriate mantra

Preliminary Offerings.—Then after the Saṅkalpa the water vessel should be placed, and the following deities should be worshipped: Gaṇēśa, five deities commencing with Śiva, the nine Planets beginning with Âditya, the Sun god; the ten guardian deities of the quarters beginning with Indra, the ten Avatārs of Vishṇu commencing with the Fish Incarnation. He should then worship the guru, the fire-god Agni and the Brahmins.

Worship of Mārkaṇḍeya.—He should later offer oblations to his Nakshatra of birth, and worship the Pitṛis, Prajāpati, the Sun god and Vighnēśa. Thereafter he should worship Mārkaṇḍeya with various objects and then with folded hands recite the prayer:

Oṃ Mārkaṇḍeya mahā bhāga saptakalpānta jīvana |
āyurishṭārtha siddhyarthaṃ asmākaṃ varado bhavā ||
Oṃ chirajīvo yathātvaṃ bho bhavishyāmi tathā mune |
rūpavān vittavāṁśchaiva śriyāyuktaścha sarvadā ||

Worship of Shashṭhī.—After this, he should worship Vyāsa, Paraśurāma, Aśvatthāma, Kṛipa, Bali and Prahlāda. Then beginning with the thumb, he should touch the different limbs with the appropriate mantras and offer oblation to the ghosts or Bhūtas. Then he should meditate on the form of the goddess Shashṭhī who is of white complexion, two-armed and decked in various ornaments, wearing divine garments, of pleasant countenance, holding a child on the left lap and sitting on a lotus. Then he

should invoke her on the water vessel and worship her, and recite the prayer:

Oṃ Jayadēvī Jaganmātar Jagadānandadāyinī|
prasīda mama Kalyāṇi namaste Shashṭhi dēvate||
Oṃ rūpaṃ dēhi jayaṃ dēhi bhāgyaṃ Bhagavati dēhi me|
putrān dēhi dhanaṃ dēhi sarvān kāmāṁścha dēhi me||

Hōma to the Deities invoked and Various Injunctions.—Thereafter homa should be done to the deities invoked with sesamum, then sesamum should be given away in charity, and sesamum should be sowed on the land. He should then throw a living fish in water. On the birthday he should take milk with sesamum, vegetarian food (leaving aside fish and meat), and powdered pulse, and observe abstinence. It is said that by observing abstinence on the Birthday the person attains prosperity, his life is prolonged by freeing a living fish, his enemies are destroyed because of eating powdered pulse, and by the vegetarian food he becomes learned in the next birth."

Purposes of the Nibandha Ceremony.—From the above description it will be evident that the purpose of performing birthday ceremony in the Nibandha period is fourfold, *viz.*:—

(1) to attain prosperity,
(2) to increase longevity,
(3) to destroy enemies,
(4) to become learned.

Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be asserted that the institution of the Birthday ceremony has a great antiquity, its origin being definitely traceable in the Post-Vedic period. The institution remained living since then, and was continued through successive centuries and different periods, such as the Paurāṇic and the Nibandha periods and was handed down to the present day by our predecessors.

THE HUTTARI FESTIVAL OF COORG

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The little country of Coorg has been long sheltered by the spurs of the Western Ghats in comparative isolation and, hence, the Coorgs preserve even to-day some peculiar social customs and folk rites that are of interest to the anthropologist. There is an intimate relation between the ancient customs of Malabar and those of Coorg, though at the present time, the Coorgs differ in many ways from the Malayāḷis. The Huttari is a good example of a festival that was once common to both cultures but which has since developed on different lines. It is the harvest festival of Coorg (*Hudu*-New ; *ari*-Rice) and is celebrated even to-day on a nation-wide scale with great eclat. It is an occasion of universal rejoicing and family reunion. The Coorgs celebrate it in the month of Vriśchika (November-December) three months after the *Onam* festival-of-first-fruits in Malabar, since rice ripens later in Coorg than on the sunny plains on its west. In spite of the date of the Huttari being fixed, the heads of the Coorg households in every village gather, a few days earlier, at the temple and go through the form of fixing the date in consultation with the astrologer.

First Day.—The festival begins on the night previous to Huttari. About evening, one representative from each *kulu* or joint family proceeds to the house of the hereditary headman or *Takka*. There, they are all fed sumptuously and, they proceed from thence, singing in procession to the village maidān, to the accompaniment of drums

(beaten by Medas) and pipes (played by *Poleyas*). On reaching the maidān, they move around it in a clockwise direction singing,—

Live, O! Live! Oh, prosperous land,
Live, O! Maidān! on this prosperous Land!
Live, O! God! on this fair meadow!
We sing songs in honour of Thee
And, finishing, stop our song.
La La, La Le La, Le Le Lo, Le Lo!

Then, three men step towards the centre and shout "*Agyappa*! (the name of the forest God of Malabar and Coorg), *Mahadeva*! *Bhagavati*!" Afterwards, they gather in the maidān and play a few old well-worn games. Of these, the usual one is called Ball and Peg—*Chendu Kutti*. A peg is driven into the centre of a circle and a piece of long rope is fastened to it by a loose loop. Six balls are placed at equal distances along the circumference and the rope is given into the hands of their guardian. He has to run round and round and see that no one appropriates any of the balls. Once started, the game is really exciting and, as a punishment for failure, the guardian has to escape through the crowd of Coorgs into the band of serfs who supply the music. If he is caught while running through the crowd, he will be beaten with a nettle by a person chosen for the purpose! Then, the crowd divides itself into two parties, each led by a boisterous individual, who engage themselves in the thrust and counter-thrust of repartee and ridicule. A person says he secured a white elephant through Divine blessing: his rival replies that it was only a white bug, which he mistook to be an elephant! He is next told, "I saw a hare attacking a tiger and wringing its neck." His rival retorts, "And I saw a buffalo leaping over a mountain!" and so on. There are some folk tales which are related by both parties—like the story of the black bird whose young were locked in by a carpenter and which asked many people, one after another, to help it. In some places, dramas are enacted, representing the struggles between

one tribe and another or, more frequently, caricaturing the simplicity and greed of the slaves and serfs or the wiles and tricks of the Malayāḷi magician and physicians who roam about the country.

Then, the procession is formed again and it is taken in an anti-clockwise direction around the maidān. They sing now in another tune, ending with a chorus of *Poyilè, Poyilè*—'let us beat,' 'let us beat,' the song describing the sticks which they beat, the young men who are singing and the young girls that are looking on. Suddenly, the song strikes a lighter vein:—

> The *Meda* that beats the drum—his hand is crooked,
> The *Poleya* that plays the pipe, his hand is bent,
> The Boy that dances now, his legs are crooked,
> The Girl that looks on now, her eyes do squint! etc.

In most places, they have also 'shield play' on the maidān. This game is restricted to a few young men, who enter the arena, two by two, with cane and shield and fight three rounds, beating each other below the knee. Before they begin, each one has to say, "Let me live! May you live! Let my pal who enters the arena with me live! Let Iggutappa prosper! Let Beiturappa prosper! (These are two local deities) Live! Prosper!" If the two people are carrying on well, they finish the full three rounds; otherwise, the spectators part them early enough.

After this, the Coorgs return to the Headman's house and from thence, return to their respective homes.

Second Day.—The Huttari takes place the next day, the full moon day. It is a very busy day, from the early hours, for, the house is to be cleaned and washed and the cattle scrubbed. Every piece of furniture, every utensil has to shine, spick and span. The *Meda* brings the new basket, the *Poleya*, the new mat, the carpenter, the new wooden spoon, the blacksmith, the new sickle, the potter, the new pots—and each in turn has to be given the customary presents. Servants should be dressed in new clothes. The temple priest comes and purifies the house sprinkling the holy water. The astrologer arrives and

announces the name of the particular member of the family, who, by reason of the constellation under which he was born, can take the chief part in the rites of the day.

The Hall is the scene of the greatest activity. It is made scrupulously clean and sanctified. The new mat is spread and over it are placed the new basket, full of paddy, bunches of sacred leaves and creepers, vessels of rice and rice flour, cups of milk, honey and ghee, trays of sesamum and ginger, cocoanuts, and plantains, the new sickle and a reed measure full of paddy called the "Festival Measure." Near the mat, on a three-cornered stool, are placed betel leaves and nuts, and a ceremonial lamp on a brass plate of rice over a folded handkerchief.

Precisely at the appointed time, the person selected by the astrologer has to roll up the sacred leaves. The master of the house as well as others shout, "Increase! Increase!" when he is preparing the rolls for worship. Then, all gather around the master and he says in solemn tones, "Once in the year, on this auspicious Huttari festival, when we go out to reap the harvest, may Iggutappa and our ancestors guard us and prevent all obstacles in the path of carrying the Festival Measure" Then, the reed measure is taken by the person selected; the lighted lamp is carried by a maiden; the younger members take the dust of the feet of the older men and women; and the entire household marches in procession towards their field, to the particular spot where the sheaf is to be cut.

On arrival, the ghee, honey and milk are poured at the root of the rice plant. Every one shouts "*Poli! Poli!* Increase! Increase!" Pop guns are let off, or shots resound. And, the young man who brought the Festival Measure prostrates before the plants and ties the scrolls of sacred leaves to the stalk of the rice plant. Then, he nips off an odd number of sheaves and the party returns. They pass by the temple and, standing opposite to the shrine, pray, "Increase, Increase O! Lord!" They pass by the shrine of family ancestors, which is usually at a little distance from the house, on the edge of the family

fields. On the way, they offer fried rice, mixed with honey, to every one whom they meet.

At the threshold of the house, the mistress meets them. The sheaf cutter's feet are washed by a maiden who gives him some milk to drink. Then, he goes straight into the Hall and deposits the measure on the mat. He sits down immediately to prepare the "Huttari dough," which is the sacramental food of the day. Rice meal, plantains, milk and honey with seven of the new rice corns, seven pieces of cocoanuts, seven small pebbles, seven pieces of dry ginger, seven cardamom seeds and seven corns of sesamum—these form the constituents of what is called the Seven Corn Dough. Every one receives a little of this on a leaf of the Ficus Religiosa (Aśvattha) and saying, "Celebrate the feast," they swallow it. Some of the dough is sent to the shrine of ancestors along with samples of every dish prepared for the feast that day. Moreover, the person who kneaded stands up in the Hall and, calling out the names of the dead ancestors, throws up towards the attic small quantities of the dough. Finally, he makes an impression on the wall with his flour-covered hand. Meanwhile, the children have tied up the new sheaves to every tree and pillar and post, chair and table and bed and decorated the entire house. Supper follows, the chief dish being a hash of sweet potatoes and sugared rice into which a handful of new rice is thrown. The busy day thus comes to a close.

Third Day.—But not the Huttari celebrations. There are four more days to the Holy week. The day after Huttari is called *Ūru Kōlu* or *Village Stick Dance*. Towards evening, the women of two or three houses proceed to the village maidān, a pair leading and a second pair following, all four beating cymbals and chanting songs. When they have arrived, they sit down with the children and look at the *Stick Dance*. The Coorgs that day sing the Huttari Song which runs thus:—

Live, Prosper, my Friend!
Live by Huttaris' name!

Four and three, let us sing
Of that and nothing else.
When Mīna departed
And Edava [1] appeared
On Sankrānti day
At the glory of dawn
The tawny, brawny youths
Awoke from their sleep
Opened the golden gate
Worshipped the rising sun.
They washed both feet and face,
Called out the *Poleyas*,[2] Slaves,
Sent word for them to come,
Then, from out of the cattle shed,
Six and thirty bullocks strong,
Brought out and tied with ropes
They patted them and brought them
To the silver courtyard of their house.
There they came and stood.
'Implements for the cattle
They should be proper and good.'
Thus they thought and brought
Yoke and plough and share
From out the silver courtyard
Removing silver rods of gate
Out they went, fieldwards,
To their field, the land,
The nursery plot, Mirror-like.
With face towards the East
On the necks of the bullocks
They placed the silver yokes.
In a line, they ploughed,
Then, Lo! from above
There was thunder, long and loud
Then Lo! upon this land,
Rain and hailstone fell.
The earth was sweet as sugar,
The earth was soft as milk.
Six times, criss cross, they ploughed,
Then they made it level
And knew best day
To plant the seed.

1 The Solar month Rishabha.
2 Aboriginal peoples.

On that good day,
They sowed the seeds,
Golden seedlings when they rose,
His land, he ploughed and levelled.
Best day to transplant
He learnt the day and time.
Then, on that lucky day,
As soon as the day did dawn,
Girls, like blossoms pure,
Bathed and wore new clothes.
In front of sacred lamp
Scattering sacred rice
They bowed to ancestors all.
From thence, they walked
In grace and beauty, all,
To seed plot in the field,
Reached the field near and high,
Reached the field near and lower,
Bowed down to the East,
And the well grown seedlings;
Scattered the white rice grain
Worshipping the Sun;
And with a golden smile
They tied seedlings into bundles.
Then the *Poleyas*, all the slaves,
Seven times they ploughed
The seven-cornered field,
Ploughed it well and levelled it,
To plant there the seedlings.
Next day, not that day,
The golden knots untied
And on that seven-cornered field
They planted them in glee
Thus, while saying one and two,
The good plant-babies, stood up
And in *Chingom* [1] month
The golden sheaf was seen,
Great joy in every face!
What day shall we harvest?
Thus they thought and asked.
Iggutappa, [2] the Lord
On a fine morning, rose

[1] Solar month Simha.
[2] A Coorg mountain God.

With tied up moustaches,
Long beard and stick
He came down from the hill
To Taliparamba [1] and thence
To Bendru Kolu village, to see
His brother God—Bendru Kolappa ![2]
"O! my brother! Why this visit?"
Thus accosted, he said,
"In golden necklaced Coorg,
No day to reap the harvest.
In emerald Malnad
What do you do?"
Then Bendru Kolappa said,
In emerald Malnad
For Nairs and Nambiars [3]
Onam is the day.
In Chingom month is Onam
And, one day earlier,
With everything gathered,
Weavers' children every one
With small clothes in hand
They go to every house
And give to every one.
Not that day but next day
The Nairs and Nambiars
Bathe and put on new clothes
And with small clothes in hand
They go to *Onam* Maidān.
With plantain leaf,
Rice and milk they go
And cocoanuts and betel leaf,
"Let us reap the harvest
Then, on *Onam* day" said He,
Then, Iggutappa God, He said,
"In golden necklaced Coorg,
For *Amma* Coorgs and Coorgs [4]
Let Onam be the harvest day.'
Bendru Kolappa, 'Yes' said He,

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1 In Malabar.

2 It is significant that the God at Vaikom in N. Travancore is also called Bendra Kolappa.

3 Two Malabar castes.

4 The two Coorg castes.

And Igguttappa, joyful, glad
Retraced his steps to Coorg.
Then, Bendru Kolappa called
Onam Mother near to Him
And gave her the reed cylinder
And the several sacred leaves
And the sickle, like elephants' tusk,
And sent Her to Coorg.
She came to the temple of pearl
Of Iggutappa, the Lord
And placed the reed at eastern door,
And sat there in peace.
The priest he saw her there
And the first of the Takkas
Paradanda,[1] the young and wise
Sent word to Achyuta, astrologer.[2]
The astrologer spread his shells
Divided them in three
Scanned his copper plate
And slowly rose from seat
And spread the Huttari news
In every house of Coorg.
In this wise, my brother,
Huttari came to Coorg.
Before the first of the month
Good and virtuous boys
For the sake of Huttari
Seek the vegetables five
And the sacred leaves
And next day, not that day,
When the day just dawns
The *Meda* and the *Poleya* bring
The basket and the mat
The carpenter boy, the spoon
The potter boy, the pot
The heating hammering smith
Sickle and reed measure brought.
Every year, without fail,
The tawny, brawny youths
Bathe and put on new dress
And tie the sacred scroll
And carry the measure

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[1] A Coorg family.
[2] A Malayali.

With song and drum
Both boys and girls together
And sacred lamp
And go to the fields
The seven-cornered field
And with God in their minds
With fire and shot
And shouts of "Increase, Increase"
Fill the Festive measure
And after returning home
Eat and drink, in glee.
The next day, not that day,
They go to Takka's home
Like forest, they gather there
And eat and drink in glee.
And gather in the maidan
And, on Igguttappa's order,
Play the stick dance
And praise the dead and the born,
The living and the dead
And get presents therefor.
The next day, not that day,
On the meadow of flowers
Place the taken sticks
Go from house to house
And praise the masters all
And take the presents therefor
And go to oldest Takka
And in that Takka's house
Place the drum and cymbal.
And all the village, together,
Have a village party--
Forest hunt they start
Shoot the big fat boar
The tawny brawny youth
Shoot and fell the boar.
Seeing this the villagers
Exult in joy and glee
Come to flower meadow
In the centre of the village
Drinking and eating
Slowly they disperse
Go to oldest Takka
And dance and sing

Four tunes and songs
Place back the taken drum
Thus let us sing
And close the song
When next we sing
Let this be the beginning
La Lle' Lo! La Lle' Lo!

This is the Huttari Song describing the operations that reached their consummation in so much joy, the way in which Coorgs derive it from Malabar and the outline of their celebrations.

After the dance, some theatrical performances are added. Brahmans, Moplas, Voddas (diggers of tanks, road menders, etc.), Gadikas (snake charmers), Jogis (wandering ascetics), etc., are impersonated and they play through the village. Invariably, there is a pantomime of ' Man " and " Woman," the latter gaily dressed up as a public woman and songs are sung describing her blandishments and discomfitures. If any onlooker shouts an abuse against the man who has impersonated as the Kodichi or woman, the village will impose upon him a very heavy penalty. No one should interrupt their dance or come across their path!

(*Fourth Day.*)—On the fourth day, is the *Nādu Kōlu* or the stick dance of the Nāḍ or District. Representatives from each village meet and play, as on the previous day, the Huttari dance. They have also the shield play. In the evening, the parties from different villages separate and go home.

(*Fifth Day.*) The next day is the God's Dance or the stick dance in honour of the local deity. Special songs are sung in praise of the God.

(*Sixth Day.*)—With the sums collected by the singers from each household and especially from those who have been married during the year or who had babies born during the year, a grand public dinner is given on some open plain in the forest when the musicians, pipers, drummers, and serfs are fed sumptuously and a final dance is held.

That day, there is a rather curious function. The *Deva Takka* or the person who is in charge of temple affairs in the village encounters the *Ūru Takka* or village headman and the following conversation ensues:—

Deva Takka.—Have all the villagers, without fail gathered?

Ūru Takka.—Yes. As traditional usage demands.

Deva Takka.—Have all households, those that are out of place, those that heat and hammer, those that throw and pull—have they all joined?

Ūru Takka.—Yes. As traditional usage demands.

Deva Takka.—Let no one say, I didn't know, I didn't know. It is God's command! He who has reached the age of singing and dancing, if he did not join in singing and dancing, when they went with song and dance; if the closed gate was not opened; if the vessel in the way was not removed to a side; if the hanging lamp was not put up, if two did not join one; if some one did ill by word of mouth, or by hand or by finger, or by contact of body; then, a fine of 48 paṇas has to be paid—This is my witness (He beats the palm of another person).

Of course, no such case comes up and the family closes the meeting.

Thus, after a public exhortation about the need for co-operation and a declaration of oneness of mind, the Huttari festival ends. In Malabar, the *Onam* has lost its association with the harvest in many places; it has got itself mixed up with the legend of Mahabali and the Golden Age; it has assumed a social significance through the custom of cloth gifts; but, like the Huttari, it still remains a period of feasting, dancing and group games.

THE KĀVAL SYSTEM IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY

By *Rao Sahib* Prof. C. S. Srinivasachariar, M.A.,

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I

The village watchmen had the power not only to keep watch over the village during day and night, but also to observe the conduct of the people.[1] Āpasthamba (II. 10-26) speaks of regulation made for protecting the passages from being troubled by thieves and robbers in every direction from the village to the distance of one *yōjana*. Besides watchmen were required to furnish information regarding the arrival of strangers and aliens. Āpasthamba further adds that the watchman or the sentinel must be of active habits, of strong physique, obedient and faithful and also well-versed in the use of weapons. The author of *Śukranīti* (II. 170) refers to the sentinels who went by the name of *Sthānikas*. Kauṭilya makes mention of *Chōrarajjukās*, who were, probably, police officers responsible for the loss of goods and perhaps also for the security of the locality. We also hear of the *Chaurōddhāraṇa* and the *Chaurōddhāraṇikā* (police-taxes and police officers).[2]

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[1] Śivagñāna Munivar, the commentator of Meykandanār's *Śivagñāna Bōdham*, an illustrious work on the Śaiva Śiddhānta Philosophy, accidentally refers to the duties of the watchman under the head of Pādikkāval and also quotes similar lines from the Tēvāram hymns.

[2] See M. H. Gopal's *Mauryan Public Finance*, pp. 49-50, and Kauṭilya, Book IV, Ch. 9.

In the Tamil land, people appointed to keep watch, were grouped into a number of heads such as Mey-kāppāḷar, (Aṅgarakshakās) *Anukkavāsal Kāppār* and, during the later Chōḷa period, *Keralāntaka vāśal-Kāppār*, besides *Ūr-kāval*, *Nāḍu-kāval* and *Pādi-kāval*.

The term Mey-kāppāḷar implied the duty of keeping guard over the person of the king; and it is similar to the modern *aide-de-camp*. Anukkavāśal Kāppār and the Keralāntakavāśal Kāppār will point to the watchmen at the royal palace gates.

The terms *Ūr-kāval*, *Nāḍu-kāval* and *Pādi-kāval* refer to the watch of the villages and *nāḍus*, or districts. *Ūr-kāval* simply meant the watchmen of the villages; and the *Talayāri* of the present day (Ūr-kāval kāraṇ) is the still surviving monument of that ancient institution. The watchers of a *nāḍu* which is the result of grouping a number of villages, has come down to us as *Nāḍu-kāval*.

Pādi-kāval may be taken in a different sense altogether, as we find it mentioned sometimes along with *Padai paṟṟu* which means a military outpost.[1] The chiefs of these military stations resembling the territorial army were known by the name of *Araiyars*.[2] *Pādi-kāval* seems to have had more of the modern police duties in addition to what the *Ūr-kāval* seems to imply. *Pādi-kāval*, as it occurs in some epigraphs, is taken to mean the dues levied on lands for keeping watch over them. Taxes on lands were of various denominations; and one of such taxes was the *Padai iṛai*. Probably it refers to the tax levied towards the maintenance of *Pādai kāvalars*. Inscription 73 of 1888 from Tanjore, dated S. 1377 (1455 A.D.) refers to the exemption granted to a number of villages from paying certain taxes in which the watchman's fee is also included. Fees realised from *Pādi-kāval*

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[1] We understand from a number of Pudukottah epigraphs that the Hoysaḷas had an outpost in the present Pudukottah State during the time of the Hoysaḷa Sōmēśvara (1234-35—1254 A.D). We come across the term *padaikaṇakku*, military accountant (No. 392) No. 395.

[2] Pudukottah Inscriptions (1929).

rights were sometimes made over to institutions which were in very sore need of a substantial financial help.[1] Later, the watchman's fee took a new form (*talaiyārike*) and the term *Pādi-kāval* itself had gone out of use, yielding place to the modern *talaiyāri* of our villages but with the curtailment of the police functions that pertained to his predecessor.

As *Pādi-kāval* had to depend upon land tax for its successful functioning, the kings made grants of lands as remuneration for the services rendered by those of the *Pādi-kāval.*[2] Inscription 155 of 1900 refers to the hereditary rights of serving on the *Pādi-kāval.* This will explain the communal division of groups on a functional basis; and this remarkable feature of our ancient village organisation, kept up the community and the superiority of the executive over the legislative body. The hereditary character of the institution is further established by the fact that those enjoying *Pādi-kāval* rights had also the right of selling their privileges for a specified sum to others. Rarely did inefficiency in the discharge of this function result in the state interference of auctioning the *Pādi-kāval* rights.

Sometimes inability to pay the royal taxes resulted in the selling of the *Pādi-kāval* rights. An inscription from Pudukottah, dated *S.* 1387, refers to the sale of *Pādi-kāval* in auction for 500 *cakrams*—a species current as coin—as those who were enjoying them suffered much as a consequence of a famine caused by the failure of the monsoon. Another record, dated *S.* 1440, refers to the sale of *Pādi-kāval Suvandiram* by the residents of Karaiyur to a member of Urali rights for 110 *paṇam* and the cause of the sale is ascribed to the plight of the vendor who found no other means for paying the taxes.

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[1] No. 502. From Pudukottah. The persons enjoying *pādi-kāval* rights ordered the people to pay *pādi-kāval* dues for repairs to be made in the temple. No. 244 of 1914, assignment of fees *for the repairs of a tank which became desolate.*

[2] Nos. 356 of 1914 and 559 of 1912.

In the Post-Vijayanagara period we find the quasi autonomous village watch system breaking down, largely owing to the prevailing anarchy, but the establishment of the *Pōḷigār* feudal organisation preserved it and comprehended its operation within its scope.

II

Kāval System under the Poḷigārs.

In the epoch that followed the disruption of the Vijayanagara Kingdom these watches continued, though under a new name. The famous Viśvanātha Nāyaka and his co-adjutor, Āriyanātha Mudali, who combined in himself the double offices of Daḷavōy and Pradhāni, were very efficient administrators and restored order in the country by the institution of the Pāḷayam system of administration. Viśvanātha was trained in the administrative system of the Vijayanagara Empire and 'made his mark in applying its principles in a systematic manner.'[1] The traditional chronicles attribute a larger share of constructive work to Āriyanātha than even to Viśvanātha in the matter of the establishment of the Pōḷigār system. Although the system was not completely new inasmuch as we find some Pālayakārans in the southern country before the enthronement of Viśvanātha in Madura, nevertheless, to him was due its institution as a permanent and efficient basis for the administration of the country and for the defence of the kingdom and the capital.[1] The Pōḷigār system was the solution of Viśvanātha and Āriyanātha for the difficult problem of reconciling the conflicting interests of all these classes. The Pāḷayam organisation likewise spread into the Carnatic and Mysore regions; while in all the districts south of Trichinopoly, hardly any direct and immediate control over local affairs remained in the hands of the ruler and his ministers.

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[1] H. Heras: *The Aravidu Dynasty*; Vol. I, p. 134.

The details of the scheme of the institution of Pōḷigārs as given in the chronicles are condensed by Nelson. There were 72 bastions to the fort of Madura and each one of them was now formally placed in charge of a particular chief who was bound for himself and his heirs to keep his post at all times and under all circumstances. He had to pay a fixed annual tribute and to supply besides a quota of cavalry and foot-soldiers to maintain peace over a particular tract of country. In return, he was given the charge of a number of villages proportioned to his rank, as well as the title of Pāḷayakāran. The sources of Nelson's information gathered in his book—*The Madura Country, A Manual (1861)*—are now somewhat discounted in their historical value. All that can be regarded as probable is that the existence of the Pōḷigārs as a class dates from the period of the commencement of the rule of the Nāyakās. Very few of these fief-holders (the principal exception is the Sētupati of Rāmnād) can claim that their estates or chiefships had been conferred upon them prior to the Nāyaka period by the ancient rulers of the land. Dr. Caldwell gives the literal meaning of Pāḷayakāran as the holder of a camp and secondly as a holder of a barony or military tenure. He condemns the system of Pōḷigārs as having been productive of great evil for, down to the period of their final subjection and submission to the British authority in 1801, whenever they were not at war with the central power, they were at war with one another; and it was rarely possible to collect from them the tribute or the revenue due to the central authority without a display of military force which added both to the unpopularity and the expenses of collection. The Pōḷigār considered his territory as Pāḷayam (or encampment); and the Nāyak rulers and their successors did not attempt to exercise, or even to claim the right of exercising, civil or criminal jurisdiction in the limits of Pōḷigār's dominions. If his tribute were paid and his feudatory regularly sent him assistance in his wars, his demands were satisfied.

Every considerable town and village in the Madura Kingdom was fortified and garrisoned with regular troops, artillery, trained elephants and horses, and a *Daḷakartan* was in charge of the defences of each town and responsible for its safety. The Pōḷigārs in order to perform their military duties effectually, were to keep in perpetual readiness a kind of militia properly equipped for service and ready to take the field at a moment's notice. "This militia was exceedingly numerous; in fact nearly all the able-bodied raiyats resident in the Pōḷigārs' dominions were militia-men and liable to be called out whenever there was danger of invasion or a prospect of foreign service." Some of the nobles other than the Pōḷigārs, who lived at the capital, held large estates, subject to military service and maintained regiments of infantry and cavalry. Some of the Pōligārs were placed in authority over others and they were made answerable for the good conduct of their subordinates The retainers of the Pōḷigārs were mostly raiyats supporting themselves by lands granted to them rent-free, on condition of rendering military service, and received only batta when on duty or march; while the expense of maintaining them in efficiency was very trifling.

The Pōḷigār's men exercised police duties not only in their own villages, but presumed to protect the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining villages and roads. This extension of authority, wholly based on encroachment, was converted into a pretext "for the most severe oppressions of the people in the form of fees and ready money collections." They also claimed rights over lands in the Government villages which they pretended to hold rent-free; this was largely due to the fact that the lands of the fief-holders were indiscriminately mixed in many places with the Sarkar villages and by the Pōḷigārs themselves being allowed to farm out the lands in the Government villages. They also frequently contrived to eject the raiyats from the lands of which they themselves held the *inam* rights and acquired a permanent

interest in their kāval villages. The Pōḷigārs collected two sorts of fees, as district watchers and village watchers. The village fees known as *tallum kāval* (*sthaḷam kāval*) were of much older creation than the Pōḷigārs' influence and authority, "being co-eval with the establishment of villages and constituting the fund for the support of the Talliars or officers of police." The Pōḷigārs had so encroached upon and assumed these rights that more than four-fifths of the villages in Tinnevelly had come under their influence, and their peons had superseded the village Taḷayāris or retained them on condition of receiving from them a share of their perquisites. The *dēśa kāvāl* or district watching fees originated either from a grant of the ruler or from the voluntary action of the villagers who, being unable to protect themselves, submitted to such contributions In later times these fees were extorted by the Pōḷigārs from defenceless villagers as the price of their forbearing to plunder them. These contributions consisted in payments of money, grain, plough, or cattle and various other articles and were made by armed peons detached from the fort of the Pōḷigār for that purpose; they were not regulated upon the conscience of the Pōḷigār; and when the payment of them was resisted or not quickly submitted to it was enforced by torture, and the whip; the whole village was put into confinement, every occupation was interdicted, the cattle pounded, and the inhabitants taken captive into the pollam lands or murdered . . . The fees and collections thus made on account of the police were exclusive of other assessments to which the inhabitants of the neighbouring circar villages were subject equally with those in the pollams, under various pretences such as hunting, batta, marriage expenses and presents.[1]

"The *dēśa kāval*, though not of ancient institution, appears to have had an existence for many years, but was quite unconnected with the aboriginal system of Indian

[1] *The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the Affairs of the E. I. Company*, 1812, Vol. II (1866), pp. 89-90.

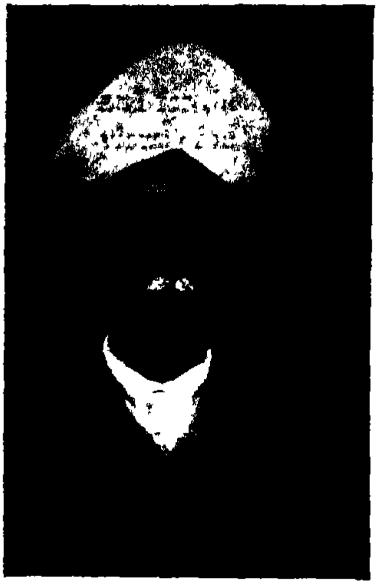
Police." We can conclude that this institution was "the remnant of the old system, of course, in a new garb. The police duties exercised by the Pōḷigārs were not confined to their own villages, but—extended to the protection of the property of the inhabitants and travellers in the adjoining villages and roads. The Pōḷigārs who were entrusted with the charge of police were responsible for the loss of property stolen with their jurisdictions. The numerous petty Pōḷigārs exercising the duty of *kāvalgārs* appear to have only arisen in comparatively modern times. They were, in fact, no other than the *potails* or headmen of the villages in which capacity it was left to them under the ancient system of the Hindus, to conduct the general affairs of the police within their local boundaries; but the fees and collections which they made in that capacity were innovations; for the only contributions sanctioned by that system, were such as were applied to the support of the Taḷaiyaris of which there were several in each village unit; they contrived like all other public servants to live on the village russooms and allotments of rent-free lands, when their means of subsistence were usurped from them by the Pōḷigārs; in many places, the taḷaiyaris because of their local knowledge and power, became plunderers."

The Pāḷayam system thus perverted and put out of its normal shape, the old system of kāval and connected institutions and converted it from being an instrument of protection of the villagers into a tool of their oppression and extortion. How difficult a task it was for the British Government to restore order and village security in the Pāḷayam lands is disclosed in the reports of Sir Thomas Munro forwarded to the Madras Government as the Principal Collector of the Ceded Districts in the opening years of the 19th century and in the writings of Bishop Caldwell who was intimately acquainted with the classes of Pōḷigārs and their retainers in the Tamil Districts. Dr. Caldwell asks: "Can it be really true that the peaceful Nāyaka raiyats of the present day are the lineal descen-

dants of those fierce retainers of the Pōḷigārs?" and he continues:—"Many of them have merged their traditional occupation of watchmen in the safer and more reputable occupation of husbandmen".[1]

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[1] *A Political and General History of the District of Tinnevelly* (1881), p. 219.



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X. FINE ARTS AND TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Shahid Suhrawardy, B.A. (Oxon.)

Rani Bageswari Professor of Fine Arts, University of Calcutta.

I am grateful to you for the honour you have done me in electing me to preside over the Fine Arts Section of this Conference. I take it not as a compliment to me personally but to my University, which is the only educational institution in India to have realised that Fine Arts are a sufficiently important subject to be included in the curriculum of its Post-Graduate studies. In establishing a chair and uniting together a number of scholars, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, with characteristic vision, gave a concrete form to a growing need for a better and deeper knowledge of this aspect of ancient Indian culture. Thereby the dignity of a discipline has been conferred on this subject which, till lately, used to be the special sphere of sentimental exaltation and effete appreciation by dilettantes and aesthetes.

To-day I wish to draw your attention to some problems that I consider of paramount importance for the study of the history of Indian Fine Arts and I intend to appraise for you the methods that till now have been employed in the field of its investigation. I assure you that my criticism is inspired by a genuine desire to clarify as best I can the confusion prevailing on the subject, and not by hostility or prejudice towards the pioneers of our studies whose attempts I would be the last to undervalue. In this address I shall try to suggest a different approach

and for this purpose I am compelled to diverge from the views of many for whom I have admiration and gratitude.

For so long had it been the custom to belittle the achievements of Indian culture and characterise them as expressions of crudity and the grotesque, that it is quite intelligible if at the beginning the reaction was of an unscientific and uncritical nature. Thus, when everything was considered unworthy and as belonging to a low rung of cultural existence, the writers, who might be called the discoverers of our art, went to the other extreme of finding each art object in India to be supremely valuable and significant. This reactive hostility towards superficial comparisons with European classical and modern art led them to appreciate art objects not for their intrinsic worth but as elements in a fight for national culture. It is not the first time that this has occurred, for in the history of the world this uncritical acceptance of mediocre expressions of culture is an oft-recurring phenomenon. The pity is that so much emotion and fine writing should have been wasted in refuting the weak arguments of our critics.

A little more knowledge on our part, for instance, of the beginnings of Early Christian Art, not to speak of the existing folk-art of Eastern and Northern Europe, would have been sufficient to oppose a propaganda spread by prejudiced bureaucrats and supercilious foreigners. The truth is that those critics who denied the validity of Indian Arts were either ignorant, or else were devoid of that deep cultural adaptability essential to the visual apprehension of unusual forms. The more serious among them found the manifestations of our art strange. The average European normally reacts thus to any art with a history or inspiration different to his own. We would probably have done the same if of late our taste had not been enslaved by alien ideals. A feeling of 'strangeness' in the presence of an art object is no stigma attached to that object but a confession of the incapacity of the observer to adjust his sensibility to it. Need we in our

turn have taken the absurd position of maintaining that everything created in India was beyond criticism, of tearing out from our hearts all joy in foreign art, even while it evoked our deepest aesthetic reaction and denying artistic excellence, for example, to Classical Greece and Italy and France after the Middle Ages? Was it right to regard Indian Art as an insular, narrow, specific, harboured but all-justifiable instance of a particular mode of artistic existence? Why should it have been necessary to insist upon a special initiation into the mysteries of an esoteric culture as an essential equipment for the understanding of Indian art? In thus denying the universality of appeal in Western Art they have robbed our own art, which is one of the most marvellous expressions of the human spirit, of that element which alone justifies the existence of Art. However, we must admit that, even though embittered with a sense of inferiority, these writers have served a useful purpose in gaining publicity for our art and in clearing the ground, which, for want of a national cultural criterion, had lain waste for centuries.

The second method of studying our subject confused the issues, if possible, still more. This was the aesthetic method and it has not yet disappeared if we are to judge from the great volume of writing on Fine Arts to-day. In fact, for the last thirty years almost every historian of our art has been guilty of exhausting the English vocabulary of adjectives denoting beauty and excellence on it. There are few books or articles where, after the metric description has been given of an art object it is not at once characterised as exquisite, graceful, fine, beautiful. How is it possible that, in what is a comparatively ample corpus to-day in spite of the absence of excavations on a comprehensive scale, the ravages of time and the vandalism of man, all examples can be described as perfect or even excellent? The followers of this school jealously guard the isolation of their subject from cognate and allied disciplines. The word archæology is anathema to them. They prefer to connect art with literature, religion,

meditation, lyrical outpouring of legends and mythology. You will find a large number of books which, filled with emotional effusion of the most uncritical kind, contain the narration *in extenso* of the subject-matter of works of art that are identified with stories from the Jatakas, the Krishna legends and historical episodes. It would seem that to these writers the sole purpose of art was illustration. I do not deny that the illustrative quality, besides being an evidence of the adequacy of technique to a theme, is also an element in our intellectual acceptance of a work of art. It helps us to understand in what particular way a certain object has been refracted in the mind of the artist and exteriorised to our visuality, but you will agree with me that, however interesting this might be, it is but a meagre part in our estimation of art objects. Indeed, it is the least important factor at the moment when we contemplate a work of art in terms of its composition, the rightful apprehension of which constitutes the only basis of art criticism. With the lapse of time the illustrative quality is the first to evaporate from our memory, whilst we still retain some recollections of linear interrelations, structure, modelling, plan, colours, disposition of masses in space,—in short, of the arrangement and the radiance which reflect the union of the artist's brain and his emotional sensibility.

Now let us examine the attitude of this school towards archæology. I admit that an approach which consists in regarding art objects as mere utilitarian elements in material culture, cannot commend itself to art historians. I yield to no one in upholding the autonomy and integrity of our subject. But to me, the wholesale condemnation of archæology in our present state of knowledge of Indian Art, appears to be childish, capricious and fanatical. From the point of view of method, the importance of archæology for our subject must be rightly appraised always, of course, bearing in mind the clear line which demarcates the aims of these two disciplines. I too would have liked to dispense with

archæology if it were possible. But can we afford to indulge in this luxury when the greater portion of our art still awaits excavation? This dependence on archæology is not only our lot but that of the students of all the classical arts except the Hellenic. There the entire corpus or much the largest portion of it has been unearthed, all the literary documents sifted, the chronology elucidated, the reigning ideas discovered, the historical episodes brought to light, and thus it is possible to review the whole range of the artistic achievement of the Hellenic peoples, and trace not only the influences and counter-influences but the rise, the growth, the culmination and the dissipation of forms and technique. Only in that unique instance can we ignore archæology, and that for the sole reason that it has already contributed its full to art history. In our case you will admit the objection is unreasonable. In fact, those who are most vociferous in decrying this temporary alliance rely in their works on literary allusions, customs, history, etc., which more rightly belong to the sphere of archæological investigation. I, for one, if it came to that, would prefer that our books be loaded with unilluminated archæological material rather than with subjective exclamations serving as confessions of the writer's personal aesthetic reactions. This last is an interesting enough theme in the autobiographies of art historians who have risen to eminence as men, otherwise they are devoid of any value. Art history does not consist in recording the aesthetic sensibility of all and sundry who choose to write on art. There is so much of loose thinking and writing on this subject that I have deemed it a duty to expatiate on it at some length.

The third school is that of the 'idealists.' Their method emphasises the idealism, chiefly religious, underlying Indian Art. It is an attempt, in the last analysis to divert our attention from the quality of uniqueness inherent in every art object towards generalisations dealing with the psychology of the creative artist. Their interpretation thus is in terms of the content rather than of

the form. You will have recognised that this approach is the most popular with the majority of our serious art historians. I hope you realise the grave dangers of such an attitude. It presupposes, in spite of the growing evidence we have from day to day of the stupendous material achievements of ancient Indian culture, religious idealism to be the unique interest of the Indian spirit. It proceeds further and holds, as logically it must, that all the phases of our life are explicable only with reference to a spiritual outlook, which is our sole monopoly. To explain away what to alien eyes appear extravagances of our art, it contrasts the spiritualism of our culture with the so-called materialism of the West. All the obvious discrepancies of our history it attributes to the irrelevancy of foreign contacts, not taking into account the need for other than spiritual activity that magnificent military empires and luxurious courts must have had, where the patrons of art often regarded religion either as a social convenience or as a factor in national cohesion. They would have us believe that the ordinary man in Ancient India lived his everyday life in an atmosphere of arcadian simplicity and morality. Artists to them were not only god-gifted but god-drunk. Surely, an artist cannot be judged by his passionate love of God, or his elevated theme but only by his realisation of it in form. He must have the vision, the technical prowess and knowledge of the nature of his material as well as of the limitations of the human creative capacity. He may be the devotee of a particular creed but he must be something more. He is not worthy of his appellation if, for the purpose of his creation, he is solely dependent on iconographical tradition. Even when the artist follows tradition he must exercise his choice among different sets of tradition. His search, whatever be his theme, must always be the same, *viz.*, after vitality, vigour, glamour and expressiveness. Yet he must be sensitive to the changes of taste that take place even in countries where conventions seem immutable. The question is whether, at the moment of creation, he is

the idealised man who has gained a vision of truth by meditation, prayer and atonement or is he also alive to commercial advantages, the vision being revealed to him in the process of his work through the urge of his temperament? We talk too much of the sacredness of our conventions and traditions, yet Indian Art has the supreme merit, in spite of the apparent lack of variety of its themes, of having successfully avoided the academism into which other hieratic arts, for example the Babylonian and some periods of the Egyptian and the Byzantine, so easily fall. In fact, for a longer period than any other people of the Classical East, we have through changing ages and dynasties maintained a higher standard of originality, vividness and efficiency until, late in our history, we lapsed into formalism and the baroque.

Another claim which the 'idealists' make for Indian Art is the quality of its collectiveness which they contrast with the anarchy of individual expression in the West. I take this to mean that whilst the Indian artist was a faithful mirror to the ideals of the collective to which he belonged the European created forms in response to an impulse which was all his own. Thus it would result that, whilst the Indian was secure against criticism and sure of receiving a certain measure of standardised appreciation, the European was exposed to adventitious subjective reactions. Is this view really tenable in the light of our knowledge? Does it not tend to reduce the Indian creative genius to something mechanical, meek and submissive? Does not the pathos of Indian Art controvert this supposition? The anonymity of our artists, so often cited to support this theory, does not signify their abdication from the vanity of personal creation. Can it not allude to an extraodinary objectivity in art appreciation which ancient Indian society had achieved, an objectivity which consisted in completely divorcing the product of art from the personality of its producer? Moreover, anonymity has been to a large extent a characteristic of all aspects of our cultural life. The practice is common enough in other civilizations

of a teleological type, whether Asiatic or European. We cannot too strongly refute this supposition which denies freedom to the Indian artist and seeks to portray him as an automaton in our culture. In reality he is neither bound hand and foot by iconographical traditions nor is he that rare phenomenon, a pure artist without admixture of artisanship, independent of the hazards of creation. We must for the sake of the dignity of the Indian artist reinvest him with the characteristics of human weakness. Neither can we scientifically accept the view of this school, which would reduce the manifestations of Indian religious art to mere objects of cult. The very plasticity inherent in them must be recognised as evidence of their discreetness and autonomy. The rhythm that beats through them is the rhythm of the individual creative temperament and not of a collective entity. The forms of Indian Art in common with those of all other arts are the result of personal divinations, inventiveness and unforeseen revelations, and not the translation of Yogic attitudes and particular religious symbolism. As in all other lands the symbols and attributes are merely decorative variations on the main coherent linear statement presented to our judgment.

In criticising the tendencies with which I have been dealing, I hope I have indicated to some extent the method I would like to see adopted for the study of the history for our Fine Arts. If I have belittled the methods that till now have prevailed, it is because each of them has claimed, consciously or unconsciously to be the only one for the interpretation of our art. I have attacked the irrelevancy of the first, the frivolity of the second and the inadequacy of the third school. In advocating a more comprehensive approach I would not eschew some of the elements from these systems, if the first two might be dignified by that name. I would like to include in it the enthusiasm of the nationalists, for without fervour all subjects of study are lifeless; within well defined limits I would accept the subjectivism of the aesthetes, for the

sincere apprehension of beauty is an incentive in our pursuit. But these are merely pragmatic concessions. I have greater respect for the writers of the third school for they at least have knowledge. They attempt to dive into the secrets of the creative process in the mind of the artist, though to me they remain hopelessly unaware of the unrepeatability of his exacting personality. They wrongly identify the inspiration with the inspired. I regard art also as a related phenomenon, only one aspect of our cultural life. But I maintain that it has an identity and integrity of its own. Our attempt should be to investigate its distinct being, standing out independently from other sociological phenomena and yet at the same time situated amongst them. The main preoccupation of the history of art should be the study of the development of form and the evolution of technique which has made that form realisable. We have to follow up, through the ages, the growing power of man over his material, but we must bear in mind that the development of art rarely coincides with the chronology of history. Styles, designs, patterns, tricks of composition use of colours achieve perfection, as other cultural phenomena also do, by sometimes reverting to their origin. To trace thus the life of an art object and the different stages which have contributed to its final shape, it is necessary to have a wide knowledge of the vagaries of form in other cultures. Moreover, it is a rare thing for an artist, in a moment of inspiration, to bring to life an entirely original form. Like most things it is influenced either by tradition, which has integrated it as the only adequate expression of a specific sensibility, or else by contact with the products of foreign cultures. Most art objects in India are composite of these indigenous or foreign influences. A work of art of our Middle Ages often is an epitome of age-long conflicts and harmonies among combating racial propensities as well as between indigenous and imported taste. The method I recommend may be called sociological. It is not new, only recent. It

has the sanction of the most important treatises on the history of art to-day. It has the advantage of removing distinctions between the history of art in different lands generalising the principles which condition the life of art everywhere. It studies the current taste, the political circumstances, the social background, the philosophical trend of thought of a period, in order to elucidate those factors which control an artrist's mind but which can never dominate or suppress his creative urge. Among these limiting factors this method gives a place of importance to race and foreign cultural contacts. It is now an admitted fact that in spite of migrations, changes in modes of living and political fortunes, racial taste and skill always persist. They can only be repressed for a while. Blood seems to have a deeper memory than the human mind and sometimes even symbols of long-forgotten beliefs make their unexpected appearance. Influences of foreign cultures, whether accepted voluntarily or forced by political exigencies, also survive. Acquired methods of overpowering the resistance of material are rarely permitted to lapse because they spell economy, rapidity and ease. Sometimes the same alien influence may dominate, as in Gandhara, or succumb to national reaction as under the T'ang in China, but in both cases, conquering or vanquished, it constitutes a part of succeeding history. Not only is its contribution to form or technique not to be questioned but it must be taken into account even when we characterise it as non-valid, because it is in the struggle against it that new forms come into being. Surely it cannot take away from the prestige of any art to acknowledge its debt to foreign influences. Some cultural milieus are so vital that they absorb and transform them or force them to their needs. Classical India, China and Byzantium, to name only three cultural groups, succeeded in assimilating the outer influences to the exigencies of their aesthetic demand. This method also maintains that form in art is not indissolubly connected with its content but with its technique. We are familiar with this tendency in modern

times because of the abstraction in visualising matter employed by the cubists and their extreme groups, the suprematists and the dadaists. It is the study of technique, the valiant conquest of the human race over dead material, which is most lacking in the History of Indian Art. It is not religious subjects, nor the wealth of our artistic imaginativeness which distinguish our art from that of others, but its unequalled virtuosity in technique. Whether in sculpture or in the industrial arts no material, stone or metal or wood, has been able to resist subservience to our most extravagant phantasy. We have combined different metals, we have united stone with metal and stone with stone, as no other people in the world has been able to do, and we have possessed a technical mastery which has made us envisage unterrified any subject, however incompatible it be with our actual experience.

I advocate this method with a purpose. Before concluding I shall touch very briefly on an application of it, which I commend to your attention. You must have heard that in recent times some Western scholars have been deeply engaged in discovering the influence of nomads, chiefly Iranians, on the art of their countries. Forty-five years ago Kondakov established the import of Iranian elements in Byzantine Art. Russian scholars, who were his followers, accepted Iranism because they found that the Hellenistic theory could not explain away the difficult problems besetting the origin and forms of Scythian Art. Since the chance find of the Oxus Treasure and the Sassanian silver platters, researches in Celtic Art and the Art of the Great Migration, excavation in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Crete, the discovery of the art of Central Asia and Luristan, investigations in early Chinese Art and in Japanese Art of the Nara period, since the Turki and Mongolian finds, we have come into possession of a new clue which we hope will ultimately elucidate the interchange of art forms in Asia and Europe. The Persian Exhibition of London in 1931 brought to a focus researches in this direction. The dynastic art of Iran and Asiaic

miniature painting, to mention only two subjects, have recently been studied from this point of view. The greatest attention is being paid to the chalcolithic period and to the Iranian migration in proto-history. There are brilliant scholars and art historians who have taken up this work. Among them I might mention Rostovtseff in America, Strzygowski in Austria, Tallgren in Finland, Minns and Dalton in England, Takacsz and Fettich in Hungary, Anderson in Sweden, Millet in France, Sarre and Herzfeld in Germany and Katakami in Japan. In Prague, scholars belonging to the Russian emigration have founded the Institut Kondakovianum, named after the great Byzantologist, which under the direction of Kalitinsky, has been publishing a marvellous periodical specially devoted to the study of the nomads and the distribution by them of specific art motifs and compositional arrangements. This is a fascinating subject and should surely be studied with reference to our own art. I may mention here that, when during the International Congress of the History of Art at Stockholm in 1933 I had sketched the possibilities of this study, it was received with a great deal of interest by the Iranists assembled there. It is true, that because of India's geographical position she could not serve as a great centre for the interchange of art forms, such as the steppe zone from Korea to the Carpathians did. Racial infiltration in our country, after the Aryan migration, was also rarely of a mass character. The foreign nomadic dynasties that came to India had already had a period of settled existence and retained but a dim memory of their previous mode of living. Moreover, they adopted India as their home and from the outset had to contend against a vital indigenous culture. But still we cannot ignore the fact that, during long centuries, we were ruled by the Kushan branch of the Iranian nomadic tribe of the Yuë-chis, and it was under them that many beginnings were made in Indian Art. We cannot but be struck in Kushan sculpture by an uncanny observation, a marvellous sense of modelling,

a poise and an accretion of traits and symbols bearkening to a non-Indian past. The domination of Western India by the Sakas and later of Central India by the White Huns, also Iranian nomads, must have left vestiges in our art forms which it would be well worth our while to trace. Most examples of our art are reflections of court culture, so it is to the industrial arts, especially to folk-art, that we have to turn to disengage the Iranian element. I am convinced that the pursuit of this enquiry will prove fruitful and be of immense importance to our art history. It will destroy, among other things, the narrowness of the generally accepted conception of our art. I therefore suggest that for the future study of our subject the sociological method offers greater scope. The modern investigator, alive to the importance of race, influences, root forms, traditions, the history of technique, etc., must maintain the disparateness of art from other sociological phenomena and yet be aware of its dependence on them. Whilst recognising the collective pressure, he must insist on the inviolability of the freedom of the individual creative spirit. It is essential for him to possess a catholicity of taste and wide aesthetic sympathies, the diversity of art manifestations meaning nothing more to him than chance specific applications of certain fundamental principles governing creation in all cultures. Thus he should be capable of reacting as sensitively to the Greek ideal of the divine man as to the Indian ideal of the man-divinity.

THE ART OF THE GOMATA COLOSSUS

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(Extract from a paper on the Gomaṭṭēśvara Image on the top of Vindhyagiri in Śravanabelagoḷa.)

The image is on the whole a very successful piece of sculpture since the spirit of Jain renunciation is fully brought out in it. The naked figure shows absolute renunciation, while its stiff, erect posture stands for perfect self-control and the benign smile on the face shows inward bliss and sympathy for the suffering world.

But the image could come in for much criticism especially from the point of view of Anatomy:

It is bent too far back to have a stable equipoise. The impression it gives is that of too little length and too much breadth. The figure ought to have been about 6 feet longer for the size of its head. The shoulders are too stiff and square to be natural, they are also too large for the size of the figure. The arms are too thick for their length and for the length of the image. The forearm is too short in comparison with the upper arm. The wrists are almost as thick as ankles and the hands nearly as large as feet. The legs are poorly shaped being massive and lifeless. An apology for the knee appears in the shape of a few lines. The ankles are thick, the feet fattish and the toes too long. The lower limbs have almost no character. The neck is too stout, stiff and cylindrical to be natural. It meets the head and the



Image of Gomatesvara



Man and Woman (Isurumunia, Anuradhapura), Ceylon



Kirtimukh—Pillar from Madagoda T
Colombo Museum, Ceylon

chest at an angle. The conventional two lines growing horizontally in front of it fail to relieve its unnaturalness. The nipples are marked by regular wheel shapes which are impossible in nature. Even the beautiful face is considerably affected by convention. The hair forms regularly curved ringlets lying quite flat on the head. The eyebrows are set too high in the forehead and are too roughly chiselled to be natural. The upper lip has a fine upper edge and is beautiful though rare, but the lower lip projects too forward falling short of only hanging out. The ears are much too large and in want of proportion.

Convention and want of proportion are the two important defects in the figure while its merits are the sublime beauty of the face and the gigantic proportions of the colossal image.

THE PARVA-RĀŚI OR FULL-AND-NEWMOON FORMULA OF THE VEDĀNGA-JYAUTISHA

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So far back as 1877 the late Dr. Thibaut made some contribution to the explanation of the Vedāṅgajyautisha to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. With the exception of Vv. 11, 13-17, 19-23, 25-27, 29, and 41 which he found obscure he explained the rest of the verses clearly and consistently with the astronomical system adopted in the Jyautisha. The system taught in the work is a cycle of five luni-solar years consisting of 1,830 days divided into 62 Sāvana months of 30 days each. In the 124 Parvas of the cycle the sun makes five revolutions through the circle of the 27 Nakshatras, while the moon makes 67 revolutions through the same circle. Basing his calculations upon these first principles of the Jyautisha, he arrived at the Lunar Parva formula in terms of the Nakshatras as follows :—

Since the Moon makes 67 revolutions through the circle of the 27 Nakshatras in 124 Parvas, she makes in one Parva $67 \times 27 \div 124$ revolutions, that is, she passes through $67 \times 27 \div 124$ or 14 and 73/124 Nakshatras. In two Parvas twice as many Nakshatras; in three Parvas thrice as many Nakshatras; and so on. Reasoning in this way he constructed a table of the 124 Parvas—62 full moon Parvas and 62 new moon Parvas—of the cycle of five years. He also stated that this Parva formula might be contained in one of the obscure verses. But scholars

like Mr. Bārhaspatya, Mr. Śankara Bālakrishṇa Dīkshit, *Mahāmahopadhyāya* Sudhākara Dvivedi, and Lokamānya Bāla Gangādhara Tilak, who all made a determined attempt at interpreting the obscure verses, discovered no such formula in any of those verses. Their failure to discover the formula was not because there was no such verse in the Jyautisha, but because they read their own meaning into the verses instead of finding out the author's own meaning. As the Vedāngajyautisha is so old as the 11th or the 9th century B.C., it is really difficult to find out what the author really intended to convey in the enigmatic verses of the Jyautisha. A clue is, however, found in an unexpected quarter. The Jaina astronomical works, such as the Sūryaprgnapti and the Jyotishkaraṇḍa, are based upon the same system as that of the Jyautisha. A comparison of the Jyautisha with the former reveals that the Parva formula is contained in the 13th verse, as indicated by the word " Parva-rāśi " contained in it. The verse runs as follows :—

"Nirekam dvādaśābhyastam dviguṇam chāpyasamyutam।
Shashṭhyā shashṭhyā yutam dvābhyām Parvaṇām rāśiruchyate "॥

This is the reading of the verse found in the text edited by Dr. Thibaut. *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Sudhākara Dvivedi read the last word of first half of the verse as " gatasamyutam." It is not known where he found that reading. I take " chāpyasamyutam " to be a mistake for " rūpasamyutam." I propose that reading not because it suits my meaning of the verse, but because it gives a Parva-rāśi formula exactly similar to that explained in the Jaina works and also to that arrived at by Dr. Thibaut. The verse can be translated as follows :—

Having deducted one (Amśa from the four Amśas of a Nakshatra), multiply the remainder by 12 and then by 2; the product with one added to it constitutes a Parva-rāśi, when divided by twice sixty-two, that is, 124.

Here "dvābhyām yuktayā shashṭhyā, dvābhyām yuktayā shashṭhyā yutam" is taken to mean combined with sixty-two and sixty-two as its denominator; in other words, it means divided by twice sixty-two, that is, one hundred and twenty-four. The formula is thus expressed in figures : –

$$\frac{(4\text{-}1)\times 12\times 2+1}{124}=\frac{73}{124}$$ is a formula of Parva-rāśi.

As already pointed out, this formula is arrived at by dividing the moon's 67 revolutions through the circle of the 27 Nakshatras by 124 Parvas in which those revolutions were completed. $\frac{67\times 27}{124}$ is equivalent to 14 Nakshatras and 73 out of 124 parts of a Nakshatra. Since the Moon takes 610 Kalas to move through a Nakshatra and since a day is divided into 603 Kalas, the same may be expressed in terms of days by multiplying $\frac{67\times 27}{124}$ by $\frac{610}{603}$.

The latter is equivalent to $\frac{67\times 27\times 610}{124\times 603}=\frac{1830}{124}=14\frac{47}{62}$ days.

In his commentary on the Jyotishkaraṇḍa, Malayagiri, the commentator, arrives at the same Parva-rāśi formula as follows.—

The Sun makes five revolutions in 124 Parvas. Hence in one Parva he makes 5/124 revolutions, or $\frac{5\times 27}{124}=\frac{135}{124}$ Nakshatras.

Again the Sun moves through 5×27 Nakshatras in 1830 days. Hence to move through one Nakshatra he takes $\frac{1830}{5\times 27}$ days, that is, $\frac{122}{9}$ or $13\frac{5}{9}$ days. Hence to move through $\frac{135}{124}$ Nakshatras he takes $\frac{135\times 122}{124\times 9}=14\frac{47}{62}$ days which is exactly similar to the formula given in the Vedāngajyautisha.

Malayagiri gives two more methods of arriving at the same formula as follows (p. 248) :—

(1) The Moon takes 1,830 days to make 124 Parvas. Hence to make one Parva she takes $\frac{1830}{124}$ or $14\frac{47}{62}$ days.

(2) The Moon takes $29\frac{32}{62}$ days to make a month. Half of this is equal to $14\frac{47}{62}$ days

This is the figure for one Parva. To arrive at the figure for two Parvas it is multiplied by 2; for three Parvas by 3; and so on for any number of Parvas within 124 Parvas.

A reference to the adjoined table of Parvas in terms of Nakshatras will make this clear.

That this is the Parva-rāśi formula meant in the 13th verse of the Jyautisha, is corroborated by what is stated in the 15th verse. It says that in those Parvas whose number is 12 or a multiple of 12, the fractional part of Bhāmśa or Nakshatrāmśa is 8 or a multiple of 8. The Bhāmśa of the 12th Parva is $\frac{73}{124} \times 12 = 7\frac{8}{124}$; in the 24th Parva it is twice as much; and so on with the other Parvas.

All this is made clear in my edition of the Vedāṅga-jyautisha with my own Sanskrit commentary and English translation.

1	New moon 0/124 Dhanishtha.		1	Full moon 73/124 Maghā.
2	22/124 Pūrvabhādra	...	2	95/124 Uttaraphalg.
3	44/124 Revati	..	3	117/124 Chitra.
4	66/124 Bharaṇi	...	4	15/124 Anūrādha.
5	88/124 Rohini	...	5	37/124 Mūla.
6	110/124 Ārdra	...	6	59/124 Uttarāshāḍha.
7	8/124 Āśleshа	...	7	81/124 Śravishṭhā.

8.	30/124 Purvaphalg	...	8	103/124 Pūrvabhādra.
9	52/124 Hasta	...	9	1/124 Aśvinī.
10	74/124 Svāti	...	10	23/124 Krittikā.
11	96/124 Anūrādhā	...	11	45/124 Mṛigaśīrsha.
12	118/124 Mūla	...	12	67/124 Punarvasu.
13	16/124 Śravaṇa	...	13	89/124 Āślesha.
14	38/124 Śatabhishaj	...	14	111/124 Pūrvaphalg.
15	60/124 Uttarabhādra	..	15	9/124 Chitra.
16	82/124 Aśvinī	...	16	31/124 Viśākha.
17	104/124 Kṛittikā	...	17	53/124Jyeshṭhā.
18	2/124 Ārdrā	...	18	75/124 Pūrvāshāḍha.
19	24/124 Pushya	...	19	97/124 Śravaṇa.
20	26/124 Maghā	...	20	119/124 Śatabhishaj.
21	62/124 Uttaraphalg	...	21	17/124 Revati.
22	90/124 Chitra	...	22	39/124 Bharaṇi.
23	112/124 Viśākhā	...	23	61/124 Rohiṇī.
24	10/124 Mūla	...	24	83/124 Ārdrā.
25	32/124 Uttarāshāḍha	...	25	105/124 Pushya.
26	84/124 Dhanishṭhā	...	26	3/124 Pūrvaphalg.
27	76/124 Pūrvabhādra	...	27	25/124 Hasta
28	98/124 Revati	...	28	47/124 Svāti
29	120/124 Bharaṇi	...	29	69/124 Anūrādhā.
30	18/124 Mṛigaśīrsha	..	30	91/124 Mūla.
31	40/124 Punarvasu	...	31	113/124 Uttarāshāḍha.
32	62/124 Āślesha	...	32	11/124 Śatabhishaj.
33	84/124 Pūrvaphalg	...	33	33/124 Uttarabhādra.
34	106/124 Hasta	...	34	55/124 Aśvinī.
35	4/124 Viśākhā	...	35	77/124 Kṛittikā.
36	26/124 Jyeshṭhā	...	36	99/124 Mṛigaśīrsha.
37	48/124 Pūrvāshāḍha	...	37	121/124 Punarvasu.
38	70/124 Śravana	...	38	19/124 Maghā.
39	92/124 Satabhishaj	...	39	41/124 Uttaraphalg.
40	114/124 Uttarabhādra	...	40	63/124 Chitra.
41	12/124 Bharaṇi	...	41	85/124 Viśākhā.
42	34/124 Rohiṇi	...	42	107/124 Jyeshṭhā.
43	56/124 Ārdrā	...	43	5/124 Uttarāshāḍha.
44	78/124 Pushya	...	44	27/124 Dhanishṭhā.
45	100/124 Maghā	...	45	49/124 Pūrvabhādra.
46	122/124 Uttaraphalg	...	46	71/124 Revati.
47	20/124 Svāti	...	47	93/124 Bharaṇī.
48	42/124 Anūrādhā	...	48	115/124 Rohiṇī.
49	64/124 Mūla	...	49	13/124 Punarvasu.
50	86/124 Uttarāshāḍha	...	50	35/124 Pūrvaphalg.
51	106/124 Dhanishṭhā	...	51	57/124 Pūrvaphalg.
52	6/124 Uttarabhādra	...	52	79/124 Hasta.

53	28/124 Aśvinī	...	53	101/124 Svāti.
54	50/124 Kṛittikā	...	54	123/124 Anūrādhā.
55	72/124 Mṛigaśīrsha	...	55	21/124 Pūrvāshāḍha.
56	94/124 Punarvasu	...	56	43/124 Śravaṇa.
57	116/124 Āślesha	...	57	65/124 Satabhishaj.
58	14/124 Uttaraphalg	...	58	87/124 Uttarabhādra
59	36/124 Chitra	..	59	109/124 Aśvinī.
60	58/124 Viśākhā	...	60	7/124 Rohiṇī.
61	80/124 Jyesṭhā	...	61	29/124 Ārdrā.
62	12/124 Pūrvāshāḍha	...	62	51/124 ushya

THE BHĀGAVATA PLAYS IN MYSORE

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Yakshagāna.—The Bhāgavata plays, consisting of regular dramas and pantomimes enacted to the *Yakshagāna* mode, have been very popular, more particularly in the rural than in the urban parts of the Mysore State, as also in those of the rest of South India. The *Yakshagāna* is mainly conceived to entertain a rustic audience and the etymological explanation of the word, 'celestial melody,' does not perhaps quite agree with what some scholars understand by it. Dr. Brown[1] explains it as 'a melody, a chant; poetry written rather to suit an air than according to the strict rules of prosody.' Dr. Kittel[2] also calls it a melody and a kind of popular dramatic composition; but as regards the prosody he contradicts Brown by saying that 'such license is not to take place in Kanarese, as it includes all the metres, respectively Mora-metres, that are fit for being chanted; *Kandas, Ragaḷes, and Shatpadis.*' It seems that in *Yakshagāna* metre and melody are the most important because, whether in a regular play or only a pantomime, dancing and music go hand in hand and a melody, to be at all attractive, must follow a metre. It seems also that this mutual dependence between *rāga* and *tāla* has been mainly instrumental in bringing about that heavenly symphony which vindicates the pertinence of the term *Yakshagāna*.

Diffusion and Diversity.—The Bhāgavata plays, as we find them, go by different names in South India.

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[1] See his Telugu-English Dictionary, p. 1058.

[2] Essay on Canarese Literature in his edition of Nāgavarma's Prosody, lxxii n. 3

Regular plays are generally known as *Bayalu-āṭas*, that is to say, plays enacted in the open. The term *Teruvu-kūttu* or 'street play' used in the Madras Presidency means much the same. In Dharwar and its neighbourhood they are simply called *Bhāgavatara-āṭagaḷu* or *Daśāvatāra-āṭagaḷu*—the former name, as in Mysore, indicating the stage-managership of the *Bhāgavata* and the latter, generally the theme of the plays. More often, they are only called *Yakshagāna*, the import of which has just now been explained and points to the general style of these plays. The Kathākaḷis of Malabar are, however, really pantomimes more in the nature of the marionette obtaining in several parts of Mysore than in that of regular dramatic performances; though, as a matter of fact, human actors do take active part in them and histrionics can thus be better relieved even in a dumb-show, than in a puppet-show. In the Mysore State we come across two kinds of puppets employed on the rustic stage: one is called the '*Chakkalada-gombe*,' that is, a flat puppet of hide, sometimes painted over on either side, often articulated at the joints, lower jaws and lips, and invariably braced up to a slender stick of bamboo or other material which is taken from the head downwards and is made to serve as a handle just below the feet. The stage erected for the purpose of this shadow play is very simple. A small booth of black cloth is pitched up, with the screen in front being formed of tightly fitted up white muslin. A powerful light, formerly of cocoanut or gingily oil and now usually of kerosine, is kept behind the screen on the inside. The manipulators squat at a lower level between the light and the screen and wave with great expression the puppets to and fro so that they are thrown in silhouette against the illuminated curtain to the sensitive form of the Yakshagāna music. The other is the more widespread '*Sūtrada-gombe*' that is, a perfectly modelled puppet controlled by strings and used in the marionette show. To the different limbs of the body which is hollow inside, the strings are fastened,—of course,

not too tightly, for that would prevent easy movement of the limbs to and fro—and taken out through the head and tied on at a distance to a ring, usually of metal but, in a few cases, made also of cane. About thirty to forty puppets are used in each show and managed by a troupe of professionals consisting generally of eighteen persons. These people erect a scaffold behind the curtain on the stage shutting it out from the view of the audience and let down the puppets in front to the full view of the lookers on, taking, of course, enough care to hide the strings from the sight of the people. The whole show is managed so dexterously that it would evoke not a little admiration. Usually each person manipulates even seven or eight puppets at a show and, all through, the naturalness and grace attached to the histrionics and gestures would never deteriorate, nor the *Yakshagāna* would go out of tune or harmony with the movements of the puppets nasmuch as these very movements appear to punctuate the songs and speech.

Contrasted with Modern Stage.—The enactment of these plays may, to a certain extent, differ from locality to locality and may have adopted, of late, to a greater or lesser degree, the more fashionable and up-to-date technique of the theatrical performances which are gradually, but surely, supplanting the *Yakshagāna* which, before long, may absolutely be forgotten as some other Indian arts are, notably dancing; though stray and uninfluenced examples might yet be shown as surviving in places few and far between. It is lamentable enough that Indian dancing is almost obsolete, if not practically dead, and the tradition of the ancient Bharataśāstra almost relegated to oblivion, though—thanks to the efforts of some sincere workers in this field—some hope has now sprouted that the spirit of this age could yet be reformed and once again made alive to the glories of Indian dancing. But the time spirit in regard to the *Yakshagāna* is changed to an extent that some people have even gone so far as to ridicule the *Yakshagāna* by calling it *Dombi Dāsira kuṇita* that is, the pranks of a moblike troupe of *Dāsas*; the spirit

is enchanted by the more alluring modern theatres with equipments of multi-coloured lights and scenery. Often we find the illiterate rustic biding his opportunity for going into the city and spending unmindfully the greater part of his hard-earned income at the tempting dramatic and cinema theatres. It may be that the modern theatre has its own merits, apart from its being *a ravir* pompous and full of splendour, though, according to some, a few concerns generally, if not mainly, indulge in vanities and frivolities, not to speak of their avowed aim of money-grabbing, which to the *Yakshagāna* players is totally alien. If the *Yakshagāna* is simple in its conception and simpler in its execution, there are, nevertheless, manifold merits of its own, too, crowned by that easily intelligible verse and prose which are absolutely free from literary gymnastics. The functions, in a real play, of the *Bhāgavata* who is the 'pilot' and of the *Kōdaṅgi*, the arch-jester, are not merely felicitous but would throughout hold the audience in rapture. The music also is simple and rid of extraneous influences. In its simplicity and purity there is much enjoyment The tempering tune generally suits the piece and renders it highly effective, while it is itself devoid of the theatrical *saṅgati-sangīta* which is becoming monotonous day by day. The *Yakshagāna* pieces are of shorter duration and sweeter in the sense that they are more homely than the modern dramatic songs which, sometimes, contrast very badly even with the ordinary domestic cradle and *ārati* songs. In dancing, too, the *Yakshagāna* beats its modern rival. It seems as though, the traditions of the ancient *Bharata-śāstra* are still living in the *Yakshagāna* performers. Without dancing, the *Yakshagāna*, whether in real play or pantomime or marionette, is inconceivable. A song is begun in a chorus and a measure started both of time and steps either by the actor in the case of regular plays and pantomimes or through puppets in marionettes; immediately a pause is given to the tune and a great relief is effected to perfection by the simultaneous beating of the resonant *mridaṅgas*

and the vociferous, but all the same elegant, measurement of the steps, especially those which form the finality of a *tala* and could be demonstrated only by expert dancers of proven worth and long practice. No sooner the last stroke is given of the *tala* than the song begins again and continues along with the dance which, at this stage, sets off to advantage not merely the mode with vivid gestures and demeanour but also the particular 'flavour' attached to the piece that is sung. Modern observers may chide the method as bordering on the primitive; but it is a pity that they overlook what intricacies of the *tāla* are thus demonstrated, what originalities displayed, and how excellent the dancing is, coupling itself with a variety of mystic gestures, the charming flavours. the harmony of the lulling homely music and last but not least, the dignity of the theme usually enacted, not for love of money nor yet for vain splendour, but for aims which are sacred, devotional, patriotic, rejuvenating, didactic and even metaphysical.

Origin.—Indeed, these are the features which have evolved the *Yakshagāna* works at a time when need for them was keenly felt. As a class of Kannaḍa literature the *Yakshagāna* may be barely four hundred years old. But its origin, apart from the name by which we know it, may go back to an antiquity which is enveloped by the mist of hoariness. It is of course not necessary in this short paper to dilate on times when among the several indigenous tribes mere revels of dance and song prevailed in addition to their war dances and their imitating in peaceful times the prancing and cooing of birds and so on. Nor need we even trace how, through the ages, the technique of the classical Sanskrit plays moulded the indigenous dramatic art in the south of India.

The term *Bhāgavata* relates to a follower of Vishṇu or Vāsudēva, and clearly indicates the *Bhakti* cult existing in India from a date at least as ancient as the inscription of Heliodorus of Taxila at Besnagar[1] (C. 140 B. C.).

1 Archæological Survey of India, Rep. 1908-09, pp. 126-129

It also signifies the name of one the eighteen Purāṇas. Hence the Bhāgavata plays have come to mean those which pertain to the enactment of the glories of God on earth. The *Hari-kathā* performer is also called a *Bhāgavata* and, indeed, he plays, though singly, the parts of all the characters dealt with in the story that he narrates. This form of 'mono-play,' if we may so term a 'Hari-kathā,' which is analogous to the *Bhāṇa* described by Bharatamuni, has been in existence from a date as ancient as the 5th or 6th century A.D. In practical usage, however, during modern times, the Bhāgavata plays denote particularly the *Yakshagāna*.

The custom of putting up a regular theatre with all the accoutrements that we come across now-a-days is, no doubt, a recent import. As between the pantomimes and regular plays, the former may have preceded the latter; but in regard to their comparison with the marionettes or to their several forms obtaining in different parts of the south of India, it would be futile to attempt any chronological sequence, though typologically marionettes may be given the first place, and regular plays, the last; while the pantomimes themselves may be considered as forming a connecting link between the two.

Technique.—For the *Yakshagāna* players just a pulpit in the central or other conspicuous part of the village would suffice. The auditorium would invariably be open to the canopy of heaven above and the people would sit or rather squat on hard ground in irregular rows or sporadic groups, sometimes chatting among themselves or even with the actors of regular plays, and exchanging their *insignia* of betel and tobacco. The necessity for a green room is not keenly felt and for marionettes, no fresh make-up of the puppets is required beyond a little brushing up of the already embellished garments and ornamentation. The *bhujakīrti* and head-dress, often in the shape of *kirīṭas* for notable characters, are indispensable to almost all the actors of a regular drama. These would consist of tinsel and glass so differently coloured from character to character as to distinguish one from the other. Their

heaviness, however, is a little surprising, specially when we find that all the actors have to dance with the no less heavy jingles tied on to their feet. The dressing paraphernalia, too, may not be very pleasing inasmuch as they conform to certain rigid conventions so antiquated at present as to fall short of grace and beauty and be dominated by some primitiveness. It is true that on the modern stage there is much scope for naturalness and elegance whether in the mode of dress or the movements of the actor. Conversely, the heavy head-dress and *bhuja-kīrti* themselves offer no true barrier to the actor of the *Yakshagāna*, for, as a matter of fact, his rythmic movements and music are more effectively relieved by these very things and go a great way in winning for him the approbations of his unambitious admirers. As regards the other things worn by him, they are more or less the same as obtain even now; that is to say, they would be according to the requirements of the part impersonated by him and according also to the attributes of the character defined in the age-long literature of the country and by the equally old traditions current in the locality. For instance, the actor impersonating Vishṇu should have the conch, the discus, the mace and the lotus arranged in an order pertinent to the form which is intended to be represented. Likewise the actor playing the part of Bhīma should have the mace, and he who represents Balarāma must have the plough. Thus the equipments must be sufficiently rich in addition to the other accessories like wigs, moustaches, etc., required to represent a female, a king or a noble, a warrior, a raiyat, etc. Tradition also determines how a character is to be painted over and in what colours: thus god Vishṇu or his incarnation should appear in blue, Śiva in red, as also a king or a noble, Yama and the personifications of the terrible or bad characters in black and so [illegible] delineated in many other ways of colour-[illegible] in accordance with the countenance described in [illegible] or comprehended by local tradition. The

number of the actors and that of those people who form the *chorus* behind the screen vary in different places; but usually the minimum for the former is determined by the number of characters in the play itself; while that of the latter, by convenience. The troupe need not necessarily be a touring one, as in the Malabāri Kathākaḷis; nor need it contain professionals exclusively. Female characters are impersonated only by boys; actresses are unknown to the original *Yakshagāna* players, though it is true that the art of dancing was practised in ancient times by both men and women without compunction and that even queens have taken part in it many a time.[1]

With such actors flocking about such a stage lit on either side by flaring country torches fed by oil and the musicians consisting of cymbalists, gong-players, drummers, pipers and vocalists, all arranged in a row behind the stage and a curtain of canvas sheet shutting them out from the purview of the audience, regular dramas, as also pantomimes and marionettes begin after supper in the night, that is about ten o'clock and continue usually throughout the night, closing not infrequently only with the sunrise. The 'Kōḍaṅgi' enters first according to the long established usage rendered into a song sung by himself: '*Âṭake modalu Kōḍaṅgi, Tōṭake modalu mūlaṅgi*'— which means that he is as much the foretoken of a play as the *mūlaṅgi, i.e.*, the radish, is of the vegetable garden. It is his function to remain in a fixed place on the stage throughout, though he could, of course, avail of short intervals whenever possible. It is he who, after invocations to Gaṇapati and other gods, takes upon himself the prescript of introducing every character in the play by the established method of interpellating the Bhāgavata and receiving such answers as would help the audience in understanding the circumstances thoroughly well. The character's identity is explained by the 'Bhāgavata' who

[1] Śāntalādēvī, the talented queen of the Hoysaḷa King Vishṇuvardhana is spoken of in several inscriptions as having been well versed in music and dancing.

is really the pilot of the play in functioning as the stage-manager. The Kōḍaṅgi in his part as the buffo, supplies further the element of humour which is very necessary to relieve monotony at the various stages of any play. Hsi pranks are most liked by them. He has the license of making fun of any character irrespective of the fact that the character might represent a holy sage or a powerful king or even the omniscient and omnipotent God himself. But on these occasions the Bhāgavata puts him on the alert so that the seriousness of a noble character might not be impaired. The Bhāgavata goes on explaining the previous history pertaining to a character and the Kōḍaṅg nods his head in approval saying '*Āhā, allave matte*'—oh; yes, is it not so—which means it is indeed so and cannot be otherwise. In Tamil the expressions '*Ā, Āmā*' are used, which mean much the same—'Oh yes, it is so.'

Once the identity of a character is in this wise made clear to the audience, the part of the character begins to be played. The chorus begins in a measured melody and the character begins to dance, himself joining in the chorus, only as long as there is control of breath in him. But it will not be very long before he perforce ceases; for, in the interval alloted for his dance immediately after the starting of the chorus, he will have completely exhausted himself by dancing and in spite of it has to carry it on until the melody is completely sung out and the prose passages actually begin. At this stage the character indulges in gesticulations significant of the passages recited. When two or more characters enter on the stage, one by one they enact their parts; while one part is being played, the others keep aloof to a row on one side of the stage and join in the chorus. They do not confine only to those songs which pertain to them. Dialogues between the characters can only be through the Bhāgavata and the Kōḍaṅgi. Direct contact between the characters is thus restricted unless mimic combats are to be staged when they have to cross swords with each other. We cannot say whether this want of communion is a draw-

back; in a way, however, it may not be very impressive and the audience may not often understand things in their true perspective and follow the trend easily. But the Bhāgavata comes to the rescue always: he does not leave out any movement unexplained and the audience, too, will not be ignorant of the story enacted.

Theme and General Character.—This takes us on to the consideration of the theme and general character of these plays. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are known throughout India and there is not a single villager, however illiterate he may be, who does not know the outstanding events of these epics which are full of sacrosanctity for him and therefore are first chosen to sing the glories of God and purge out, on the rustic stage, his intense devotion by impersonating the God himself or those characters, whether inimical or friendly, who come into contact with Him in His various incarnations. Episodes from popular historic traditions are also selected to be enacted; particularly those which are of local interest and deemed with reverence as having been connected with men who unjustly suffered a lot on earth and finally were rewarded by bliss in heaven. As an example of this we may mention the 'Karibhaṇṭanakathe' which is full of thrilling incidents and pathos. Stories from heroic life, whether of original invention or of legendary tradition are often chosen, while those pertaining to domestic life are rather scarce, though not quite unknown. Metaphysical pieces rendered into dramatic form such as the Sanskrit Prabōdha-Chandrōdaya are also rare Didactic plays as, for *e.g.*, those of Hariśchandra and Rukmāṅgada are sufficiently large in number and never subtle in character as to be beyond the comprehension of the average raiyat. The obscene and much deplored act of the hero and heroine kissing on the stage has, however, been peculiar to the Kathākaḷis of Malabar.[1]

[1] 'Malabar and Its Folk' by T. K. Gopal Ponikkarr, B.A., p. 89. It is learnt that this custom has now been given up.

During the centuries following the battle of Tāḷi-kōṭa—Rakkasa Tegadi—(1565 A.D.) manifold troubles beset the age-long religion, the wonderful institutions and singular '*morale*' of the country. There was chaos all over and no security held on to person or property. The vandalism of the Mahomedans knew no bounds, of which the ruins at Hampe are even to-day the sad, standing monuments. The natives had become enfeebled; they were skulking and utterly in want of that courage and patriotism which only could move them to united action. At this juncture the rôle of the Bhāgavata plays, *i.e.*, those beaming with martial spirit, stimulated the people's prowess and contributed a great deal to the preservation of their national integrity by enactment, particularly, of the several invigorating *kalagas* or battles. As a source for the detailed history of particular localities in the south of India, these plays might prove of inestimable value. Historians have not yet probed into the mine of information they supply. Even ethnologists have to take note of them because, very often, they record interesting and invaluable facts pertaining to the now half-forgotten South Indian social customs and manners of the period. Scholars devoted to the art of Indian dancing and in the know of the famous Nāṭyaśāstra of Bharatamuni may, with advantage, turn to these plays for practical demonstration of the mystic gestures and the slow and gradually rising rhythmic movements in unison with the simple, homely, nay even heavenly music, shining in its pristine glory and rid of the rigid permutations and combinations which are often the bane of professionals and more often the laughing-stock for those who, unfortunately, cannot understand the science. If ancient Indian dancing is to be revived, then the Bhāgavata plays in which it still lives, though sporadically, are also to be revived; not the type that is already beset by the supplanting influence of the modern stage, but the type which is simple, unsophisticated and original.

GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT INDIAN INFLUENCE ON CEYLONESE ART AND CULTURE

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A few years ago I got an opportunity to pay a flying visit to some of the places of archæological interest in the island of Ceylon and the present article is based upon notes jotted down during my sojourn.

The tradition of the mighty civilisation and culture of the island of Ceylon at one time known as Lanka has been recorded in the epic story of the Rāmāyaṇa. The authenticity of the story of the Indian hero Rāma and his fight with Rāvaṇa over the wresting of Sītā may be doubted by some scholars. But the tradition recorded in Pāli chronicles, the greatest historical treatises on Ceylon—the Dīpavaṁśa and the Mahāvaṁśa mentioning the migration of Vijaysinha from Bengal with a retinue of 700 men in the 6th century B.C. when Buddha was alive is still current in the island. They were sent adrift in a number of vessels under the orders of the king Sinhavāhu, father of Vijaya who it is said, became very unruly in disposition and committed all sorts of excesses. Prince Vijaya and the followers thus settled in the island. So they say, for the first time Ceylon came to be inhabited by a party of young Indians. It had previously been occupied by the Yakṣhas and Yakṣhinis.

Architecture.

Traditions apart, the historic facts are there. In the 3rd century B.C. Aśōka, better known as Dharmāśōka in Ceylon, sent missionaries in order to preach Buddhism to

many distant countries including Egypt, Macedon and Ceylon. Among the fourteen Aśōkan inscriptions on the Girnar Rock in Kathiawar one mentions Aśōka's missions to 'Tāmbapani,' *i.e.*, Ceylon. The Pali chronicles further mention the gifts of the then Ceylonese king Devānāmpiya Tissa to the Mauryan Emperor Devānampiya Piyadasi Aśōka and their allegiance on the one side and their overlordship on the other. Soon followed the Buddhist mission led by Aśoka's son Mahinda (Mahendra) and his sister Sanghamitta. Aśōka is said to have introduced stone sculptures into India and his son Mahinda who not only ushered in Buddhism in Ceylon but is said to have introduced the Aśōkan character of Architecture in the erection of the Dagobas which were modelled on the Stupa at Sānchi in Central India near Vidisā. Aśōka married the daughter of a local banker of Vidisā. It seems probable that Sānchi is referred to under the name of Chetiyagiri in the Mahāvaṁśa. Mahendra before setting out to the island of Ceylon visited his mother at Chetiyagiri near Vidisā, and was lodged there in the Vihāra or monastery which she herself had erected. So it would be reasonable to identify this Chetiyagiri with the hill of Sānchi. For it was at Sānchi that Aśōka set up one of his edict pillars as well as other monuments. It is further narrated that Mahendra headed the Buddhist mission to Ceylon. Naturally, the Dāgoba or stūpa erected in Ceylon might have been modelled on the Dāgobas built in about the same age at Sānchi. The influence of Sānchi is strongly discernible in the Thupārām monastery in Anurādhapura. The Ambasthala Dāgoba on the top of the Mihintale Hill commemorating the death of Mahinda was of the same type. The Lankārāma built by Tissa who succeeded Dutugemunu in the second century B.C. was similar to Sānchi. All of them are bell-shaped and hemispherical in form. The artisans and tools were probably brought over originally from India. It is said [illegible] are villages still in Ceylon which claim descent [illegible]nters"—the appellation 'carpenters' [illegible]one structures are merely the copies [illegible]wooden structures. The impulse and



Kiri Vehera, Polonnaruva, Ceylon



Makara headed Gargoyle, Colombo Museum, Ceylon

impetus given by Aśōka and his son Mahinda produced an enduring effect on Ceylonese art and architecture. The elongated drum in the stūpa which developed in India, for instance, at Sārnath was also probably introduced in Ceylon. The impression of the Amarāvatī school of Art was not also found wanting (*cf.* Indukātu Sāya at Mihintale). Two specimens of the school in question were found in the ruined building south of Anūrādhapura-Trincomolly road and are now deposited in the Colombo Museum. They are carved in lime-stone so characteristic of Amarāvatī. Dr. Vogel suggests this sculpture to be the Great Miracle of Śrāvasti. The influence of the Amarāvatī School can also be traced in the sculptures of the Eastern Chapel or Altar of the Eastern Tope. The date of this Tope is the 4th century (*cf.* Bodhisatva preaching; also *cf.* Cobra king Eastern Tope, Anūrādhapura). The Slab representing a seven-hooded cobra at Anūrādhapura shows characteristic horse-shoe shaped Chaitya window (Buddhist windows) evidently characteristic of the Buddhist art of India.

Sculpture and Paintings.

The bas-relief figure of a couple (a man and a woman) at Isurumuniya is an exact prototype of an Indian Hara-Pārvatī image. The early Gupta influence is represented by this specimen. In view of the frequent religious and commercial intercourse between Magadha and Ceylon there was the possibility of an interchange of ideas and culture. The most salient feature of Indian influence on the culture of ancient Ceylon is visible in painting, sculpture as well as in the language and script in some of the epigraphic records. In India 4th century A.D. is the beginning of the classical or Gupta period. The impulse of this period seems to have spread to Ceylon. The frescoe paintings are all Gupta and Chālukyan in date and character. Of the few frescoes surviving in Ceylon, the most noted are those of Sigiriya; the Apsarās and Gandharvas in Sigiriya rock-pocket are remarkably similar to Gandharvas and Apsarās of the Ajanta School.

The Mahāyāna images of Maitreya Buddha, Padmapāni (Avalokitēśvara), trace of foot-print worship on Adam's Peak said to have been imprinted by Buddha during his visit to the island of Ceylon and the Brahmanic Pantheon Ashṭabhujā Durgā to be found in the Colombo Museum and Gajalakshmī representations testify to North Indian influence on the Ceylonese art where the Mahāyāna School of thought is said to have been dominant.

Among the decorative motifs used in Ceylonese architecture. the elephants, dancing figures in small reliefs (*cf.* Vishṇu Devale, Polonnaruva), the Kīrtimukha (*cf.* pillar from Madagoda Temple—Colombo Museum), the pot and foliage, the dwarfs, Makara-headed Gargoyles (Colombo Museum) are significant. These decorative motifs are common representations in Indian art.

Epigraphic Records.

A systematic examination and publication of the epigraphic records have now commenced in Epigraphia Zeylanica. We have Sanskrit, Pāli and Sinhalese records from Ceylon which have proved useful to us from the standpoint of History, Palæography and linguistic researches. Polonnaruva Hāta Dā Gē portico slab inscription begins with a Sanskrit stanza in Trishtup Salini metre and ends in Sinhalese. The record mentions among other things Siṁhapura in the Kalinga country (modern Orissa) and the birth place of King Nīśśanka Malla and that he belonged to the royal line of the Ikshvāku Dynasty. Again in the Golpota slab inscription, the beginning and the end are the same as those on the Hāta Dā Gē portico slab. It tells us that Niśśanka Malla formed friendly alliances with such of the princes of Karnāṭa, Gauḍa (Bengal), Kalinga, Gūrjara and diverse other countries as were desirous of his good will. He reminded the people of the story of the Vijayan colonisation of Ceylon as even in the Dīpavaṁśa and in the Mahāvaṁśa and to impress upon them the theory that Vijaya was a Prince of the 'Kalinga Chakravarti-Kula'

and that therefore the throne of Ceylon belonged only to this dynasty.

Inscriptions in Brāhmi Aśōkan characters have also been discovered in Ceylon. The exact site of Aśōkan alphabet inscription on the Hāragama side of Kandy is Gonāvatte at the 5th and a half mile on the Hāragama road. One of the two inscriptions is the longest of the period.

Among the minor antiquities discovered, a few potsherds with Brāhmi letters of the 3rd century B.C. inscribed on them were found not very far below the ground within the inner city of Anūrādhapura. These presumably were thrown up in digging the place for foundations of later buildings and prove that the site was in occupation in the 3rd century B.C

Sānskrit literature abounds in references to pearls and their numerous characteristics and places of growth according to which they used to be classified. According to this list two regions "Saimghalika" and "Tāmraparna" are mentioned as well-known places of pearl fisheries. Tāmraparna—Taprobane of the Greeks—was a name of Ceylon. But this list evidently does not refer to one and the same place, but to two different regions. The pearls of Tāmraparna are described as copper-coloured, while those of Sinhala are not described as possessing this tint. There is a river named Tāmraparṇī in the Tinnevelly District, the southernmost district of the Deccan, flowing into the Gulf of Manaar, opposite the coast of Ceylon and the mainland of India. "It is probable that the Greeks and other western people who traded with Southern India were attracted by the pearl fisheries at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī and on the opposite coast of Ceylon and designated the latter as Taprobane."

The island of Ceylon continued for a long time to be looked upon as the converging point of the maritime activities of the nations of the East, Prāchi. All countries bordering on the ocean and the numerous seas and estuaries participated in the trade which flourished from time immemorial. The beginning of this activity is now buried in oblivion and tradition alone preserves a faint

recollection of the good old days. Pearls, noticeable in the oldest Indian literature, and the details about its classification and value also establish an intimate connection between this island and the mainland—continent of India.

Bengal and Ceylon.

Bengal included in the Indian divisions then known under the general name of the East—Prāchi not only bordered on the sea but developed maritime activities of her own, and the tradition of an early connection of Bengal in Ceylon cannot therefore be lightly disregarded as a mere fiction. Commercial expeditions to the south known in the literature of Bengal as the "Dakshiṇa Patan" were at one time pretty well-known even to the inhabitants of the inland provinces. A tradition of a direct connection between Bengal and Ceylon, nay the establishment of a flourishing kingdom of Bengal in a part of the distant island and the colonisation which necessarily followed in its wake, are mentioned in the traditional records of Ceylon where even now some ethnic similarities have been suspected to exist between a section of the Ceylonese and the people of Bengal. The point has not yet received adequate attention and scientific ethnological investigation will be awaited with interest.

The connection of the Bengal coast with many island countries, *e.g.*, Java and Sumatra of the eastern seas dimly discerned before, is now gradually growing clearer on account of the modern archæological researches. The cultural and commercial intercourse of Bengal and Ceylon have been real at one time to give birth to traditions about the legends of the island. This calls for a regular scientific investigation and scholars of Bengal may find here a field of work fraught with matters of immense interest.

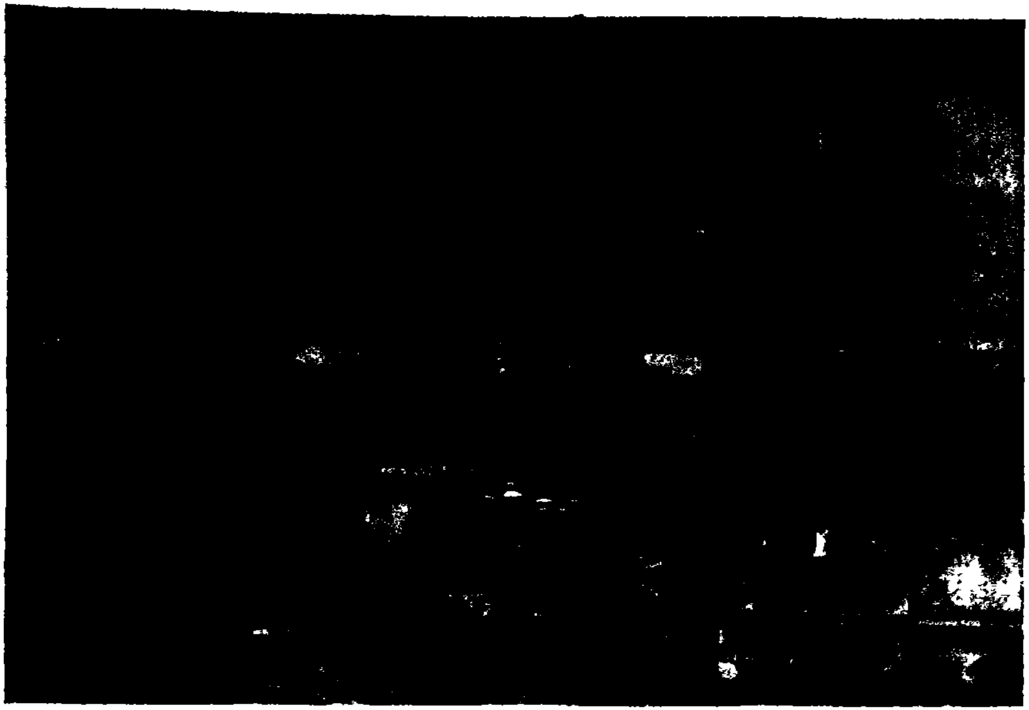


Image of Vithala, Hampi with Krishnadevaraya and his wife (the Ken



New statue of Balarama
(Provincial Museum, Lucknow)

AN IDENTIFICATION OF THE IDOL OF VIṬ-ṬHALA IN THE VIṬṬHALA TEMPLE AT HAMPI

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Referring to the temple of Viṭṭhala, the Archæological Department has given currency to the notion that the temple was not completed and that the idol of Viṭṭhala was not installed in it. The annual report of the Archæological Department for 1922-23 (page 67) has the following: "It (the temple of Viṭṭhala) was begun by Krishṇadēvarāya in 1513 and the work was carried on by his queens and successors Achyuta and Sadāśiva. However the temple was apparently never finished or consecrated. In all probability the work was stopped by the destruction of the city in 1565." "But the God having come to look at it (the temple) refused to move, saying that it was far too grand for him and that he preferred his own humbler home."

The above statement is misleading. The main temple of Viṭṭhala must have been completed some time before 1513 because we know that in that year Krishṇadēvarāya built the *gopura* to that temple (Ins. Cd. Dts. p 408, No. 21 and p. 413, No. 38; Ins. Mad. Pres., Bellary, No. 337). In 1516 the same king completed the hundred-pillared maṇṭapam. (Ins. Ced. Dts., p. 413, No. 39 and 40; Ins. Mad. Pres., By., 344, 345). Krishṇadēvarāya came to the throne in 1509 A.D. and four years is a short period in which to plan and execute the erection of an edifice which in its hugeness and artistic excellence stands even to-day in its decaying state investing us with a

sense of unique grandeur. So, the actual operations of construction must have been begun before Krishṇadēvarāya. Nor is there any reason to believe that it was completed in his reign except that there is no inscription in the temple referring to the fact so far discovered before his time.

There is not also much point in the statement that the temple was not completed. The various *gōpuraṁs* and *maṇṭapas* of the temple did receive their finishing touches. The assumption that the temple was not consecrated is also baseless. The various inscriptions in and around the temple classified chronologically and given in the appendix to this paper point indubitably to the fact of the image of Viṭṭhala having been duly installed in the temple. I cannot bring myself to believe that the temple shared the fate of others in the general destruction of the city in 1565.

A keen observation of the events following the defeat of the Vijayanagara army in the battle of Talikōṭa will show that the occupation of the city of Vijayanagara by the Muslims after the battle is not probable. The Muslims might have entered the city in the first flush of their victory and looted it to some extent. But the city could not have been destroyed then. The tide of the Muslim onrush should have been stemmed successfully by Tirumaladēvarāya. We know Tirumala took some two years to remove the seat of government to Penukoṇḍa. He did not retreat all at once. The destruction of the city might have been due to other causes like famine and pestilence. Vijayanagara must have proved unhealthy and uninhabitable as a result of the after effects of the war.

Nor can we with justice attribute the destruction of temples to the Muslims. They may be opposed to idolatry and there might have been in history stray cases of the demolition of idols by the Muslims, but they are the acts of the treasure-hunter and not the result of iconoclastic fervour. At least in the case of Vijayanagara we can confidently assert that no temple was touched by the Muslims after the battle of Tālikōṭa. The fact of the more important temples among which is that of

Virūpāksha, the tutelary deity of the Vijayanagara kings, standing intact even to-day with worship going on in them gives the lie direct to the assumption of wholesale devastation by the Muslims of the temples with their idols. Iconoclasm is not a special trait of the foreign Muslim alone; each sect among the Hindus indulged in the destruction of the temples and idols belonging to the other sects. We find even to-day wandering Sanyāsins and others uprooting idols in the hope of finding some hidden treasure.

So, the destruction of Vijayanagara has come about in the process of time and not all of a sudden as is supposed by most historians. This process is slowly going on even to-day and at the present rate, people living fifty years hence may not be lucky enough to witness the place as we see it now. Hampi will be to them a mere name.

It is significant that there are no traces of Muslim influence in the ruins of Hampi or for the matter of that in the whole of the Bellary District. Such evidence as exists points to isolated instances of Muslim migration, and that not of a mass character, a hundred years after the battle of Tālikōṭa. The earliest mention of any sort of Muslim rule in the Bellary district is found in an inscription of Ś. 1549, Prabhava, (1627 A.D.) according to which a certain Daḷapati Nāyuḍu is said to have fortified a battery and dug the well of "Sebhu Dēvar Bhāvi" in the reign of Abdul Mahomed. Who this Muslim ruler was, we do not definitely know. The next inscription that speaks of Muslim rule is dated Ś. 1584, Śubhakṛit, Kārttika, Śu. di. 15. According to it, there was a lunar eclipse on that day and Mahārājādhirāja Haṇḍe Chika-Malukapa Nāyaka (of Anantapur?) gave the village Āndarahalu to a certain Roāḍam Sivabasavappa. This village, says the inscription, was originally granted to the donor by one Ālamshanva Sāhēbu-for 'Vajirike' (*i.e.*, for being Vazir). According to Mr. Swamikannu Pillai, there was no lunar eclipse in Kārttika of Ś 1584, Śubhakṛit and so this record may be a forgery. Nor is there any warrant for the identification of the 'Ālamshaṇva Sāhēbu' with either Abdulla Kutbshah as the Government Epigraphist,

surmises or with Alamghyr Pādushah or Emperor Aurangazeb as Mr. V. Rangachari asserts. Even if the inscription is not a forgery, the title of the donor 'Mahārājādhirāja' is significant as showing that even as late as 1662-63 the overlordship of the Muslim Nawab or Emperor was only nominal.

There are references in inscriptions, all dated 1664 A.D. to gifts by one Masud Khan to mosques at Sultanpur and Tārāpuram in the Ādōni Taluk and Bellary town. These inscriptions prove nothing with regard to Muslim rule in the Bellary District even about the time when they were written. The policy of the Hindu rulers of Vijayanagara was not one of consistent hostility towards the Mohomedans. The Hindu emperors did allow isolated Muslim families to settle peacefully in their kingdom and carry on lawful occupations. They even took Muslims under their service as can be seen from the inscription at Kāmalāpur in the midst of the ruins of Hampi in which it is stated that in the reign of Vīrapratāpa Dēvarāya Mahārāya (II) as early as in Ś. 1362, Siddhārthin (1450 A.D.), a certain Ahammda Khāna (Ahmad Khan), a servant of the king, built a well in the village.

That the Muslims did not come into power in the Bellary district for a long time after the battle of Talikōṭa can also be known from the fact that any Mohomedan wishing to do anything in the land had to take the permission of the local Hindu authorities. As an instance we may mention the stone inscriptions at Karekallu Vīrāpura of Ś. 1615 (1693 A.D.), Śrīmukha, Śrāvaṇa, Śu. 15 according to which the *Dēśāyi's* and *Nāḍu-kula-karṇi's* of Mōka-sima permitted two Mohomedans, Mallikēśāyi (Mallik Shah) and Bīra Mallikēśāyi (Bir Mallik Shah) to build small bastions (*hude*) on the hillock near Vīrāpura. (229 of 1913). There appears to have been the ascendancy of the Marathas and not of the Muslims in the Bellary District at least for a hundred years after the battle of Talikōṭa. The Haṇḍe family ruling from Anantapur seems to be a Maraṭha one, at least the rulers of that family took Maraṭha titles like 'Yeśwant' and so on. The rulers at Gutti and Sandur were of

Maraṭha extraction. The local officials mentioned in the inscriptions are called *Dēśāyi's* and *Kulkarṇi's*. From all this, it may be surmised that the Vijayanagara empire did not come under real Mohomedan influence till more than a century after the disaster of Tālikōṭa. Even afterwards when Hyder Ali came in possession of it, he could not afford to be hostile to the Hindu religion. On the other hand, he is credited with the building of a shrine for God Hanumān on the Hanumanta hill at Kurugōdu in the Bellary Taluk.

From what has been said above, it may be established that the temples at Vijayanagara for the idols therein, including that of Viṭṭhala, were not destroyed by the Muslims soon after the battle of Talikōṭa as all historians have written till the present day.[1]

I may be permitted to repeat that the temple of Viṭṭhala was completed and the idol of the God was installed in it. The God was worshipped in the temple till 1564 A.D. according to inscriptional evidence. The worship must have continued for some time longer. How and when the idol ceased to be worshipped, we do not however, know. All the stories about the migrations of the idol must be the creations of a later age. The earliest mention about the migration dates some 175 years after the battle of Tālikōṭa, *i.e.*, towards the latter part of the eighteenth century.

There are many stories told about the migration of the idol of Viṭṭhala. One is that a king of Vijayanagara had an image of Viṭṭhala made in the Marāṭha country

[1] My friend Dr. N. Venkaṭaramaṇayya, Reader, Madras University, in a discussion with me on the point drew my attention to the chronicles of Muslim and other writers referring to Muslim occupation of the land after the battle of Tālikoṭa. But it must be said that this evidence is not conclusive. It may be that the Muslims struggled hard to follow up their victory by establishing settled Muslim rule; this struggle went on for about six years and the Muslims were successfully driven back. They did not again set foot in the Vijayanagara kingdom until after the reign of Venkaṭapatirāya II. They were satisfied with rule in the borders of the Adōni taluk in the Bellary District.

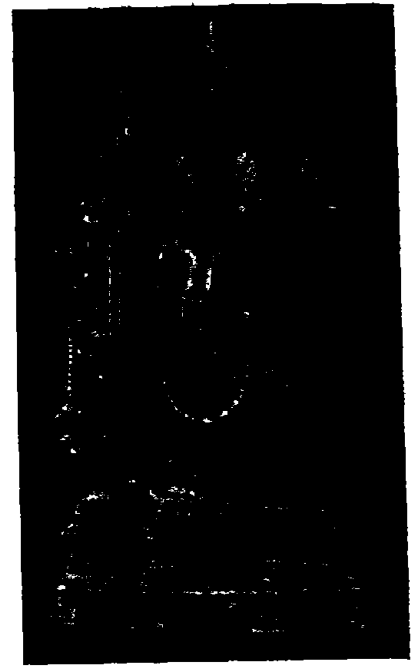
and the God promised the king to follow him on condition that he should walk in front and never turn his face back to observe whether he was following the king or not. When they reached Pandharpur the king was curious to know if the God was following him and turned his face back, so that Viṭṭhala stopped short and refused to move. It was raining at the time and the God was standing in the mud in a field where a brickmaker was making his bricks. Seeing the God's plight, he threw a brick for the God to stand upon. The God stood upon it and there he remains at Pandharpur to this day with his right hand on the right hip pitying the anxiety of men to get at short-cuts to salvation. That was how it came about that the idol of Viṭṭhala was not installed in the Viṭṭhala temple at Vijayanagara.

Another story is that a Vijayanagara king, once paid a visit to Pandharpur and looking at the beauty of the idol of Vitthala and building a temple worthy of occupation by the handsome God, prayed to him to come and occupy it. The God travelled at his request but when he saw the abode prepared for him, he felt it was far too grand and majestic for him to occupy and so turned and went back to his original dwelling-place. This story also is invented to show that the idol was not installed in the Viṭṭhala temple.

Other stories are more definite in their historic detail though they do not conform to historic truth. One story mentions (Aḷiya ?) Rāmarāya as the king who took the idol to Vijayanagara. When he committed this act of theft, the devotees of Pandharpur, felt sorely for the loss of their idol and being unable to take it back by force from such a powerful king as Rāmarāya, deputed a great *bhakta*, Bhānudāsa, to pray to the God and request Him to come back to Pandharpur. Bhānudāsa came to Vijayanagara and submitted his prayer to the God. The God went back to Pandharpur preferring to live in His own humble home surrounded by real devotees than in the midst of pomp and splendour with no fervent devotion. Bhānudāsa was not a contemporary of Rāmarāya and so this story lacks in credence. But one may say that the king's



Umamahesvara



Vishnu

name may not be Rāmarāya but another. Who then, could that king be? Some say that since Krishnadēvarāya finished the temple of Viṭṭhala, he may be credited with the removal of the idol. But the idol was installed before Krishnarāya came to the throne, for, if it was he that installed the idol, that event must have been inscriptionally recorded. But no such inscription is forthcoming.

The stories purporting that the image of Viṭṭhala was not placed in the temple of Viṭṭhala at Vijayanagara emerge from the fact that there has been no trace of the idol. Two years ago while in the Viṭṭhala temple with my friend Srīman Srinivāsa Tōlappalāchāryulavāru, the present family *guru* of the Anegondi Rājas, we chanced upon a beautiful idol under the debris. We took it out and on examining it, we came to the conclusion that it must have been the lost image of Viṭṭhala. It had no head, but we were under no doubt about its identification. It was made of black granite and polished to perfection. It had all the marks of an image necessary for the *mūla-vigraha*. There was also no mistake about our identification of the image being that of Viṭṭhala. The characteristic of the Pandharpur image is described pithily in Marathi thus—

"iṭhi para ṭhāyi
kaṭi para hāt".

"He stands on a brick with his hand on the hip." Here was an image with its right hand on its right hip. We went into the *garbhagṛiha* and found traces of the existence of a brick at the place of installation. That decided the matter. The idol had the image of his wife Rukku Bai (Rukmiṇī) carved near its left hip. This bore further proof for the correctness of our identification. We took a photograph of the image but it did not come off well.

I announced the discovery at the Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference and from the many letters I have received asking for information about the find, I am glad to note that it has evoked much curiosity. But I am extremely sorry that I could not publish this paper till now because I could not find time to go to

Hampi to take a clearer photograph of the image for publication. Delay on my part has resulted in the further mutilation of the idol. When I saw it two years back, the right hand placed on the right hip and the image of Rukku Bai on the left hip were intact, but now to the extreme sorrow of all lovers of discovery, both these are broken. The marks of breaking are visible in the photograph. I made a vigorous search for these missing parts of the image but could not recover them.

It may, however, interest scholars if I now make the announcement of my discovery of the statute of Kṛishṇa-dēvarāya in the Viṭṭhala temple at the same time as when we chanced on the idol of Viṭṭhala. But vandalism has played its part on this statue also. At the time I first found it, it was intact except for the head which was severed. This head, I hear, was subsequently placed in a maṇḍapa which came down recently, so that it now lies buried under a mass of debris. The other portion of the statue too is now broken into three pieces and flung in different directions I placed them together for the photograph. Two breakages may be observed in it, one at the feet and the other at the waist. The figure on the left of the image of Viṭṭhala in the photograph represents Kṛishṇadēvarāya and accords well in its features with that of the bronze statue of the king at Tirupati.

One other lucky discovery made by me during my recent visit to the Viṭṭhala temple at Hampi is the statue of a queen which, I believe, represents Tirumalāmbā, the wife of Kṛishṇadēvarāya. This also is headless. I placed the image of Viṭṭhala in the middle with the statues of the King and Queen on either side of it for the purpose of the photograph which is published here.

The discovery of the statues of Kṛishṇadēvarāya and his queen Tirumalāmbā is important in that it shows the connection of this great royal couple with the temple of Viṭṭhala. It may point to the fact that the temple of Viṭṭhala with its outer artistic buildings was completed by Kṛishṇadēvarāya though begun in a previous reign. The image of Viṭṭhala itself must have been installed some years previous to the accession of Kṛishṇadēvarāya to the throne.

As for the story of the idol of Viṭṭhala being brought from Pandharpur to Vijayanagara, I think it is impossible. The idol is far too artistic for Mahārāshṭra and entirely in consonance with Vijayanagara sculptures. But the story of the migration of the idol itself must have some foundation. I believe that it was not the idol but the worship of Viṭṭhala that travelled from Pandharpur to Vijayanagara. Pāṇḍuraṅga Viṭṭhala is essentially a deity peculiar to Mahārāshṭra and his worship travelled from there into the Kannaḍa country especially through the ecstatic devotional songs of Purandaradāsa. The name 'Viṭṭhala,' itself is a Marāthi corruption of the word 'Vishṇu'; the final suffix 'ala' standing perhaps for 'ārya' or simply as an honorific plural suffix, while 'Viṭṭha' is a derivative of 'Vishṇu,' just in the same way as 'Kisṭha' and 'Kiṭṭa' are derivatives from the word 'Kṛishṇa.' It may be noted that Viṭṭhala worship has not spread in the Telugu country.

The idol of Viṭṭhala that is now being worshipped at Pandharpur is not an artistic production. Was there an original artistic image of Viṭṭhala in the temple at Pandharpur at any time? I believe there was none and if there were, it has to be traced somewhere else than at Hampi. The image now discovered and identified could not have been the one brought from Pandharpur.

That Viṭṭhala worship existed in the Kannaḍa country long before Kṛishṇadēvarāya may be known from the following inscriptions:—

(1) Viṭhalāmbā, the Kadamba princess, wife of Harihara II is mentioned in an inscription at Śrīśailam, Nandikoṭkur taluk, Kurnool District, of Ś. 1315 or 1393 A.D. The name of the person suggests that Viṭṭhala was a favourite deity at that time.

(2) The same Viṭhalāṁbā, wife of Harihara II consecrated an image of Viṭhalēśvara near the flight of steps of the temple at Śrīśaila in Ś. 1318 (A.D. 1396) IMPKI. 483.

(3) Kriyāśakti was the *guru* of Harihara II, Muddadaṇḍēśa, Viṭhaṇṇavoḍeyar and Vijayabhūpati. (Mysore Archæological Report, 1932, p. 105 n.)

(4) In Ś. 1340, Viṭhaṇṇavoḍeyar, Governor of Āraga, from A.D. 1408 to 1417, grandson of Rāyappa Oḍeyar, under orders of Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara Vīrapratāpa-Dēvarāyamahārāya, granted a śilāśāsana making a distribution of the tenants (okkalu vivarada śilāśāsana) to the mahājanas of the agrahāra of Pratāpa-Hariharapura and to Mallaṇṇaiya, son of Peddaṇṇa Nāgaṇṇaiya. (Mysore Archæological Report, 1932, pp. 211, 212.) The date as calculated is given as 12th February 1418.

(5) A stone inscription at the village Mukkaḍihaḷḷi in Harave Hobli (No. 27, Mysore Archæological Report, 1931, pp. 123-124). Reign of Vīra Ballāḷa in Ś. 1237, Rākshasa, Māgha, ba 1, Vaddavāra (10th January, 1416.) The grantee was one Viṭhaṇṇa.

(6) A stone inscription behind the Brahmēśvara temple in the village Puṇaje in the Kalūrkaṭṭe hobli, Mysore District. Reign of Harihara II, Ś. 1318, Dhātu, Śrāvaṇa, śu. 10. *i.e.*, Sunday, 16th July 1396 A.D. Grant of lands in the village Titisaragaḍa Subūr in the Baḍaganāḍ District to Viṭhapa, son of Chika Viṭhapa by certain Gauḍa prabhus. (Mysore Archæological Report, 1931, p. 175.)

The Archæological Survey Report of Mysore for 1930 has the following short note on the temple of Viṭhala at Muḷbāgal :—

"The Viṭhala temple also belongs to the Vijayanagara period. The mahādvāra, about 40 feet high, the gōpura and prākāra wall, are all in ruins, while the navaraṅga is leaking. The main building is however, intact. The main God, about 5 ft. high, has two hands abhaya and śaṅkha,—and Śrī and Bhū on the sides." The Viṭhala image of Hampi is not of this pattern. Its hands answer to that of the image at Pandharpur. Instead of two female figures one on either side of the God, there is only one on the left side in the image of Hampi.

There are references to other images of Viṭhala, though not consecrated ones, in the Mysore Archæological Reports. In the Aghōrēśvara temple at Ikkēri, Mysore,

the third in the row of figures in the lower row from the west door-way northwards, there is a figure of Viṭṭhala. (Mysore Archæological Report, 1930, p. 42.) In the Pañchaliṅgēśvara temple at Gōvindanahaḷḷi, Mysore State, the first figure on the south wall of the fourth cell, is Viṭṭhala with hands akimbo, carrying a small bag in each hand.

APPENDIX.

Inscriptions referring to Viṭṭhala being worshipped in the Viṭṭhalarāya temple at Hampi.
(Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency, Vol. 1, pp. 302-306).

(1) Ś. 1435. On the gate-stone of the Viṭṭhaladēva temple. Records that in Ś 1435, Śrīmukha, Kṛishṇadēva and his two Queens erected the *Gōpuram* and presented one gold plate worth 991 *pagōdas* besides 25 silver lamps, 200 cows and villages to Viṭṭhaladēva for worship. (337).

(2) Ś. 1435 West of the above inscription. Records that in that same date Krishṇadēva gave the village of Lingapuram in Tekkalakata and other gifts to the deity. (338).

(3) Ś 1437. Epigraphia Carnatica IV. Mysore District, Gunḍlupet Taluk 30. Records the grant of the village Modalavāḍi by Kṛishnarāya in the presence of god Viṭhala.

(4) Ś 1438. On a stone in the 100 pillared *Manṭapam* Records that Kṛishnadēvarāya erected it in Ś 1438, Dhātu. (344).

(5) Ś 1438 do do do (345).

(6) Pramādi–West of No. 3 above. A gift of Kṛishnadēvarāya in *Pramādi* the object of the grant being Dēvasamudra and four other villages in the *Rāyadurga taluk.* (339).

(7) Vyaya–On a stone west of Viṭṭhaladēva *pagōda.* Records that in *Vyaya*, Kṛishṇadēvarāya granted Bhadrasetṭihaḷḷi, Sāyaṇapuram, etc, and the taxes on boats of the Tungabhadrā (340).

(8) Ś 1452. On the right side of the east *gōpura* of the Viṭṭhala temple. A damaged record of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēva Mahārāya dated Ś 1452, Viḷambin. The Mackenzie mss. say that two donors Hīriya Timmappa and his brother Rāgavappa established the Kalaśas and presented golden plates. (316).

(9) Ś. 1453. On the south base of the central shrine in the same temple, dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya Mahārāya. Records in Ś 1453, Khara, gift of gold for offerings by the king. (317).

(10) Ś 1453. On the west base of the central shrine. Dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutarāya Mahārāya. Records in Ś. 1453, Khara, gift by Vēda-mārga

pratisthāpanāchārya Tālavāka Tirumalayya of the Bharadvāja gōtra and Āśvalāyana sūtra. (322).

(11) Ś. 1455. On a stone west of Viṭṭhaladēva pagōda. A record of Sadāśivarāya dated in Ś 1455, Jaya, granting the tax of 300 pagōḍas in his own village and some other lands at Samudram, Anantapuram etc., by Musalamadugu Venkatarāju Timmarāju (342).

(12) Ś. 1455. On the north base of the central shrine. A record of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēvarāya-mahārāya dated Ś. 1455, Vijaya. Contains a verse composed by Tirumalamma on the occasion of the gift of Suvarnamēru by the king. (323).

(13) Ś. 1456 On the south base of the central shrine of the Vithala temple., dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēva-mahārāya. Records in the year Ś. 1456, Jaya, gift for the merit of the king and of Chikkarāya. (38).

(14) Ś 1456. On the north base of the same shrine. Dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēvarāya-Mahārāya Records in Ś 1456, Jaya, that a private individual set up images of the 12 Ālvārs and of Tirukkachch-i-nambi. (324)

(15) Ś. 1456 I. M. P. North Arcot, No. 212, 26 of Sewell's list The Vijayanagara king Achyutadēvarāya in Ś. 1456 (A D 1534), Jaya, endowed the temple of Vithalēśvara (probably the temple of Viṭhalasvāmi at Vijayānagara) with the village of Tengūru in the Chandrāchala (Chandragiri) district of the province of Tonḍēramanḍalam.

(16) Ś. 1457. In the main gate of the Vithala temple. Records that in Ś. 1457, Manmatha, Chickatimmapa granted 200 pagōdas for daily offerings in the temple (346)

(17) Ś. 1458. On a stone west of Viṭhaladēva pagōḍa. A record of Achyutarāya in Ś. 1458, Durmukhi (341).

(18) Ś. 1458. On the south base of the central shrine, dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēvarāya-mahārāya. Records in Ś. 1458, Durmukhi, gift of 100 pagōdas by Nāyuḍu for the merit of the king, and of Chikkarāya. (319).,

(19) Ś. 1459. In the Vīrabhadra temple at Lēpākshi, Hindupur tq., Anantapur dt., (I. M. P. Atp. 79, 572 of 1912 Skt. and Kan) The Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Achyutadēvamahārāya in Ś. 1459, Hēvilambi, Kārtika śu. di. 12, Monday, (Utthāna-dvādasi) corresponding to 15th October, 1537. Refers to the grant of two villages to the temple of Vīrēśvara made by the king in the presence of the god Viṭhalēśvar, on the banks of the Tungabhadrā river. (No. 2 of Sewell's list).

(20) Ś. 1461. On the right side of the south gōpura of the Viṭhalasvāmin temple. Records that the Vijayanagara king Achyuta gave in Ś. 1461, Vikārin, the Ānandanidhi, and made Kuběras of Brāhmanas. The left side contains a second copy in Nāgari characters. (315). This inscription is repeated twice in two more inscriptions, Nos. 355 and 358.

(21) Ś. 1465 On the south base of the central shrine. Dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivarāya Mahārāya. Records in Ś. 1465, Śōbhakṛit, gift of Naṭṭūr village, land etc, by Tirumala Tātācharya to god Viṭṭhala (320).

(22) Ś 1466. On the south base of the maṇṭapa in front of the central shrine Dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivadēvarāya Mahāraya. Records in Ś. 1466, Krōdhin, gift of two villages by Kōnēṭi Timmarāja for the benefit of his father Koṇḍarāja. (326).

(23) Ś. 1476 On the north base of the same maṇṭapa. A record of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya. Records in Ś. 1476, Ānanda, the erection of a maṇṭapa for the swinging festival by Udayagiri Timmarāja, son of Kōnētayya and grandson of Āravīṭi-Rāmarāja-Koṇḍayadēva. The village of Tirumalāpuram worth 600 pagōḍas in revenue given (327).

(24) Ś 1476. On the same base. Dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya. Records in Ś. 1476, Ānanda, gift of gold. Mentions Musalimaḍuvu Virapparāja Timmarājayya The gift was made with the consent of Aliya Rāmappayyadēva-mahā-arasu (328).

(25) Ś. 1480. On the west base of the central shrine. The Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Śadāśivadēva Mahārāya records in Ś. 1480 Kālayukti, gift of a village. (321).

(26) Ś. 1480 In front of the Viṭṭhala pagōḍa near the gōpuram. Records that Śrīraṅgayya, son of Rāmarāja Konēṭayya, measured the streets of the pagōda of Bhāsyhakāra (*i. e.*, Rāmānuja) in the reign of Sadāśivarāya. (347).

(27) Ś. 1482. On the south wall of the Viṭṭhalēśvara pagōḍa. Records that Kōnēṭi Kondarāju gave in Ś. 1483, Durmati, ten kolagas of land at Rāmasāgaram in Kampli district. (343).

(28) Ś. 1485. On the north base of the central shrine. The Vijayanagara king Vīrapratāpa Sadāśivadēva Mahārāya records in Ś. 1485, Rudhirōdgārin, gift of land. See Inscriptions of the Ceded Dts. P. 411. No. 32. One Viṭhala Dhananivarulu purchased 12 kolagas of land at Rāmēśvaram for 60 pagōḍas and gave it away to god Viṭṭhala. (325).

(29) Ś. 1486. On the stone round the Viṭṭhalasvāmi pagōḍa. Records that one Śrinivāsāchārya gave in Ś. 1486, Raktākshi, in the

reign of Sadāśivarāya, the village of Mukkundi agrahāram to god Viṭṭhaladēva (336).

(30) Ś. 1487 A. C. P. grant of the Vijayanagara king Sadāśivarāya granting the village of Yasyanūr, surnamed Krishnāpura together with the village Sittilappāka in Jayam-koṇḍa-chōḷa-maṇḍala and Paḍaviḍu-rājya and Paḍavūr-kōṭaka and Pirindi-milināḍu, Kalaveppattu and Vantavāsi division (boundaries given) to one Śeshādryāchārya in Ś 1487, Krōdhana, Māgha, Śu. di. 12, Friday, on the bank of the river Tunga-bhadrā in the presence of God Vitthalēśvara. (The date corresponds to 1st February, 1566. Vantavāsi is modern Wandivash in the Chengalput District). Mysore Archæological Reports 1932, pp. 130-145

NOTE

Mr G. H. Khare, M.A, of the Bharat Itihasa Samshôdhak Mandali, Poona, contributed an article to the Vijayanagara Sexcentenary volume in which he refers to my paper read at the All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore In his article, he refers to a story in the Mahārāshṭra country that the image of Vitthala was taken by (Aliya) Rāmarāya from Pandharpur to Vijayanagara and that Bhānudāsa, a devotee of Vitthala took the image back to Pandharpur This story, says Mr Khare, is mentioned by four poets about whose dates he is not sure, but who, according to himself lived not less than 175 years than Bhānudāsa, the alleged contemporary of Rāmarāja On a historical examination of this point, Mr. Khare rightly dismisses the connection of either Rāmarāja or Bhānudāsa with the migrations of the image of Viṭṭhala. He, however, mentions two facts, (1) Kṛishnarāya bringing the image of Bālakrishna from Udayagiri and installing it in a temple at Vijayanagara and (2) a battle in 1520-21 between Kṛishnarāya and Ismail Adilshah, the Sultan of Bijapur, before and after which battle there was comparative peace between the two powers. These two facts are irrelevant to the topic on hand and prove nothing. But perhaps to establish that the Viṭṭhala image was brought from Paṇḍharpur to Vijayangara, Mr. Khare mentions a verse from the Tīrtha-prabandha of Vādirājatīrtha, the Madhva saint, which refers to the migration of Viṭṭhala. But some amendments had to be made to the verse for it to yield any sense and even the amended verse shows us that the image at Vijayanagara is different from the one at Paṇḍhar-pur. But Mr. Khare opines that the original image was broken after the battle of Tāḷikōṭa and Vādirājatīrtha refers to another image that may have been newly installed. While Mr. Khare feels sure that the image was brought from Paṇḍharpur to Vijayanagara but never taken back to Paṇḍharpur, one fails to understand why he should cling to a story which he has himself taken so much pains to disprove.

XI. INDIAN LINGUISTICS SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

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(Delivered at the Conference, but not available for publication.)

ORTHOGRAPHICAL EXPLANATION OF CERTAIN PRĀKṚIT FORMS.

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The Prākrit grammarians are unanimous in holding that Sanskrit is the source of Prākṛits. By Sanskrit they mean the Classical Sanskrit, or that phase of Sanskrit language whose characteristics are stated by Pāṇini and interpreted by Kātyāyana and Patañjali. But a student of comparative grammar finds that the Prākṛits inherit many of their characteristics which antedate the period of Classical Sanskrit. and in fact can be traced back to Vedic Sanskrit: for instance words like *saddhiṃ* (Vedic *sadhrīm*), *khaṃbha* (Vedic *skambha*) and forms like *-ehiṃ* (Instr. pl., Vedic *-ebhiḥ*) and *-ttae* (Infinitive, Vedic *-tavai*) have no legitimate parallels in Classical Sanskrit. This situation naturally leads one to the conclusion that the Prākṛit dialects will have to be traced back to a stream of Vedic dialects, only one of which is preserved in the present compilation of Ṛig-Veda. It may be noted that the

Prākrits are the outcome of the attempts of the indigenous people of India to assimilate the Vedic dialects ; and being unaccustomed to the Āryan speech-habits they have corrupted, transformed, simplified and even confused the Vedic forms of speech in their natural attempt to save effort in pronunciation.

The Prākrit grammarians, almost all of them being masters mainly of Classical Sanskrit, analysed the Prākrit dialectal forms and tried to equate them with words and forms in Classical Sanskrit thus drawing our attention to particular changes. Whatever could not be explained by general rules had to be set apart as an exception, and a special rule was formulated to explain it. Thus we find from the works of grammarians like Hemachandra that dozens of rules are devoted to explain individual words. It is possible that a systematic study would bring even these alleged exceptions under one or the other general rule. For instance words like *vṛinta* changing to *veṇṭa* (Hema. ii, 31) can be explained as due to cerebral proximity ; and no special rule is needed for an individual word. When some phonetic change takes place, it is expected that it should be capable of being explained in the light of physical or psychological aspects of speech-production. We find that Sanskrit conjuncts *ty*, *thy*, *dy*, *dhy* and *ny* are respectively changed to *cc*, *cch*, *jj*, *jjh* and *ññ* in various Prākrits in some cases even including Pāli. Exceptions there might be, but it is a phonetic phenomenon which can be explained in the light of two considerations: (i) *y* is a palatal sound, and it is natural that a dento-palatal combination might incline towards a pure palatal conjunct which is comparatively easier for pronunciation, and (ii) the vocal positions of *ty* and *cc* are so near each other that a tongue not trained to *ty*, which involves a complicated intonation of the breath and the bend of the tongue, is likely to pronounce it as *cc*. Such preliminary rules of uniform phonetic changes create, in course of time, various confusions due to such patent linguistic phenomena as contamination, analogy etc., specially when the original word is of an ambiguous nature. So we come across such changes that Sanskrit *tv*, *thv* and *dhv* are equated

with *cc*, *cch* and *jjh* respectively, for which there is no phonetic explanation.

In the beginning language was merely a vocal affair. So in the early stages of civilization dialectal changes had their origin in the peculiar vocal apparatus of a people, in the peculiar speech-habits of a clan, in the uncertainty of the original sound, in the desire to save effort in pronunciation, etc. Soon script came to be used as a conveyance of language. But it is a defective conveyance, because it is merely a symbolical representation of phonetic values. Naturally every language needs a special script to fulfil its phonetic needs. If to-day an English sentence is to be written in Dēvanāgarī characters, it is well nigh impossible to bring out the various effects of the sound, unless certain conventions are created and first explained with respect to their values. That explains why the linguists want an International Phonetic Script, wherein innumerable sounds of human speech are represented by individual symbols which are distinct and clear. Similarly it is known to all that so many points had to be conceived before the Roman script could be used for writing a Sanskrit or Prākṛit sentence. Because of the symbolical character of the script, there is a close relation between a language and a script that is used to represent that language. Script-symbol is more static than the sound which it originally represented; so in India we find that though the words like *siṃha*, *lakshmī* and *dharma* are similarly written, there is a great variation in their pronunciation from province to province. Ambiguity of script-symbols, like ambiguity of pronunciation leading to dialectal differences, is sure to give rise to dialectal differences. For instance, in Old-Kannaḍa a small zero before a consonant represented a nasal (of the same class to which the following consonant belongs), but a fat zero indicates that the following consonant should be read as a conjunct. This gave rise to a lot of confusion that many Prākṛit stanzas are uniformly misread by unintelligent copyists who did not know the Prākṛit language to detect the subtle difference between a small zero and a fat one. Similarly in some forms of Dēvanāgarī the paḍimātrā

(Sk. prati-mātrā) vertical stroke placed to the left of a consonant to represent vowels like *e*, etc., was transferred to the previous consonant which came to read with the value of *ā*; and thus we find many confusions in Mss. written by unintelligent copyists. If two letters in a script have similar appearance, they come to be written almost alike later on; and it needs an intelligent eye to distinguish their values from the context. If a grammarian is once misled by such confused scripts, even the mistakes committed by him come to be perpetuated in literature. In India Grammar is a sacred science according to the dictations of which we are asked to mould our speech; and everyone is endearingly admonished to study grammar that he might not pronounce *sakṛit* as *śakṛit* and *sakala* as *śakala*. What is true of Sanskrit is equally true of Prākṛits, especially when they too remained no more spoken dialects but soon became dead literary languages. But human nature is too strong to obey the artificial laws of grammar which can hold good only for a time, and manifold currents of Indian languages are an evidence on the point.

It is proposed in this paper to discuss certain Prākṛit words and formations which can be better explained on the grounds of confused orthography.

Hemacandra (Siddha-Hemacandra VIII, i, 190) says that *g* in *punnāga* and *bhāginī* is changed to *m*. There is no phonetic reason for this change, especially when the Prākṛits can drop or retain *g*. And moreover the vocal positions of *g* and *m* are so much independent that there appears to be no apparent reason for this confusion. Pre-Hemacandra grammarians do not appear to be aware of this change. The only occurrence of this change in literature is in Rāvaṇavaho. To weigh against this, as Pischel has noted (Grammatik der Prākṛit-sprachen, 231), the form *punnāga* is met with in Ardha-Māgadhī, *puṇṇāa* in Śaurasenī, *bhāiṇī* in Māhārāshṭrī and Śaurasenī. The Sk. *punnāman* for Rottleria Tinctoria, besides *punnāga*, is a plain borrowal, as Pischel also suggests, from Prākṛits; [illegible] *[illegible]man* is used in another sense, *i.e.*, having a [illegible], which has etymological justification.

Pischel is aware of the phonetic difficulty of this change, and he postulates, with parallelisms in view of course, an imaginary stage, *viz.*, *puṇṇāva*, through which this change might have taken place. The force of this suggestion is very much weakened by the fact that the ogitimato forms like *puṇṇāga* and *puṇṇāa* are available in literature. So my suggestion is that in the mediæval Dēvanāgarī script, especially in the Jaina form of it, *m* and *g* are very similarly written, and it is possible that Hemacandra or some predecessor of his blundered over the reading. A careless scribe with a little stroke of his pen would write *g* like *m* as can be seen from certain Dēvanāgarī copper-plates of the Śilāhāra dynasty. We have a clear case of such a confusion before us. The name of the author of Tattvānuśāsanam was first read and printed as Nāgasena, but Pt. Jugalkishore later on explained the mistake, with the help of fresh material, that it should be read as Rāmasena (See Jaina Hitaishi 14, p. 313). Thus the alleged change of *g* to *m* can be traced back to orthographical confusion.

The case of *chandrikā* equated with *chaṃdimā* (Hema. i, 185) stands on a slightly different footing. It is probable in the light of the above discussion that *chandrikā* in its legitimate Prākrit form *chaṃdigā* might be read as *chaṃdimā*. The form *chaṃdimā* is known to Vararuchi, and it is sufficiently perpetuated in literature in Pāli, Ardha-Māgadhī, Māhārāshtrī and Apabhraṃśa, possibly being contaminated with the Sk. *chandramas*. Pischel proposes a hypothetical form *chandriman* (see Grammatik. §§103, 230, 358, 375).

Hemachandra gives a special sūtra to explain *ṇumaṇṇa* and equates it with *nishaṇṇa* (i, 174, also 94). The change of this dental sibilant to a labial nasal is not phonetically natural. *Sh* is changed to *s*, and there are parallel cases where the prepositional *i* is canged to *u* (i, 74). So we might expect *nishaṇṇa* to be *ṇusaṇṇa*. Pischel refers to *ṇumaṇṇa* twice (Grammatik. §§ 118, 248), but uniformly he equates it with Sk. *nipanna*, though he refers to Hema. i, 174, where Hemachandra's Sk. form is not *nipanna* but *nishaṇṇa*. It only means that Pischel

does not find *nishaṇṇa* to be satisfactory, because a legitimate phonetic equation cannot be established between *ṇumaṇṇa* and *nishaṇṇa*. My explanation is that *ṇumaṇṇa* is merelly a misreading of *ṇusaṇṇa*; and it is already noted by Pt. Sukhalal that scribes have often confused *s* and *m* (see his remarks in his Gujarāti Intro. to Sanmati Prakaraṇa, p. 23). The form *ṇumaṇṇa* is perpetuated perhaps because of phonetic similarity with possible Prākṛit forms of *anumagna* and *nimagna*, with which it is likely to be contaminated due to similarity of meaning. The form *ṇuvaṇṇo* with a *v. l.* *ṇumaṇṇo* occurs in Gaūḍavaho 1161 (pp. 330, 393), and the commentator, possibly with Hemachandra's rule in view, renders it as *nishaṇṇaḥ*.

To the same category belongs the equation *bhamaro* = *bhasalo*, a bee (Hema i, 244). The equation has been a problem, and suggestions have been offered by Weber and Pischel (Grammatik. § 251); but their suggestions diverge from the definite meaning, bee, though they have tried to show how the meaning might have come to be developed. My explanation is that *bhamaro* is changed to *bhamalo*, the change of *r* to *l* being not at all abnormal in Prākṛits even other than Māgadhī (Hema. ii, 254). As noted above *bhamalo*, because of orthographical confusion between *m* and *s*, must have been misread as *bhasalo*, and that came to be in vogue in grammars and literature.

Hemachandra gives *mantu* as an optional equivalent for *manyu*, the normal one being *mannu* (Hema. ii, 44). It is hard to defend *mantu* phonetically. In Dēvanāgarī *t* and *n* are very often confused by coypists (see the cofusions noted by Pt. Sukhalal, Sanmati Prakaraṇa, Intro., p. 23, and also Alsdorf, Der Kumārapālapratibodha, p. 52.) Alsdorf has noted that even *tt* and *nn* are confused. Thus there is justification for accepting that *mantu* is a misreading. When once misread, it is being used very often like that (See also Pischel on this word in his Grammatik. §283).

In Dēvanāgarī script especially as used in Jaina Mss. [illegible] *bbh* and *jjh* are so similar in appearance that mutual [illegible] is sure to occur. This easily explains many of

the alternative forms like *jhao* and *dhao* (Hema. ii, 27).
That *dhv* is equated with *jjh* is an illustration of contamination with *dhy* equal to *jjh* for which there is phonetic justification. Similarly *jujjhaṃ* is equal to *yuddham*, because *yudhyati* is equal to *jujjhai*. The promiscuous multiplicity of forms : *uddhaṃ*, *ubbhaṃ* (Hema. ii, 59); *tubbha*, *tujjha*, etc., (Hema. iii, 91), and the consequent generalisation of Hemachandra, *bbho mhajjhau vā* (iii, 104) are the clear indications of the confusion between *ddh*, *bbh* and *jjh*.

It is in the light of the above remarks that we can conveniently explain *dhvaniḥ*=*jhuṇī* (Hema. i, 52) which ordinarily should be *dhuṇī*, and we have got *dhūna* in Hindī. Similarly *dhvajaḥ* should be *dhao*, but we have *jhao* too (Hema. ii, 27). Also note the alternative forms *jharai*, *bharai* (Hema. iv, 74).

In enumerating the dialectal characteristics of Paiśāchī Hemachandra, possibly following Vararuchi, states that *y* is changed to *p* in the word *hṛidaya*. (*Paiśāchyām hṛdaya-śabde yasya po bhavati, hitapakaṃ*, iv, 310). Phonetically there is no justification for this alleged change. That *d* in the word *hṛidaya* is changed to *t* is in conformity with Paiśāchī phonetics (iv, 307), and *k* is only a svārthe appendage (ii, 164). In the Dēvanāgarī script *p* and *y* are very similar in appearance and they are likely to be confused So the correct and legitimate form must have been *hitayaka* which came to be misread as *hitapaka* due to this orthographical ambiguity. Many authors, for instance Yaśaḥpāla in his Moharājaparājaya, who flourished after Hemachandra, have used *hitapaka* in their Paiśāchi compositions merely imitating the dictations of Prākṛit grammars.

In Dēvanāgarī Mss. of Prākṛit texts the conjuncts *cch* and *tth* are written very much alike. Many editors have blundered over them, and very often even in printed books we come across forms like *icchī*, a misreading for *itthī* equal to *strī*. This confusion has contributed a few irregular and alternative forms to the Prākṛit vocbulary. The word *prithvī* is equated with *picchī* (Hema. i, 128). If the cerebral element can be lost without compensation,

we expect the form to be *pitthī*. Then we get alternative forms like *ucchalla*, *utthalla* (Hema. iv, 174), only because it was hard to discriminate the exact forms. If *utsava* is *ucchava* (Hema. ii, 22), *utsāha* should be *ucchāra* (Hema. ii, 48; here we have nothing to do with the attendant change of *h* to *r*), but we get the form *utthāra*. The editor adopts the reading *aṇucchitta* in Gaüḍavaho, 238, but the commentator once actually reads it as *anutthita* and accordingly explains it. All this means that *ch* and *th* could be easily confused.

The root *acch* and its etymology have been subjected to a lot of discussion since the very beginning of Prākrit studies. Hemachandra equated *acchai* with *āste*, but Vararuci, Rāmaśarman and Mārkaṇḍeya equate it with *asti* (see the Prākrit Dhātvadeśas, p. 124). thus, so far as indigenous grammarians are concerned, the toss lies between the roots *as* and *ās*. Various views have been held on the derivation of *acchai* by modern scholars as noted in detail by Pischel (Grammatik. §480). The word is of so much repeated use in Prākrits that there should be no need of hunting out from imagination any conjectural forms, either hypothetical or obscure. Almost all of these proposals suffer from one or the other drawback. Pischel, after considering the various views, proposes *ṛcch* as the Sk. root for *acch*. And it is this view that is upheld by Grierson with elaborate arguments in a special paper of his on the root *acch* (see Festgabe fur Richard von Garbe, pp. 24-32). With those four Sk. roots which irregularly form the base of conjugational tenses with *ccha* in view, Grierson says that there is no Prākrit word corresponding to *ṛcchati*, so *acchai* should be equated with it. The next difficulty before him is that *ṛcchati* means 'he goes,' while *acchai* in Prākrits means almost uniformly 'he is.' Grierson equates 'he goes' with 'he is' by appealing to an idiomatic use of 'gone' in the sentence 'the milk has gone sour'; and he accepts that the roots 'to go' and 'to be' can be equated or even exchanged. It is a methodological error that the idiomatic sense of a word should be invoked to establish an etymological [illegible]

In view of the orthographical confusion between *cch* and *tth* as noted above, I am led to believe that *acchaï* is only a misread form of *atthai*. The form *atthaï* needs some explanation. In Prākṛits many Sk. past participle forms are treated as regular roots: for instance *ghaṭṭaï* from the p. p. *ghaṭṭa* derived from the root *ghṛṣh*, *kaḍḍhaï* from *kaḍḍha* corrupted from the p. p. *kṛiṣhta* derived from the root *kṛiṣh*; *laggai* from the p. p. *lagna* the root being *lag*; *palhatthaï* from the p. p. *paryasta* the root being *as* with *pari*; *daṭṭhāï* from the p. p. *dṛiṣhṭa* the root being *dṛiś*. These illustrations can be further multiplied. On this analogy the p. p. basic root of *atthāi* is *attha* which has to be traced back to *asta*. The classical Sk. has somehow lost the genuine p. p. of the root *as*, and we are asked to substitute *bhū* for it. But from the form *palhatthai* noted above it is quite clear that, for a Prākṛitist or a Prākṛit speaking person who is above the restrictions of Sk. conjugations, *attha* is the p. p. of *as* in Prākṛits; and such a form can be very easily arrived at analogically. Perhaps it is this defective nature of the root *as* that tempted Hemachandra to suggest *ās* even against Vararuchi. Once the form was misread as *acchai*, it is perpetuated in different Prākṛit dialects and even inherited in its changed forms by some modern Indian vernaculars. That the past participle forms are used in the sense of present tense, as noted by Grierson, is a normal feature of many Indian vernaculars. This tendency has its explanation in the almost universal habit of mediaeval Prākṛit writers who use the p. p. form as the predicate with the subject in the Instru.; and we find in Marāṭhī that some of the so-called Nom. sg. forms are Instrumental forms in disguise: for instance *mae-myā-mī*. etc. It must be noted that the development of modern Indian vernaculars begins sufficiently late, when writing was in vogue and Mss. of grammars were available to create such orthographical confusions. *Acchai* once being misread is current in one form or the other. The fact should not be neglected that the traces of the original *as* are there in Assamese parallels noted by Grierson. The Marāṭhī form *āhe* and the Hindī form *hai* only show that

the basic form is *atthai*. *Acchai* cannot give the form *the*. The Marāṭhī root *asaṇe* is not a further corruption from *acch* but only a legitimate descendant of *as*. The vernaculars have their modern past tense forms often derived from the past participles in the parent dialects. This point is already noted by Grierson. This goes to prove that the Hindi forms *thā*, *the*, etc., are derived from *atthai*, and they do not show any connection with the root *acch*. That some varnaculars like Gujarati preserve the forms of *acch* only shows that *attha* was misread and the subsequent forms have become current. That the descendent forms of *atthai* are available in some vernaculars at least is sufficient to substantiate my proposal that *acchai* is a misread form from *atthai* from the root *as*.

I think many more Prākṛit forms which owe their existence to confused orthography can be detected after a thorough scrutiny of the Prākṛit vocabulary.[1]

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1 In the moḍī script *n* and *j* are almost identical in appearance. And Prof. M. T. Patawardhan kindly informs me that this has given rise to certain confused expressions in Marāṭhī records. The Arabic word *bayāj*, in the phrase *bayāj-vār* 'according to the list' came to be read as *bayān-vār* and was made current, because that also meant 'according to description.' Then the Persian phrase *naṃg nāmos*, meaning 'fame and celebrity,' which could also be written as *nag nāmos*, came to be misread as *jag nāmos* and explained in Marāṭhī *jagat-prasiddhi*.

HISTORY OF AN IMPORTANT HISTORICAL WORD IN THE PĀṆINIAN SCHOOL OF GRAMMAR

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Introduction.—Grammatical studies are not altogether devoid of historical interest. Grammatical rules and their examples sometimes throw considerable light on the use of words, shades of meaning attached thereto and the particular attitude of mind with which people used to think of the objects denoted by those words. Pāṇini's *sūtra* (II—IV—9) "*yēshāṃ cha virōdhaḥ śāśvatikaḥ*" is a good example to illustrate the point. This *sūtra* means that the *dvandva* compound of words, denoting objects that are eternally (naturally) opposed or inimical to each other, is put in the singular number. The examples cited as illustrations of this *sūtra* are *mārjāra-mūshakam* and *ahi-nakulam*. In *mārjāra-mūshakam*, the words *mārjāra* and *mūshaka* denoting cat and mouse—the objects naturally opposed and inimical to each other—are compounded as a *dvandvasamāsa* and the whole compound is singularized *ēkavadbhāva*. Similarly, the form *ahi-nakulam* (snake and mungoose). Now, in all the examples cited by *Patañjali* and *Vāmana-Jayāditya*, the objects denoted by the constituents of such compounds are such as are opposed to each other or, in short, natural enemies. But in later grammatical works, we come across such artificial examples of this *sūtra* as *Śramaṇabrāhmaṇam*. Herein, *Śramaṇa* (a Buddhist monk) and *Brāhmaṇa* (a Brahmanical *saṁnyāsi*) are supposed to be natural enemies. The

citation of this example as an illustration of *Pāṇini's sūtra* "*yēshāṃ cha virōdhaḥ śāśvatikaḥ*" clearly indicates that at that time the Buddhist monks and Brāhmaṇa *saṃnyāsis* were regarded as natural and irreconcilable enemies (having *śāśvatika virōdha*). Thus it is clear that from grammatical rules and their examples we can sometimes get interesting items of historical information.

II

As generally known, the term *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* (in its Prakritized form *Dēvāṇam pi a* or its variant) is an epithet of Aśōka and occurs frequently in his inscriptions. It is variously translated by translators as 'favourite of gods', 'His Holiness,' or 'His Sacred Majesty.' Taking it to be an honorific term, Aśōka takes pride in calling himself '*Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ.*' The other optional form '*Dēvapriyaḥ*' is also a term of high honour. *Patañjali* in his comment on *Pāṇinisūtra* (II—IV—56 and (V—III —14) takes it to be an honorific term like such words as *āyushmān*, *dīrghāyuḥ* and *bhavān.* Bāna also uses this word as a term of honour.[1] Even in *Śukla Yajurvēda* the term in changed order is used in a good sense (cf. – *priyaṃ dēvānām-anādhrishṭam dēva yajanamasi*) But in later classical Sanskrit works the sense of the term *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* undergoes a deterioration in meaning and is thought to be a synonym for *mūrkha* (a fool).[2] This indeed is a marvellous change in meaning Is it not a matter for surprise that the epithet *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ*, repeating which the most distinguished Buddist Emperor, Aśoka, is never tired of and which he frequently uses as his glorious title, came to mean, later on, a fool and became a term of contempt? But the reason of this strange phenomenon is quite apparent. With the decay of Buddhism, when Brahmanism reasserted itself, the honorific terms in earlier Buddhistic works became 'Untouchables' and contemptuous meanings were attached to them. The

[1] See R. K. Mookerji's 'Aśoka,' p. 109 (1928) A concise and masterly note is given there on the term '*Dēvānāṃpriyaḥ.*'

[2] Cf.—Mammaṭa.

students of Indo-Iranian religion very well know the fate of the words *Indra* and *Asura* in the Iranian and later Vedic mythology respectively. It was due to later Brahmanical prejudice against the Buddhist Emperor Aśoka, that the favourite epithet of Aśoka became a synonym for *mūrkha* in later Classical Sanskrit. Toshow this, we will discuss in detail the relevant grammatical rules laid down in the Pāṇinian system of grammar.

III

The grammatical *sūtra* by Pāṇini (vi-iii-21) *shashṭyā ākrōśe*, means that the genitive case ending in a compound is *not* dropped, if the compounded form implies reproach. censure, condemnations or insult. The usual illustration of this rule is '*chaurasya kulaṃ*' where censure or reproach is implied. But the rule does not operate in *Brāhmaṇa kulaṃ*, where no such reproach is intended; consequently the genitive case-ending is dropped (*Brāhmaṇasya kulaṃ—Brāhmaṇa kulaṃ*). Thus according to Pāṇini the form *chaurasya* implies reproach and the form *chaura kulaṃ*, simply a statement of facts (a family of thieves). Pāṇini who flourished long before *Kātyāyana* and the Buddhist King Aśōka, had no knowledge of the would-be-coming use of the compound *Dēvānāṃpriya* as a term of honour, and therefore we can conclude nothing from his rule about the good or bad sense of the word *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* which would, perhaps in Pāṇini's opinion, be an uncompounded form implying nothing more than the meaning of the constituent words. After a lapse of some centuries, the form *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* began to be used as an honorific term [1] so much so that Aśōka assumed this term as his title. Now, *Kātyāyana* and Patañjali, the great grammarians, who handled the Sanskrit language as a living organic language and were always alive to modify the rules of Pāṇini in accordance with the requirements of the growing Sanskrit language, added a few additional vārtikas as exceptions to Pāṇini's, rule (*sūtra*) '*shashṭyā ākrōśe*,' to account for the

[1] Kātyāyana the Vārtikakārā was aware of this fact.

non-dropping of the genitive case-endings in such forms as *vāchōyuktiḥ* (the argument of speech), *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* (favourite of gods) and *Divōdāsaḥ* (servant of heaven) etc.[1] In these forms, though no censure or reproach is implied the genitive case ending is retained. So according to Kātyāyana and Patañjali, the form *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* is an exception to Pāṇini's sūtra *shashṭhyā ākrōśe* and no censure or insult is implied there. Not only that, Patañjali goes further and regards this term as honorific when he uses such sentences as *prāptijñō Dēvānām priyō natvishṭijñaḥ*[2] (see Mahābhāshya on II-iv-56) and *tatra bhavān dīrghāyuḥ Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ āyushmāniti* (v-iii-14)). Vāmana-Jayāditya in *Kāśikāvritti* (C. 650 A D.) holds the same view and regards the form *Dēvānāṃpriyaḥ* as an exception to the rule *shashṭhyā ākrōśe*. This is quite understandable when we know that the study of *Kāśikāvṛitti* found much favour with the Buddhist scholars, who would naturally like to take the title *Dēvānāṃpriyaḥ* as an honourable epithet of the great Buddhist King, Aśōka. Same is the case with the great Jain scholar Hemachandra who in his famous work *Siddha Hemachandra Śabdānuśāsana*[3] regards the term *Dēvānāṃpriyaḥ* as an epithet of honour.

IV

But the scene changes with the advent of the later grammarians. Rāmachandra (C. 1350 A.D.) in his *Prakriyā Kaumudī* and Bhaṭṭojīdīkshita (C. 1600 A.D.) in his *Siddhānta Kaumudī*, make a bold departure from the line of earlier grammarians. They modify the exceptional *Vārttika* '*Devānāmpriya iti cha*' as '*Dēvā-*

[1] To explain these forms from Pāṇini's point of view, we may say that *vāchoyuktiḥ*, *Devānāmpriyah*, *paśyatoharaḥ* were not in significant use in his time. The form *Śunaḥ śepha* (a sage) even then implied censure as we may guess from the story of *Śunaḥ śepha* in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII-iii). The form *Divōdāsa* Pāṇini may have dissolved as *divas+dāsa* and not *div+dāsa* so *Divōdāsa* is not an example of *aluk samāsa*.

[2] *Kaiyaṭa's* attempt to interpret the word as a synonym of *mūrkha* is off the point His silence on v-iii-14 is significant.

[3] See the foot-note on *Tattva-bodhinī* by W. L. Pausikar.

nām priya iti cha mūrkhe' by adding *mūrkhe* to it. According to them, the compound *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* retains its genitive case ending, if it means *mūrkha* (a fool); otherwise the form is *Dēvapriyaḥ* (literally, a favourite of gods). Thus, by one stroke of the pen, they have condemned the honorific epithet of the great Buddhist Emperor and have made him a laughing stock of later Sanskritists. The modern Sanskrit Pandits, acquiring their grammatical knowledge of the Sanskrit language from *Śiddhānta Kaumudi* are surprised at the persistence with which the great Emperor glorifies himself by assuming the title *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* (a fool, according to *Siddhānta Kaumudi*).

V

But literally, the form *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* means 'a favourite of gods'. How can it be then used in the sense of *mūrkha?* This question, later commentators find hard to answer. Jñānendra Sarasvati, the writer of Tattva bōdhinī commentary on *Siddhānta Kaumudi*, remarks: "Gods are pleased with those who offer oblations to them. The sacrificers, who offer oblations to gods, are worldly people and do not possess the real knowledge *Brahmajñāna*. Therefore the favourites of gods (*Dēvānām priyāḥ*) are *mūrkha* (fools)." *Vāsudēvadīkshita*, the writer of *Bālamanōrama* on *Siddhānta Kaumudi* remarks: "The word *deva*, derived from root *diva* (to play), means playful fool. The favourites of fools are fools; therefore *Dēvānām priyāḥ* means fools." Kaiyaṭa in his comment on *Mahābhāshya* on II—iv--56 remarks: "Favourites of gods are devoted to pleasure. They do not care for the study of *Śāstras*, hence they are fools. Thus the term *Dēvānāmpriyāḥ* means fools." But as we have said above, these explanations of the term *Dēvānāmpriyaḥ* are far-fetched and hence unconvincing. They are in accordance with the dictum *sthitasya gatiś chintanīyā*. The real motive of ascribing the contemptuous meaning to the term was to condemn (in meaning) the glorious title of Aśōka, who was a staunch follower of Buddhism and whom the later Brahmanical writers viewed with disfavour.

VI

The point in question would become still clearer, when we take into consideration the following point. If any contemptuous or reproachful meaning were intended to be expressed by the term *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ*, there was no need whatsoever for adding an exceptional *Vārttika Dēvānāṃ priya iti cha*, to Pāṇini's rule *Shashthyā ākrōśe.* Censure or reproach being implied by the term *Dēvānāṃ priyaḥ* it would be easily covered by the *sūtra* itself ; the addition of a vārttika by Kāttāyyana and Patañjali would be entirely unjustifiable. The exceptional Vārttika, *Dēvānāṃpriya iti cha*, can be justified only when the term is used in honorific sense. But the later Sanskrit grammarians, in their vehement prejudice against the Buddhist Emperor, Aśōka, overlooked this simple fact, and by adding the word *mūrkha* to the *Vārttika* stand self-contradicted.

HISTORY OF 'R' (ಱ)[1] IN KANNAḌA[2]

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The existence of ṟ in Kanarese was noticed by Caldwell[3] and later, by Fleet and Kittel.[4] But Kittel

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[1] Here printed ṟ.

[2] ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS PAPER.

Titles of Books.

C. D. G.	. A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or the South Indian Family of Languages by R. Caldwell.
K G.	... Kittel's Grammar of the Kannaḍa Language.
K. K. C.	... Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite by R. Narasimhachar
S. M. D.	... Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Keśirāja.

Grammatical Terms.

Pr. Drn.	... Primitive Dravidian (hypothetical).
Vb.	... Verb.

Miscellaneous.

e.g.	... for example.	*T*	... Tamil.
i.e.	... that is.	*O. T.*	... Old Tamil.
Kan.	... Kanarese.	*N. T.*	... New Tamil.
Lw.	.. *Loan word.*	*N. W.*	... *Native word*
N. K.	.. Modern Kanarese.	*Te.* ...	Telugu.
O. K.	... Old Kanarese	*Tel* ...	Telugu.
M.	... Malayalam.	*Tu.*	... Tulu.
Skt.	... Sanskrit.		

Matter in [ ] is deleted.

ṟ ಱ (O. K.) *v.* ḻ (O. K. ೞ).
ಱ (Te.) 'ṟ' (ಱ). —ṭ— for alveolar —*t*—

[3] C.D.G., p. 145 and p. 163.

[4] K. G., pp. 23, 24, 114, 116, 117, 253.

pointed out that ṟ was displaced in Kan. by *r*. The gradual replacement of this ṟ by *r*, is pointed out here from the evidence of inscriptions.

The following words contain ṟ in the earliest inscriptions, (*i.e.*, of the 6th and 7th centuries):—

aṟidu, (N.K. aridu), aṟidaṁ (aridanu), idaṟul (idaroḷage), eṟiveppaḍuvorum, eṟe (ere), eḍepaṟe, eṟi, Kamaṟa (Kammāra), Kaṟe (Kare), Kaṟu-uṁ. Kitteṟe, Keṟe (Kere), Koṟedu (Koredu), ghanammāṟiṭṭamān, Taṟekāḍa (Talekāḍina), teṟavol (tereyaṁte), toṟadu (toredu), toṟadē (toradē), tōṟi (tōri), nūṟenṭu (nūrenṭu), neṟadu (neredu), neredōn (neredanu), peṟan (horaginavanu), Peṟjediya, poṟagu (horagu), mūṟu (mūru), Sindeṟa (Sindera).

There was difference in meaning in words with —ṟ— and those with —*r*— in O. K:—

(1) aṟidu 'having known' ...	(1) aridu—'impossible.'
(2) Kaṟe N. 'a Stain' .. Vb. 'to milk' 'to rain'	(2) Kare—N· ('a bank,' 'a shore' Vb 'to call' 'to invite.'

There is a large number of words of this kind:—

(1) aṟe—N a stone, a rock ... Vb· to be disfigured, or defaced.	(1) are—N the rear, the back. a half, Vb to grind.
(2) iṟi—Vb. to beat, to kill ...	(2) iri—Vb. to give forth, to rain.
(3) Uṟi—a coarse network made of rope or ratan, in which pots and other vessels are suspended from the beams of the house.	(3) uri—to burn, to glow.
(4) ūṟu—Vb. to be, to exist, to settle, to lean on.	(4) ūru—a village, a small town.
(5) eṟe—*n*. a lord, a master, ... Vb: to pour out liquid	(5) ere—a dark red colour; a worm in general.
(6) oṟe—Vb. to ooze, to trickle down. *n*. a sheath.	(6) ore—Vb. to speak, to touch. *n*. similarity,

(7) ōṛe—the red painting upon the lower part of a wall used as a description.	(7) ōre—declivity, crookedness, bending.
(8) Keṛe—a tank ...	(8) Kere—to scratch.
(9) tere—to be uncovered ...	(9) tere—a wave.
(10) Pare—a drum ...	(10) Pare—a scale or coat of the onion a fibre.
(11) bāṛe—to grow dry to disappear ...	(11) bare—to write.
(12) mare—to disappear, to forget, to screen.	(12) mare—a kind of deer.

The context decides the meaning of the word in N.K. From a study of the words with r in the inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries and the corresponding N. K. equivalents, we see that the ṛ has disappeared in N. K. (See appendix to this section for examples from the later inscriptions.)

History of O.K. ṛ.

A study of the forms with ṛ from the 8th century onwards shows that ṛ is maintained throughout the 8th, the 9th, the 10th and 11th centuries. In the 12th century, we find *r* used for ṛ in an inscription, dated 1179. About the end of the 13th century, we find *r* replacing ṛ in a few instances, *e.g.*, neradu (1296) and neradirda (1296). The same tendency to replace ṛ by *r* is found in certain areas in the 14th century, particularly in Shikaripur Taluk. This becomes more noticeable in the 15th century in the same Taluk as well as in Seringapatam and Maddur Taluks (see in the Appendix 1415, 1420, 1431 1458, 1474, 1477). Towards the end of the 16th century, the same tendency is found in the region round about Seringapatam. The replacement of ṛ by *r* is more noticeable in the 17th century. In this century, both kinds of *r* are found in the same inscription where O. K. had ṛ. Towards the close of the century r is found less and less. In the 18th century, in spite of the occasional discovery of ṛ forms, *r* had replaced ṛ and from 1800 onwards ṛ does not appear in these inscriptions.

From this, it cannot be concluded that ṟ actually lived in the colloquial speech of the people till the end of the 18th century. The occasional appearance of r in place of ṟ in 1296, is sufficient proof that the people had already r in place of ṟ, whatever the pronunciation of the latter may have been, and that the writing of only r was in vogue in poetry and literary compositions till the 16th century. The appearance of r and ṛ in prose occasionally for O. K. ṛ shows that ṟ was not as common as r.

Anyway, ṟ finally disappears towards the close of the 18th century.

The earliest published Kanarese work is Kavirājamārga by Nṛpatunga (about 877 A.D.). Though it is a work on Rhetoric, it deals with grammar occasionally. The use of ṟ there is in no way different from that in the Inscriptions of the 9th century adaṟa (I. 13) Peṟara (I. 14) bēṟe (I. 46) oṁdaṟoḷ (I. 81) eraḷteṟakke (I. 114) mūṟaroḷā (I. 120) mīṟadā (II. 142) aṛivina (III 81) kiṛidu (III. 175).

As already stated in my paper on "The History of P in Kanarese (BSOS VIII. 2), there are four O. K. Grammars:—

I. 1045. *Kāvyāvalōkana by Nāgavarma.*

The author includes ṟ in the alphabet (Sūtra 6) and states that ṟ becomes r before a consonant (Sūtra 65). The examples he quotes from ancient Kanarese works corroborate our inference about ṟ in the inscriptions of the 11th century.

II. 1045. *Karṇāṭaka Bhāṣā Bhūṣaṇa by the same author, Nāgavarma.*

He included ṟ in the Kannada alphabet (Sūtra 10). —aṟ is shown by him to be the suffix for the neuter stems ending in —u, adu+a ṟ+a >adaṟa (gen. sg. of adu.) (Sūtra 56). In Sūtras 185 and 187, he states that—kāṟa and gāṟa are used as suffixes in taddhitas or secondary derivatives, to mean 'the maker of.' Once again he refers

to ṟ and states that roots ending in —ṟu have their past tense in —tta— (Sūtra 229.)

If we take his examples into consideration, the position of ṟ is the same as the one in the inscriptions of the 12th century. The examples are maṟe, moṟe (S. 10) adaṟol (S. 10 Com.) teṟu, poṟu and peṟu (S. 229).

III. 1260. *Karṇāṭaka Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa by Kēśirāja.*

The author includes ṟ in the Kannaḍa alphabet (S. 18). The position of ṟ in this work is in no way different from that in the inscriptions of the 13th century. His examples under the following Sūtras bear out the statement made above: 173, 181, 184, 188, 209, 210, 238, 240.

IV. 1604. *Karṇāṭaka Śabdānuśāsana, by Bhaṭṭākaḷaṁka.*

He includes ṟ in the Kannaḍa alphabet (Sūtra 1). The author of this grammar simply paraphrases in the following sutras, 352, 353, 354, 355, 369, 379, 483, 484, 554, 566, 567, what Keśirāja has said in his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa He is more a commentator on Keśirāja's grammar. Here we do not get any corroboration of the actual position of ṟ, as he is discussing the forms in the ancient Kāvyas and does not take into account the contemporary speech.

There is no grammar which deals with the language of the 17th century onwards till about the close of the 19th century.

The inferences are corroborated till the 14th century by grammarians. But the last grammarian has not considered the language of his times. But the MSS. of literary works are liable to change at the hands of the scribes, commentators and editors of later years. The examples from Karṇāṭaka Kavi Carite, Vols. II and III have been taken to show that the evidence of inscriptions are more reliable :

From K. K. C. Vol. II. -1413. Mūṟukhaṇḍuga (46);[1] 1424. Kaṟeva (48) 1430. neṟeyadu (67) meṟeva (67), 1485.

[1] The number in the brackets denotes page.

baṟide, tōre (186), 1500 meṟeduvu (143), ēṟisiye (149), baṟi kaige (149), 1526. aḷkaṟına (209), 1535 mūṟanaridu (283), 1550. mōhıgaḷaṟike (236), 1590 adaṟol (313), 1599 poṟavārge (316), 1600 meṟede (317), muṟivalli (324) 1606 maṟigala (352) tuṟubi (352), toṟi (353), 1611. Kaṟedenō, jīvisalāṟade (355), 1620. nıreṟavarē (362), 1640. Koṟadu (370), 1646 aṟasuva (372) 1648 neṟe bēṟe (375), 1650 meṟedan (383) cıṟıttu (383) jāṟıttu (383) bīṟittu (383), guṟıyāytu (390), odaṟuta (403) neṟe (403), bedaṟuta (403), 1672. Kaiseṟegoṇdu (456) aṟıyade (458), idaṟa (459), teṟadım (460). 1675 mūṟaneya (465) aṟıyada (494), 1677. yēṟuva (497).

The ṟ ıs less notıceable ın prose works than in very hıgh-class poetry, where archaıc forms were specıally selected and used. All the examples gıven below are from Kāvyas :—

1680. mīṟida, muṟidu (508), 1700. ṟ very infrequent. bāydeṟeya, buddhıdoṟasıttu (525), beṟagāgi (526) nūṟaivattondu (526.)

We see ṟ in Sarvajnavachana (*e.g.* about 1700 A. D.) very infrequently.

e.g. aṟivu, maṟavu, bēṟilla (p. 566), 1712. teṟadali.

K. K. C. Vol. III.—(2)., 1715 eṟagida (5) 7311. teṟeda (14) 1723. tōṟıttu (18), hāṟiduvu, tāṟıduvu, jāṟiduvu, ūṟi, nīṟeyara (19), tiṟṟane, biṟṟane, saṟṟane, (19), pāṟumbaḷe (21), 1740. maṟemādi (50). 1745. Oṟate, kaṟeva, aṟiye (55). 1750. Kāṟisidaḷ, gaṟıgāḷiyali (79), nēṟila, poṟamattu (85), keṟe, toṟe, aṟe (88) 1770. toṟu (131), 1775 maṟeyaro, toṟeyaro (138), 1780. mareyalu, ēṟi, eṟagadiha (143), 1800. aṟuhinimda, aṟivumaṟave. (161).

ṟ is found ın poetry very rarely after 1740, but none in prose.

After 1800, ṟ ıs rarer still. 1830 ivaroḷagilla. K.K.C. III. (p. 187) 1840. bedaṟe (191) aṟıyadıral, murıdu.

No ṟ is found either in prose or poetry after 1850 in K.K.C.

But the inscriptions are not capable of being changed by these editors or scribes. Hence the evidence of the inscriptions of the later centuries are to be relied on as

authoritative, till it is disproved by stronger and more authentic sources of information.

This ṟ is found in Tamil, Malayālam, Telugu and Kanarese. In the words with--ṟ—, found in the inscriptions of the 6th and 7th centuries, ṟ is found intervocalically and *not initially*. *In his Dictionary, Kittel* gives a few words (about 25) with initial ṟ which are really corruptions or mistaken spellings of words with ṟ—. In the following inscriptions ṟ is found initially.

1124. ṟoḍisi (to deride), EC. V. Cn. 149 1224. Raṭṭapaḷḷi, EC. XI DN. 1300. ṟaṭṭa, ṟaṭṭigā, K.K.C. I, P. 402. 1300. ṟaṭṭa Vedaṁgam. KKC. I, p. 401. Thus ṟ is not found initially either in Tamil or Malayālam. But Sitārāmācārlu in his "Śabdaratnā karamu" (1929) gives on pp. 673-675 a number of Telugu words with initial ṟ. C. P. Brown does not mention any Telugu words with initial ṟ in his Telugu—English Dictionary in the first or second edition. In modern Telugu, as in N.K., initial or intervocalic ṟ is not used. Tuḷu has not got this ṟ at all now. In N. T., the distinction between ṟ and *r* is disappearing in all parts of the Madras Presidency except in the extreme South :—kiṟudu and kirudu (vanity); kōṟudal and kōrudal (prayings); taṟai and tarai (ground); taṟuvāy and taruvāy (proper time.)

In the following T.—ṟ—>T.—ṭ—and T. ṟṟ>T.—ṭṭ—:—

Kaṟi and kaṭi (to bite); taṟi and taṭi (a stick); koṟṟam and koṭṭam (triumph); Koṟṟudal and koṭṭudal (digging)

But—ṟṟ— is found in a large number of Telugu words, but these are pronounced, not as—ṭṭr—or—ttr—, but as—*rr*—. A few of them are mentioned here:—

Tel. aṟṟa (a division of a chamber). K. aṟe: iṟṟa (the male of the antelope), kaṟṟu (a ploughshare); Kiṟṟumpurugu (a cicada, a noisy insect); Kuṟṟa (small young); kuṟṟi (a milking cow); gaṟṟe (a instrument for catching fish); goṟṟe (a sheep); chiṟṟa (a peg); ciṟṟu (anger); K. Siṭṭu (anger); tuṟṟu (in haste); Skt. tvarita; toṟṟa (a hole in the trunk of a tree); naṟṟa (a troublesome milch cow); paṟṟa (a bog); puṟṟu (soft mire); Puṟṟe (the skull); K. buruḍe (the skull); baṟṟe (a female buffalo);

burri (a heifer); borra (a pot-belly); K. bojju; Mirru (in rising ground); T. mēḍu; K. mēḍu; M. Mēḍu; morra (a Scream); K. more; varru (a heap); sorra (a shark).

The few corresponding words indicate that at one time Te—ṟṟ—was pronounced as—ṭṭ—or—tt—:

The Telugu scholars or peasants do not pronounce these words as Tamil—ṟṟ—, but only as—rr—(a long r). Further in N. Te, the long—ṟṟ—is shortened and—r—is used in place of ṟ. In Kan.—ṟṟ—is found in some inscriptions, but the pronounciation is—rr—. In N. K. it is written and pronounced as—rr—. Suṟṟembinaṁ, (Ec. V BL. 77). Kittel's equating tiṟṟane to tiṭṭane in his dictionary is wrong as can be seen from his own edition of SMD. p. 393 (SMD. S. 307). These are onomatopoeic words. In Tamil, ṟ is used in place of —ṉ—, —t—, —l— before—k—,—c—and—p.

I.—N—.(1) where—ṉṟ—>—ṟṟ—.

Nws: anṟu—aṟṟu (then); inṟu—iṟṟu (now); enṟu eṟṟu (when); onṟu—oṟṟu (one)

(2) *where—ṉ—>—ṟ—.*

taṉkaval—taṟkaval (self-protection); taṉkolai—taṟkolai (Suicide); taṉcuttu—taṟcuttu (self-reference); taṉcelvam—taṟcelvam (once own property); taṉpāḍi—taṟpāḍi (a lark.)

II. —*t*—>—ṟ—.

Lws: Utkaṭam—uṟkaṭam (an elephant in rut.); utkrsṭam—uṟkrṭṭam (excellence); udgāra—uṟkāram (vomitting); utsarga—urcarkam (abandonment.); utpatti—uṟpatti (birth); kutsita—kuṟcitam (abhorence); tatkālam—taṟkālam (the fixed time); tadbhavam—taṟpavam (born of that); balātkāram—palāṟkāram (force, compulsion); bhāskaran—pāṟkaran (the Sun) Vatsanābhi—Vaṟcanapi (a kind of poison).

III. —l—>—ṟ—.

alpam—aṟpam (trifling); ulka—uṟkai (a meteor); kalka—kaṟkam (drugs pounded for the preparation of decoctions, oils, etc.): kalki—kaṟki (a horse); svalpam—[illegible] (a little.); nalgati—naṟkati (bliss); nalkanavu—

naṟkanavu (a good dream); nalpendu—naṟpeṇḍu (a good Woman); nalcīr —naṟcir (a good state).

This change of —l—to—ṟ— is also found in the O.K. of the inscriptions studied. Niṟisidom "set-up" or "caused to stand." is from nil—to stand. T. M. Nil—to stand. Te. Nilu—to stand. This root 'nil,' when converted into a causative, —l->—ṟ— in O. K. as it does in O. T. niṟuttu—to cause to stand. (cf. p. 37' niṟugal, P. 38' niṟisida. What is the nature of this? Cf. Nilisidom page 66' part I. A., P. 67'. Part I. A. niḷiside.)

In Kanarese, roots teṟu, peṟu, and poṟu form their past tense with —tt—, *i.e.* tettaṁ, pettaṁ, pottaṁ (KBB. 229 Smd. 240). But this long —t— in the past shows clearly the following:—

teṟ, peṟ, poṟ, are the roots. When—da—the past tense suffix, is added teṟ—da>tetta; per—da>petta; por—da>potta. Unless—da—is derived from

<*—nta—(K.—ṟ—) or —ta—(K.—ṟ—),

this change is impossible. Ter—* nta=ter (n) ta; the pre-consonantal nasal disappears; teṟṟa=tetta. Similarly for petta and potta. This shows that in O.Kan also ṟṟ>—tt—.

In O. K. Kiṟidu > kuṟu before Consonants, *e.g.* Kuṟudaḍi. But before vowels kiṟu > kit, *e.g.* kiṟu—aḍi >kittaḍi; kiṟu—esaḷ > kittesaḷ (SMD 181). This shows that in O. K. —ṟṟ— used to become - tt—.

In Kanarese, peṟagu is replaced by peḍa in compounds (smd. 173. K. S. S. 369.) *e.g.* peḍaṁgay, peḍagay, peḍadale. Kanarese grammarians state that *r* gives rise to r when pronounced with greater pressure and force. (KVV. 6; KBB. 10; SMD. 18 and 19. K.S.S. 1.) According to these, ṟ is a cerebral. (cf. p. 38. A.D. 1021[1] nādoṟeya).

I suspect pera<peḍa <* peṭa. This gives us peḍagay. In Tel. also we find peḍa in the same sense *e.g.* peḍabuddhi (Uttara Rāmāyaṇa 7 cb). This peḍa gives us a hint as to the probable reason of the grammarians to call ṟ a cerebral, When single

—ṟ—is equal to —ṭ—<—ṭ—

[1] My book "Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscription."

Kan and Tel. voiced the intervocal single surds and used the sonant symbols for the voiced stops. But when —ṟṟ— became —ṭṭ— or—tt—, the sound value was retained. Why it is —ṭṭ—or—tt— sometimes is at present unknown.

Further, surds coming after —ṟ— of roots in Kanarese do not become sonants, but those sounds that come after ṟ> Sonants. (Sutra 29 KBB; Smd. 65, 66; KSS. 89 and 90. See page 42' part I B.) This clearly shows that it is a stop and a surd. Further, this ṟ when followed by a surd becomes *r* and, later, is assimilated to the surd. In idarke, —aṟ— is the suffix; in place of —ad—, —aṟ— is used here, perhaps for dissimilation; idu- aṟ—ke> idarke. This idarke > idakke in N. K. cp. T. idarku

Also, in the inscriptions r is used for representing the upadhmānīya breathing before —p—:

1. niṟpiṇḍaṁ (E. C. II. 63. 1163. A. D.)
2. payaḥpura is written payaṟpura (E.C. XIII P. 36.)
3. bhāvinah parthivēudrān is bhāvinaṟpēr—(52) E. I. XV. p. 26 1110 A. D.)
4. Vigatabhayayas' arpatāka (67) E. C. IV. Yd. 60, 890 A. D.

This mistake is due to the similarity in the shape of the symbol for upadhmānīya breathing and —ṟ—, O. K. ṟ is used wrongly for Skt. r. *e.g.* aṟula Kamaṟa ṟūdhi, aṟūdha-kāṟa and gāṟa in the inscriptions and grammars. Probably the pronunciation was like that.

ṟ is used in later inscriptions in place of —ṣ—

Puṟpa (6) E. I. XII. p. 271. 1189. E. I. XV p. 33. 1189.

Puṟpāyudham (22) E. C. VII. Sk. 185, 1158 A. D.

In Tamil,—ṣ— is represented by —ṭ—

Skt. puṣpa=T. puṭpam—a flower.

Skt. Viśēṣakam—T. Visēṭakam—anything special.

This suggests that Kan. ṟ *may* correspond to T.—ṭ—though this use of ṟ may be due to a confusion with the upadhamānīya.

All these show that ṟ in Kanarese is a cerebral

according to the grammarians. Since it is now lost in N. K., it is not possible to find out what its phonetic value may have been. That it represents a stop, perhaps an alveolar, which can become a dental or a cerebral and not the continual *r*, is definite.

Origin of O. K. ṟ.

I. (*a*) Pr. Drn. * —ṯ— after short vowels :—

Kan.	T.	M.	Tel.	Tu.
—ṟ—	—ṟ—	—ṯ—	—ṟ—	—ṟ— (—ḷ—) (—d—)
aṟa (virtue)	aṟam			
aṟu (Six) ...	āṟu	āṟu	āru	āji
aṟi (to know) .	aṟi	aṟi	eruka	aṟi
eṟe (lord, master) ...	iṟai	iṟai		
[ēṟu (to ascend) ...	ēṟu	ēṟu	ēṟu	ēru]
koṟe (to cut) ...	kuṟai	kuṟai	korata	kore
teṟa (an opening)	tiṟa	tiṟa	teṟacu	tere
toṟadu (to leave) ...	tuṟa	tuṟa	toṟagu	torapuni
[nūṟ (a hundred) ..	nūṟu	nūṟu	nūṟu	nūdu]
neṟe (to become complete) ...	niṟai	niṟai	neṟayu	nerevuir
Peṟan (an outsider) ...	Piṟan	Piṟam	Peṟa	
Poṟagu (outside) ...	Puṟam	Puṟam	Puṟugu	
Veṟagu (alarm)	Veṟuppu	Veṟi	Veṟagu	Verri

(*b*) Pr. Drn. *—ṯ— after long vowels :—

Kan.	Tel.	M.	Tl.	Tu
—ṟ—	—ṟ—	—ṟ—	—ṟ—	
1 Nīṟu vb 'to reduce to powder' n. 'power ashes'	nīṟu	nīṟu	nīṟu	
2 Nāṟu 'to stink' ...	nāṟu	nāṟu	nāṟu	
3. Pāṟu 'to jump' ...	Pāṟu	Paṟu	Pāṟu	
4. bēṟe 'Separate' ..	Vēṟe	Vēṟu	Vēṟu	bēte
5. māṟu 'to barter, to exchange'	māṟu	māṟu	māṟu	
6. mīṟu 'to surpass'	mīṟu	mīṟu	mīṟu	
7. mōṟe 'the face' ...	mōṟai 'the chin'	mōṟa	mōṟa	
8. Sāṟu 'broth' ...	Cāṟu	Cāṟu	Cāṟu	
9. Sūṟe 'Plundering' ...	cūṟai	Cūṟai	Cūṟe (Sūṟe)	

II. But Pr. Drn. *-nd- -after long vowels>Kan.—d—and—T—and M.—nr.—K. Ida- -T. I nra.

III. (*a*)But Pr. Dr. *—nt—(after short vowels) has K—nd—and T. nr—after a short vowel in the following:—

T.	K.
Onru (one)	ondu
anru (then)	andu
inru (now)	indu
enru (when)	endu
konru (having killed)	kondu
senru (having gone)	Sandu
ninru (having stood)	nindu
kunru (to diminish)	kundu
kanru (a calf)	kandu (karu also)
venru (Scorched)	vendu

Sometimes in colloquial speech of Villagers T.-nr.>—nn *e.g.* inru>innu; enru>ennu; onru>onnu. Kanru>kannu; as in Mal. onru>M. onnu, Panri>Panni; Venru>Vennu.

(*b*) Pr. Drn * —nt— (after long vowels).—

	K.	T.	M.	Tel.	Tu
	—r—	—nr—	—r— (and later assimilation)	—C— —d— —n—	—j— —r—
ūru (to fix, to support)		ūnru	ūnnu	ūnu	ūru
tōru (to appear)		tōnru	tōnnu	tocu	tōj
mūru (three)		mūnru	mūnnu	mūdu	muj

In Tu., Kan r is found as —j—before short vowels also:—

K. āru 'to be dried'	Tu. āj
K. bari 'empty'	Tu. baji
K. karu 'a calf'	Tu. kamji (cp. T. kanru)

Kan r corresponds to Tu.—r.

K.	Tu.
oragu "to lean, to lie down"	Orag
kāru "to vomit"	Kāru
kīru "to scratch"	Kīru
kuri "a sheep"	Kuri
kesaru "mud"	Kesar
jāru "to slip"	Jār

bēsar̤ "to disgust"	... ...	bēsar
mīru "to transgress"	... ...	mīr
Sāṟu "to proclaim"	... ...	Sār (cp. T. Cārru)
Sere "confinement"	... ...	Sere.

In two words Kan. —ṟ— corresponds to Tu. —t—:—

K. adara 'of that'	... ...	Tu. ayta
K. bēre 'different'	... ..	Tu. bēte

Kan. —ṟ— corresponds to Tu. —d—:

after short vowels.			*after long vowels.*	
K		Tu	K.	T.
ore 'a Sheath	..	ude	nāṟu 'to stink'	nādu
kiṟu 'small'	...	kidu	nūṟu '100'	Nūdu
keṟe 'a tank'	. .	kedu	māṟu 'to change'	mādu
Pore 'burden'	...	pude.		
mare 'a Screen'	...	made		
muṟi 'to break'	...	mudi		

Some of the forms in T. with—nṟ— > —ṟṟ in Tamil. Both these have correspondences in Kan:

T.	Kan
anru 'then	—andu
inru 'now'	—indu
enru 'when'	—endu

But

T	anṟu	T	aṟṟu	K. atta
	inru		iṟu	K. itta
	enṟu		eṟra	K. etta.

But the meaning in Kanarese is one of *place* whereas it is one of *time* in Tamil.

K. atta = there; itta = here; etta = where?

This leads us to a consideration of the—ṟṟ—

Pr. Dr.*—ṭṭ—is retained as ṟṟ in T. and M. In T. though written as —ṟṟ—it is pronounced as—ṭṭr—in some areas and—ṭṭ—in other areas. Many people pronounce it as —tt—. Thus in Tamil Dictionaries, there are forms with —ṟṟ— and also with —tt— having the same meaning and used in the same sense:—

IV. (*a*) Pr. Drn * —ṭṭ— after short Vowels :—

K.	T. and M.	Te
—ṭṭ—(—tt—)	—ṛṛ—	—ṭṭ— (—tt—)

T. and M.	K	Te.
Orṛi (pledge, lease) (otti)	Otte	
Orru (to gain) (ottu) (to unite).	1 Ottu-compressed 2 Oṭṭu-together .. 3. Ontu-to agree with ..	Otta Ottu Ottu. Ontu.
Kaṛrai (a Collection (Kaṭṭai) of hair).	Kaṭte (a broom) ..	Kaṭṭa.
Kuṛram (a defect) (Kuttam).	Kutta ...	Kudi.
Kuṛru (to pound) (Kuttu) (to beat).	Kuṭṭu (to pound) and Kuttu (to pierce).	Kuṭṭu (to Stitch)
Curru (to go round) (cuttu).	Suttu	Cuṭṭu
Parṛu (to seize, to hold)	Pattu (to go over) Paṭṭu (the hold in wrestling)	Pattu.
Puṛru (ant-hill), Puttu ..	Putta ...	Putta.
Perṛa (that has been obtained).	Petta	
Maṛṛu (again, besides)	Mattu .. .	Mari, madi
Murru (a siege), (muttu)	Muttu	Muttu
Varral (dryness.) (Vattal)	Battu (to dry) ..	Vatta.

(*b*) Pr. Drn. — * —tṭ— after a long vowel :—

K. —t— (—ṭ—)	Tam. —rr—	Te. —ṭ— (—t—)
1. ūta (firmness)	ūṛram	ūtamu.
2. ūṭe (a spring) ..	ūṛṛu (ūttu) ...	ūṭa.
3. ēta (a mechanism for lifting water).	ērram	ētamu.
4. tēṭe (clearness) ...	tērram (certainty) ...	tēṭi.
5. tōṭa (a garden) ...	tōrram	tōtamu.
6. nāṭa (stench) ...	nārram (nāttam) ...	nātamu.
7. māṭu (a reply) ...	māṛṛam	māṭa.

In a few cases, the —ṛṛ— of T. corresponds to —ṛ— of Kanarese and —ṭ— of Tel :—

Cāṛṛu (to proclaim) K. Sāṛu Te. cāṭu.

But T. and M. Kāppāṛṛu (to protect). K. Kāpāḍu. Te. Kāpāḍu: where T. —ṛṛ— corresponds to K.—ḍ— .

Hence Pr. Drn. * —ḍḍ—

	K.	T.	Tel.
	ḍḍ (dd)	ṟṟ	—ḍḍ—
(Kāppādd)	Kāpādu (to protect)	Kappāṟṟu	Kāpāḍu.

Pr. Drn. * ḍḍ. after a long vowel: —

K.	T. and M.
—r—	—ṟṟ—
Sāru (to proclaim)	
(Te. cāṭi)	cāṟṟu
tūru (to winnow)	tūṟṟu

APPENDIX

EXAMPLES CLASSIFIED.

8th Century—

740 A. D. Edattorenada (6)* EC III My. 55.

750 A. D. teruvudu (22) HG 4, tere (22) EC IV, neṟeyardi (1) EC III My. 6.

800 A. D. olamgere (25) EC IV Sr. 160.

9th Century—

810 arusāsirakke (2) EC III Nj. 26.
erevar (2).

865 nirugal (a set up stone) EC IV p. 200
nirisidon I Ant Vol XII p. 223,

870 turugalol (6) EC VII Hl 13

884 turuvam (10) EC II 394 ērida (12)

888 Peddoregateya (8) EC I 2
taruvom (8)
tombhattaṟusāsirbbar (9).
entunūru (14) EC I 2.

890 Eṟeyaṁgamge (5 and 12) EC I 3.
mūrubhattamum (9) EC I.

890 Permugageṟe (74).
toṟe (73).
ēṟina (73).
Vigatabhayaya saṟpatākāvabhāsa—(67) EC IV Yd. 60.

898 Paṟekambalada (6).
Paṟekere (3).
mūru (5) EC III 97 and 98.

900 aṟiya (2) EC I 60.
Ereyarasaṁge (2) EC I 60.
mūṟu kallam (1) EC II 443.

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* The number inside the brackets after the word denotes the line of the inscription.

Kereyam (3) EC IV Ch. 141.
Turundavolala (10) EC IV HG 110.
turugalol EC IV Kp. 17.
arıye (9) EC IV Gu, 57.

10th Century.

900 ırdu (4), Ereyappa (3) EC III TN 115.
907 perataledıvasam (8th day) (3).
Kere (5).
avarolage (7).
irdu (4).
910 Ereyapparasar (5), mereyapponu EC IV Hg. 103 (10).
Kere EC III Sr 134.
920 Ereyappan EC IV HS 92.
930 ēṛıdoḍe (2) teredavu (E., Nirisıdom 11 EC IV Hg. 116
934 nirısıdalu, EC VII Hl. 23.
940 parapimge (7) perabāgadallı (8).
meredu (14) bedaruvınamte (1?) EC II 138.
971 nereye (7) EC IV Ch. 9.
972 Keregala E C IV Ng. 51.
977 eragıda (5) EC IV Ng. 29.
978 peddoregare (13), aru Sasırbbarum E C I 47.
982 arıvem (36) Porage (97) Kırıdu (100) nereye (124), ivarol (104) bēṛe (107) perar (41) irıdu (52) EC II 133.

11th Century—

1007 ıṛiye (9) pāṛuva (10) ırıdu (9), ıre (17) nirısıda (23) tore (14).
1012 tuṛuvanıkkısi (9) EC IV Kp. 16
tallarisalke (13) EC III Sr. 140.
1019 Kereya (10) ēṛuvantu (15) irıva (23).
aṛeyatti (17) EC VII Sk. 125
1021 nūra, mūraneya (1) āvudaṛul (4), nādoreya (Chıef?) (4) EC IV Hg. 16.
Kirıya Cōḷıyam EC III Nj. 134.
1022 Kereɡe (18) EC III Md 78.
1031 Kereya (12) EC IV Hg. 7.
1050 Kereyam (15) eri (23) EC VII Ci. 8.
eragi (4) niṛisidom (12) EC I 30.
1057 āṛāge (1) arivımge (4) Ereyamgana (4) Kondarembudu (20) Kere (33) EC IV Hg 18.
1060 iṛidu (8) EC VII Sk. 152.
Heggerege (19) Konareyim (7).
Kereyim (15) EC VII Sh. 6.
turugalam (3) Karidu (3) EC III Md 116.
1069 Kere (8) yere (10) EC III TN 135.
1070 Kereye (5) Kerege (II) EC I 49.
1076 berdale (27) garde (27) galde (21) beddale (22) aregereya

(23) haṟekāṟa (24) EC VII Ci. 18 maṟevugé (1?) keṟeya (40) EC VII Hl. 14.

1085 arusāsira (21) keṟege (33) iṟivakava (41) aṟiyar (42) kiṟidu (43) pereyaṁdaḍe (44) aṟavaṇṭage (45) kuṁbāṟargge (56) haṟige (51) harige (47) EC VII Sh. 10.

1087 eredu (19) eṟeya (17) mūnūru (15) EC IV 149. 55.

1087 Torenaḍa (6) EC IV Yd 2.

1092 keṟe (9) ponnara kotta (7) (cf ponnarakotta EC IV gu. 93 1049); tuṟuvaṁ (19) yērida (19) ḥiṟda (14).

1095 ākereya (14) Kannagereyam (13), EC IV Kp. 49.

1095 bedarı (27) nūṟa (35) kere (43) toṟe (46) EC I 57.

1100 taledōrade (39) EC II 69, nırısidom EC II 164.

12th Century—

1107 tuṟuvumam (8) nerenūrusayiradaru nuṟāḷ verasu (12) peragıkkı (12) ırıdu (13) EC IV Hg. 79.

1113 Ededorenāda (3) ponnarakonḍu (5) paḷḷikāṟarum (8) EC III Nj. 44.

1115 neremāḍısuttuṁ (169) merevuttire (170) āṟusāsiram (170) EC II 127.

1117 āṟusāsıra (4) Heggere (29) EC IV Ch. 83.

1123 nereye (35) munnūra (54) EC II 132.

1144 ırıdu (6) EC III Md. 22.

1145 Sajjegēṟal (129) EC II 140.

1148 einūṟu (18) EC III Nj. 110

1159 ereyam (11) peṟamge (37) astabahirprapamcam (38) EC II 345.

1163 nirpindam EC II 63.

1175 yeṟadu (14) EC I 65 āṟade (23) kaggeṟeyumam (41) teṟadımda (57) EC II 240.

1179 Oṟamtana (r is used for ṟ) EI XII p. 336.

1180 aṟiva (12) mūṟu (19) EC II 71.

1195 mūṟu (56) keṟe (54) EC II 335.

1199 iṟiva (19) neṟeda (21) marevokka EC IV Ng. 47.

13th Century—

1203 hoṟe (46) hērimge (50) hēṟuvaru (47) iridaḍe (48) EC VII Sh. 88.

1206 haṇavoṁdaṟa (16) manedere (15) EC II 333.

1217 mūṟugumḍıge EC II 170.

1218 purpas' araṁbbara (12) keṟe (50) EC VII Sh. 5.

1223 hadınāṟaneya (2) iṟıdu (6) keṟe (9) tuṟuvam (7) EC VII Sk. 175.

1229 Viroḍisamvatsarada (4) EC III Md. 93 (ṟ for r).

1235 nērggiṟiyan (30) EC III Md. 121 (ṟ for r).

keṟeya (4) ondaṟa (45) EC III Md. 121.

1276 Mūṟa (38) nālkaṟa (36 and 58) hadināṟuballa (42) eiḍaṟa (62) mūṟaṟa (71) hanneraḍaṟa (79) EC III Tn. 97.

1278 Kiṟukula (44) EC II 347 Dêverakeṟe (13) Koṟakodahu (19 and 20) Mākalakeṟeya (21) EC I 32.
1279 nūṟakke (32) ondarōpādiya (33) EC II 336.
1281 Edadoṟenāḍa (14) EC III Tu. 100.
1282 hoṟagāgi (27) hāsaṟegallu (30) Eḍavallagere (22) EC II 334.
1284 iridu (7) EC VII Sk. 140.
1290 Hegguṟuvada (25) ippattaṟamane (32) āṟu (34) mūru (42) EC III TN 27.
1291 Horasumka EC VII Sh. 78.
1293 Vōleyakāra (13) iridu (14) bemṭekāra (7) EC IV gn 66.
1295 eredu (15) Toṟenāḍa (16) EC IV Ch. 65
1296 mūnuraḷu (9) kere (11) neradirddu (9) neredu (12) (r for r) EC I 45.
1300 nūrayippattārarolage (9) bēre (41) terutta (37) E III 98.

14th Century—

1309 aruvattu (10) nūreppatu (11) neradu (16) (r for r) EC VII Sh. 19.
1312 Sāṟumanāyakaru (6) iridu EC III Nj. 71.
1319 Kere, tere (22) EC III Md. 100.
1325 āru (4) nūrahattakke (10) mūru (23) kere (24) mūvattāru (25) EC III, Tn. 99.
1332 Karunisidhāru (32) EC III, Nj. 65, (r for r.)
1336 Kamcagāra (13) EC IV, yl 38.
1336 Kere (1) mūvattara (4) teruta (9) Kāranāthamge (4) EC IV ng. 36.
1368 uḍugore (76) Horahodeya (67) EC VII Sk. 282.
1368 mīridavanu (29) EC II 344 eredu (14) teruva (12) teṟuta (16) EC III Nj 117.
1376 Toranāḍa (6) (r for r) EC VII Sk. 57 turusererehōhaga EC VII Sk. 57.
1377 Haṟahalli (6) EC VII Sk. 35.
1390 Keṟe (9) eredu (25) EC VII Hl. 6
1390 Badagakeṟe (11) maṟevokkara kāva (18) EC I 39.
1396 nūruyeṇṭu (20) no r but r. kere (24) EC VII Sk. 241.
1396 mūra (17) maggadere (21) maduvedeṟe (22) gāṇadeṟe (22) EC VII Hl. 71.

15th Century.—

1403 maṭhadeṟeyanu (7) EC IV Hg 47 aridu (11) EC IV Hg. 60.
1407 hoṟaveyāṟage (4) EC IV Gu. 41.
1411 teṟige EC III Nj. 137.
1415 mūrūru (2) (r and not ṟ) EC VII Sh. 31.
1416 āledeṟe (10) āḍudeṟe (10) EC III Sr. 105.
1417 [illegible]daru (17) EC VII Sk. 37.
14[illegible] [illegible]kere (39) No ṟ EC VII Sk. 288.
14[illegible] [illegible] kumbāradeṟe (14) (Prose) No ṟ.

1430 yeradukoṭṭevu (19) EC IV ch, 159, EC VII Sh. 40, 5 (prose).

1431 —eradu koṭṭevu (55) EC VII Sh. 71 (Prose).

1431 eradu (23) gānadere āmedere (30) oḷayāvu horavāṛu (31) Gaṇḍugere oḷagereya (40) No ṛ. EC VII Sh. 71.

1432 horavāru (20) EC III Sr. 7.

1437 Heggerege (19) Kuriterige (No ṛ) EC III Tn. 47.

1437 Kāmigereya EC III Ml. 4.

1458 Kere (no ṛ) (63) Kumbāra (61) no r. EC III Sr. 133 Kere (37) EC III Sr 89.

1474 Kaligereya (no r) EC III Ml. 121.

1477 Arasanakere (8) but voındukereyaṛu (11) no r. EC III Md. 77.

1482 Kereya EC IV ch, 185.

1484 eradu (11) EC IV Ng. 59.

1494 nūru (6) kere (6) EC III Nj. 100.

1496 erevalli EC III Nj 33.

1497 tere (11) EC III Nj. 115

16th Century.—

1509 Yeragamballi (9) EC IV yl 18.

1513 dhāreyaneradu (69, 74) mallıgere (98; 107) (Prose) EC IV ng 81 (No ṛ)

1513 terigegaḷu (17) bogāraderıge (17) gaṇācāraderige (no ṛ) āhaderige asagara terıge nayimdara terige Kumbhāra (no r) terige (19) EC IV gn. 3 Kaṛihola (4) keṛe (10) Hūṛegadde (13) EC III Tn. 37.

1517 eradu (8) EC III my. 5.

1519 baruva (9) Kuruha Javadevapagauḍana (6) EC III Nj. 6356.

1521 Saṛvamānyada (5) paridevaya (8) EC IV yl. 21.

1524 Olagere (247) no ṛ EC VII Sh. 26.

1527 eṛadu (10) EC III Sr. I.

1530 taṛisi (26) eṛadu (27) maleyuṛu (7)

1530 nānūra aruvattāru (3) EC IV ch. 115.

1532 mūraneya (6) eṛadu (8) olavāṛehorvāṛe (9) EC IV ch. 115.

1538 nūṛa arpattaneya EC III Md. 112.

1541 keṛe (24) eṛadu (26) mūṛa (21) EC VII Tn. 120.

1542 Karadu (17) eṛadu (18) EC III Sr. 6.

1544 muḷu (29) (ḷ for ṛ) Keṛeya (26) EC I 10.

1556 eṛadu (14) EC III Tn. 108 mūrake (18) (no ṛ), aṛuvattumūṛu (19) EC VII Sk. 55.

1557 talavārike (22) Kuruvada grā EC VII Hl. 9.

1585 yeṛadu (16) (no ṛ) EC III Sr. 40.

1589 Kabbeṛeya (9) EC III Md. 25.

1600 eṛagidanu (4) (no ṛ) EC II 204.

17th Century.—

1605 Hamgarepurada (6) kerekatte (13) EC IV ch 82.
1622 menasugere (192) Volagere (199) Kembare (208) kere kelagana (220) Kerebadagana (221) (No r) EC III Tn 62.
1634 yaradu (30) yarisi (34) EC II 352.
1634 Pareyamna (19) EC II 250.
1639 Kere (146) no r EC III Nj· 198.
1654 Keregal (47) Seruvagāranige (75) Samgītagārarige (83) nūrakke (88) adara (13)
1663 eredu (14) EC IV Hg. 85 No r
1663 ārutirumāle seve (46) kerekelage (59) EC III Sr. 13.
1664 eradu (26) EC IV gu. 25.
1666 eradu (17) EC IV yd· 53.
1667 Kerekatte (112) EC IV yd. 43
1668 Kerehaḷḷı EC VII Sh 81.
1669 mūru (20) nūru (21) nūrayippattāru (22) eradu (26) EC IV HS 139.
1670 āruvarahada (7) EC IV HG. 120 (No r.)
1671 teru (26-28) ārumamdıgū (29) EC VII Sh. 3
1685 eredu (18) Valagere (22, 25) EC III My 7
1686 āru (99) eradu (105) kerege (143) EC III Sr 14.

18th Century.—

1700 Kallanirisıdam EC I 71.
1722 teruvahanavanu (8) terigehanava (10) EC VII Sh 21
1722 kereyallı (441) Belekerege (445).
Sattikeremathakke (No r) (503) kuruvada (493) huttaremele (428, 540) huttare (508, 530, 532, 549, 594) kere (529, 530) kerege (574) patnagere (590) nūra 595 (nurıppattara (628) Volagere (637) nurahanneradu (681, 682, 685 709) mūru (684, 709) eredu (710) EC III Sr. 64.
1724 einuru (150) kere (155, 158, 161) terige (164, 165) hadimuru (175) eredu (191)·
1741 Kumbāragumdıge (159) kere (170) EC IV yd 58.
1748 Kerehatti (308) horage (317) Hamdugere (358) Kereyēri (358) Kattegere (378) ıdara (382) kerege (476) kere (1350) ippattāru (1372) EC III Tn 63
1759 teruva (10) pujegāraru Māmnyagāraru (9) terige (31) horagu (46) EC IV ch. 101.
1762 nura aravattelu (17) nura ippattāru (14) EC IV yl. 63.
1762 āranura ippattu (20) aruvattu (17) EC IV Ng. 7.

19th Century.—

1825 nurokkalu (19) E I 25.

SOME NEW SANSKRIT VERBS IN KSHĪRASVĀMĪ'S COMMENTARY ON THE AMARAKOŚA

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Kshīrasvāmī, in his commentary on the Amarakōśa, while explaining the derivation of Sanskrit words, mentions certain verbs, the meanings and sometimes the forms of which differ from those given in the Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini. Some of the verbs mentioned by him do not occur in Sanskrit literature as known to us. The following is a list of these verbs.—

ad āścharye—while deriving the word *ajjhaṭā* "N. of a plants," Kshīrasvāmī says, "*ajjhaṭāścharyakārisaṁghātā*, '*ad āścharye* '*dbhutatvāt*' ". From this it appears that he derives both *ajjhaṭā* and *adbhuta*, from *ad* "to be astonished." We do not know of any such verb in this sense in Sanskrit. In the Uṇādikośa (V 689), *adbhuta* is derived from *bhū* with the particle *ad* as *upapada* and *ūtach* as a suffix (*adi bhuvō ūtach*).

ū '*śabde*'—In deriving *Umā*, Kshīrasvāmī says "*avate Umā ūṅ śabde.*" Now we have in the Dhātūpāṭha *u* "*śabde*" but not *ū*.

ṛibh "to grow."—In deriving *arbhaka* he says *ṛibhyate vṛiddhim prāpyate arbhakaḥ.* No verb *ṛibh* occurs in the Dhātupāṭha or Sanskrit literature. In the Uṇādikośa, *arbhaka* is derived from the verb *ṛ*, with *bha* as a suffix *artigṛibhyām bhan* (III 440).

eḍ "?"—in deriving *eḍūka* "A Buddhist temple containing relics" he says, "*eḍyate eḍūkam*" but he gives no meaning of *eḍ*, nor does this verb occur in the Dhātupāṭha or in Sanskrit literature.

kīti " ? "—In deriving *kīchaka* he says *kīti chakati* but gives no explanation. Similarly in deriving *kīkasa* he says *kīti kasati kīkasam* with no explanation. The only verb available in the Dhātupāṭha is *ki* " to know " the present form of which is *chiketi*. In the Uṇādikōśa, *kīchaka* is derived from *chīk* " to endure " with metathesis, *chīkayaterādyanta viparyayaścha*. (V. 724).

kru " *gatau* "—In deriving *kravya* he says " *kravate, krūyate, gatau.*" In deriving *krūra* he says, "*krūṅ gati Kauṭilye.*" No such verb occurs in the Dhātupāṭha, though along with *pluṅ gatau*, it is said, " *kluṅ ityeke.*" But *kruṅ* does not occur there. *Krūra* is derived in the Uṇādikośa from *kṛit* " to cut," the verb being changed into *krū* " *kṛiteśchhaḥ krūcha* " (II. 188).

Chhō " to fix."—In deriving *chheka* he says, "*chāyante pañcharādau sthāpyante.*" In the Dhātupāṭha *chho* has the sense "*chhedane.*" No sense of " fixing " is available in Sanskrit literature.

tuṃ " ? "—In deriving *tumula*, he gives an optional etymology " *tumu saurovā.*" No such verb is available. We have no such verb in Sanskrit. The nearest verb is *tumb* " to oppress " (*tubi ardane*).

pich or *piṁcha* "*gatau.*"—In deriving *pichu* " cotton," he gives an optional derivation " *pichayati vā pichu gatau.*" Similarly he derives *pechaka* " owl " from *pichi gatau*. There is no such verb in the Dhātupāṭha or Sanskrit literature.

puṁj " ? "—In deriving *puṁja* he says, " *puṁjyate puṁjaḥ* " and gives no futher explanation. There is no such verb in the Dhātupāṭha or Sanskrit literature.

bradh " ? "—In deriving *bradhna* he says " *bradhate bradhnaḥ,*" without any further explanation. There is no such verb in the Dhātupāṭha or Sanskrit literature.

magadh " *yājarthaḥ stutau vā.*"—In deriving *Māgadhaḥ* he says " *Magadheti yājarthaḥ kaṇḍvādi* " or " *Magadhyati stauti Māgadhaḥ.*" But in Pāṇini we have "*Magadhyati pariveshṭane*" belonging to *kaṇḍvādi* (III. 1. 27).

raśa "*dīptyarthaḥ.*"—In deriving *raśi* he says *raśiḥ śaurye dīptyarthaḥ* " and in deriving *raśmi* he says

"*raśmiḥ pragrahō valgādiḥ, raśiḥ sauraḥ.*" No such verb exists in the Dhātupāṭha or in Sanskrit literature. In the Uṇādikōśa both *rāśi* and *raśmi* have been derived from *aś*, the verb *aś* being changed to *raś* (*aśi paṇāyyō ruḍāyalukaucha* IV. 582 and *aśnōte raśa cha raśmiḥ* IV. 495).

laś, "to cut."--In deriving *laśuna* he says "*laśati chhinatti rōgān.*" Similarly in deriving *palāśa* he says "*apalaśyate śātyate palāśam.* In the Dhātupāṭha we have *laśh kāntau* and *las śleshārākrīḍanayōḥ*, but no *laś*. Böhtlingk-Roth's Lexicon, however, mentions *laś śilpayōge* and states that it is various reading for *las*.

vaṅksha "?"—In deriving *vaṅkshaṇa* "groins", he says *vaṅkshate vaṅkshaṇaḥ*," but we have no such verb in the Dhātupātha or Sanskrit literature, the nearest verb available being *vaki Kauṭilye* or *vaki gatyarthaḥ*. Bōhtlingk-Roth's Lexicon compares it to "*Vakshaṇā*" "belly."

pivu "*kshēpe.*"—In deriving *vivvōka* "the charms of a woman," he simply says "*vivu kshēpe.*" But no such verb is available in the Dhātupāṭha or Sanskrit literature.

vṛid "?"—In deriving *balīvarda* he says "*balīn vṛidate* and he gives no explanation of *vṛid*. Nor does this verb occur anywhere else.

vyaḍ "*udyame.*"—He derives *vyāḍa* "beast of prey" as "*vyaḍati hantum vyaḍ udyame.*" There is no such verb available anywhere else.

shṭap or *stap* "*pratighāte.*"—He derives *vishṭapa* from "*shṭap stap pratighāte.*" No such verbs are available in Sanskrit. In Uṇādikōśa *vishṭapa* is derived from *viś* (*viṭapavishṭapaviśipōlapāḥ* III. 432).

hall "*ghūrṇane.*"—He derives *hallaka* "a kind of red lotus" as "*hallati ghūrṇane.*" We find only *hal* in the Dhātupāṭha which means to plough "*vilekhane,*" but *halla* does not occur anywhere.

Now we have no positive evidence to show that the above verbs are entirely fanciful. As regards *shṭap* or *stap*, Prof. Turner, in a private communication to me, thinks that it may possibly be a recreation from Prākrit *ṭhavei*, *thavai*, connected with *sthāpayati*, but the short a,

he says, is a difficulty. As regards *hall* "to roll," Prof. Turner cites *hallai* "moves" and compares it to Nepali *hallinu*, Panjabi *hallṇā* "to move." Again, the appearance of *kru* side by side with *klu* is quite natural, considering the parallel pronunciations of *ra* and *la* in the various regions of India.

We have no definite evidence for the actual existence of the other verbs given by Kshīrasvāmi. Perhaps subsequent investigation may throw some light on this matter.

THE MUTATION OF *I*, *U*, *E* AND *O* IN KANNADA

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I.

The speech-sounds that constitute a word or a sentence are never independent of one another. They mean something only in combination and are hence uttered in combination. Man may lack forethought in most of his manifold activities; but in speech at any rate, the succession of sounds is so quick that he cannot but have an eye on the neighbouring sounds while he is articulating the preceding or the following one. Phonetics has revealed to us that a sound is never pronounced exactly in the same way in two different combinations. Its articulation is modified ever so slightly to make easier the transition from and to the adjacent sound (or sounds). In many cases the latter exerts such a strong influence that the sound in question is replaced by another which is more in harmony with the disturber. This accommodation of sounds which goes by the general name of 'Assimilation' is a very wide-spread linguistic phenomenon. It affects both vowels and consonants, is regressive as well as progressive and displays a surprising variety of forms.

A particular type of Assimilation, variously called 'the Harmonic Sequence of Vowels,' 'Vowel-harmony,' 'Umlaut,' 'the Mutation of Vowels,'[1] and so on, is of special interest to the student of Dravidian philology. It occurs when a vowel is assimilated partially or completely

[1] 'Mutation' is the term generally employed in the present paper.

to another vowel that precedes or follows it in the next syllable. Caldwell[1] noted the existence of this phonetic principle in the Dravidian languages, especially in Telugu, and even drew attention to the correspondence of Dravidian in this respect to the so-called Scythian languages like Turkish. The authors of the Indian Linguistic Survey observe however that clear evidence of the '*harmonic sequence of vowels*' is found only in Telugu, and suggest that this phenomenon may be traced to the influence of an outside agency, most probably the Muṇḍa languages.[2] The variety of vowel-harmony referred to here is the assimilation of front vowels to back vowels and *vice versa* (*i.e.*, i > u and u > i) found chiefly in Telugu inflexion. It is to be admitted that other Dravidian languages like Tamil and Kannada show few traces of this phonetic principle in their inflexional system. Caldwell[3] considers the series mād-utt-ēve 'we do,' mād-utt-īr-i 'you do' and māḍ-i-d-ev-u 'we did' as an instance in Kannaḍa of the 'harmonic sequence of vowels,' the final -e, -i and -u, according to him, occurring in harmony with the character of the preceding vowels. It must be observed here that the -u in māḍidevu is no inflexional suffix but only a euphonic addition[4] and moreover has not in the least been influenced by the preceding front vowel -e-. The other two forms māḍ u ttēve and māḍuttīri are very late developments in the language being found only in Modern Kannada, their equivalents in Old Kannada are *mādidapevu* and *mādidapir*. The final -e in māḍuttēne is really the particle of emphasis[5] which remains constant through most of the conjugational forms of the present tense; compare māḍuttāne 'he does,' māḍuttave 'they (neut.) do,' etc. Even if we grant that

[1] Caldwell: Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, p. 180–2.

[2] I. L. S., IV, p. 288.

[3] Op. cit., p. 182.

[4] -evu < -em + u, note the existence of forms without the -u, like tirduvem 'we shall set straight' (Smd. Sūtra 220).

[5] Compare the dialectal forms māḍutēnu, māḍutānu, etc. See also R. Narasimhacharya, History of Kannada Language, p. 67.

in māḍuttīri this -e is seen to change into -i under the influence of the preceding -ī-, the rule is seen to break decisively in the singular form māḍuttīye 'thou doest.' And, of course, all this has nothing whatever to do with the assimilation of front and back vowels to each other.

The only certain instances in Kannada of the assimilation of i > u and u > i are found to occur not in the early strata of the language but only in its Mediaeval and Modern stages, even here it is not in inflexion that we notice it but only in derivation as the following examples will show.—

i > u

muruku < muri+ku 'a fragment'
biruku < biri+ku 'an opening'
tirugu < o k. tiri+gu 'to turn'
hudugu[1] < o. k pudi+gu 'to hide'
tilupu, tiluhu < o. k. tili+pu 'to make known'
uruhu, uruvu < o. k uri+pu 'to cause to burn'
muduru < o. k. mudir+u 'to shrink'
usuru < o. k. usir+u 'to breathe'

u > i

hasige < o k pasu+ge 'division, share'
aḍige < o. k aḍu+ge 'cooking'
uḍige < o k. uḍu+ge 'dress', contrast udupu.
garike < o k. karunke 'tender grass'

It will be noticed that all these are cases of development from Old Kannada to Med. and Modern Kannada. Such simple assimilation of front and back vowels to each other cannot in any sense be regarded as the exclusive feature of any particular family of languages.

II.

There are, however, subtler types of vowel-assimilation which have played a very considerable part in the development of many Dravidian languages. One of the most important is what it is proposed to call here the 'Open Vowel Mutation,' that is, th emutation of i > e and

[1] Hudugu, however has been already recorded in O. K. by Kēśirāja in the Dhātupāṭha (p. 223) of his Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa (c. 1260) References in the present paper are always to the Karṇāṭaka Sāhitya Pariṣat Edition, (Bangalore, 1920).

u > o in the initial syllable of a word when followed by a, ai, or e in the next syllable. Caldwell remarks[1] that in Tamil pronunciation i acquired the sound of e before the consonants ṭ, ṇ, r, ṟ, ḷ and ḻ when followed by a or ai; and that u acquires the sound of o before all consonants when it is not followed by a or ai. He characterises the former as "a peculiarity of the Tamil system of sounds, as distinguished from that of the other languages of the family"; with regard to the latter he observes that "in Telugu, o is generally used in writing those words." The fact is, this phonetic principle is not restricted either in its features or in its application as the observations of Caldwell or of the authors of the I. L. S., who followed him in this respect, would lead us to believe. Mr. K V. Subbiah in his 'Primer of Dravidian Phonology'[2] notes better the pervasive character of this mutation (which he terms the '*a*-umlaut') and lays down that the Primitive Dravidian initial i and u respectively become e and o before cerebrals and liquid consonants when followed by a, in Classical Kannada, Telugu and Tulu and also in New Tamil and New Malayalam. The following are a few of the examples as given by him.[3]

Tamil	Mal.	Kan	Tulu	Telugu
		i > e		
iḍadu (left) ..	idæ	eḍa	eḍa	eḍamu
iṇai (couple) .	inæ	ene	ine	ena
iraval (borrowing)	iravu	eravu	eravu	eravu
ilai (leaf) ..	ilœ	ele	ere	...
		u > o		
uḍal (body)	udal	oḍalu	oḍalu	oḍalu and oḷlu
uṟai (Scabbard) ..	ulæ	ule	ule	ula
ulai (forge) ..	uṟæ	oṟe	ore	ora

Even Mr. Subbiah's observations are not sufficiently precise and accurate. The present paper is primarily concerned with Kannada, but a passing reference must be

[1] Com. Gr. Dr. Lang., p. 136–7.
[2] Ind. Ant., XXXVIII (1909).
[3] Ibid. p. 167 and 170.

made to the case of Tulu in this connection. In Tulu we meet often with alternate forms of words, one without the mutation and the other with it. Here are a few examples.[1]

Tamil	Tulu	Kannada
vilai 'price' ..	bile, bele	bele
viral 'finger' ...	birelu, berelu	beral
ilai 'leaf' ...	ire, ele	ele
iḍam 'place' ...	ide, eḍe	eḍe
pukai 'smoke' ..	puge, poge	poge
mulai 'nail' .	mule, moḷe	moḷe

What does this mean? One is inclined to regard the forms without the mutation as those native to Tulu which in this respect agrees with the non-mutation languages, Tamil and Malayalam. The forms with the mutation are likely to be later developments, probably introduced into Tulu under the influence of Kannada.

Mr Subbiah has given only those words in which i and u stand right at the beginning. But the mutation is not restricted only to these cases; it occurs even when the vowel is preceded by a consonant so long as the vowel belongs to the first syllable of the word. The only condition that seems to be necessary is that the vowel which undergoes the mutation must be accented.[2] And in Primitive Dravidian (as well as in Kannada and Tamil) the accent fell on the root-vowel which usually belonged to the first syllable of the word. Again, it is not merely before 'cerebrals and liquids' that this mutation takes place, but before other consonants too, like the velars and the dentals. The place of articulation of the intervening consonant does not matter at all. The following cognate words from Tamil, Kannada and Telugu illustrate both the issues raised in this paragraph.

[1] For the Tulu forms given here I have depended upon the *Tulu-English Dictionary* by Rev. A. Manner (Mangalore. Basel Mission Press).

[2] Hence when the i or u does not occur in the first syllable of the word, the mutation too does not occur. Cp. Kan ēḷdam 'humiliation', kudure 'horse' (Tam. kudirai), kuruḍa 'blind man' (Tam. kuruḍan).

Tamil	Kannada	Telugu
cidaṛu 'to scatter' ..	kedaṛu	cedaṛu
nikaḷ 'to do'	negaḷ	negaḍu
pukaḻ 'to praise'	pogaḻ	pogaḍu
mutal 'a beginning' ...	modal	modalu
munai 'a point'	mone	mona

Before proceeding further, it will be helpful to note the phonetic reasons for this mutation. We are here dealing with the five simple vowels i, u, e, o, and a, and the diphthong ai. Among these we need not consider separately the diphthong since it is always represented by e in Kannada and even in Tamil has very little diphthongal character being pronounced very much like a. The following table indicates roughly the tongue-positions and the inter-relations of the five simple vowels:

	Front		Back
close	i		u
mid[1]	e		o
open		a	

The close vowels i and u are produced by raising the front and the back parts respectively of the tongue to the highest point in the mouth consistent with their being vowels; the open vowel a is produced with the tongue held as low as possible. The vowels e and o are produced with the tongue-position approximately midway between that of i, u and a. For our present purpose, e and o can be classed with a as open vowels in comparison with i and u which are definitely close. It now becomes clear how a following open vowel exerts influence on the preceding close vowel and converts it into the corresponding open one. It will also be seen that the name 'Open Vowel Mutation' appropriately characterises this phenomenon.

Thus, we find that the Primitive Dravidian i and u (in the initial syllable of a word) when followed by an

[1] The corresponding cardinal vowels [e] and [o] are strictly termed semi-close, the semi-open [ɛ] and ['c'] coming between them and a. But, since [ɛ] and ['c'] do not seem to have existed at least in Classical Kannada, its e and o must have been more open than the corresponding cardinal vowels.

open vowel[1] are found in Kannada as e and o respectively. The following examples will show that this mutation is universal in Kannada. The Tamil forms given for comparison may be taken to represent the quality of the Primitive Dravidian vowel under consideration.

i > e

Tamil	*Kannada*
itaḷ ..	esaḷ 'petal'
irai	ere 'sprinkle'
ilavam .	elava 'the silk-cotton tree'
iḷamai .	elave 'young age'
kiṭa	keḍe 'to lie down'
kiḻamai .	kelave 'old age'
ciṟappu ...	serepu (P O.K.) / seṟapu (O.K.) / cerapu (M.K.) } 'pomp, parade, etc'
cila .	kela 'a few'
ciṟai .	sere 'captivity'
tirai .	tere 'a wave, a wrinkle'
niḻal	neḷal 'shadow'
ninai	nene 'to remember'
piṇam	peṇa 'a corpse'
piṟa	pera 'another'
vira	bere 'to fear'
	etc

u > o

Tamil.	*Kannada*
uṇar ...	oṇar 'to perceive'
uraṅku ...	oragu 'to recline, to sleep'
kuṭai ...	koḍe 'an umbrella'
kulai ...	gole 'a cluster'
kuḻal	koḷal 'flute'
curai .	sore (M K sōre) 'a kind of gourd'
tuṭai ...	toḍe 'to wipe'
nutal ...	nosal 'fore-head'
punal ...	ponal 'a river'
puraḷ ...	poraḷ 'to roll over'
pulam .	pola 'a field'
mutalai	mosale 'a crocodile'
muṟam . .	mora 'a winnowing fan'
muṟai	more 'kinship, etc.'
muka ...	moge 'to draw water'
	etc.

It is obvious that if the accented i or u is followed in the second syllable by an i or u, it remains unchanged, since both of them are close vowels. It also remains unchanged when the word which contains it is monosyllabic, for in this case there will be no following vowel to affect it.

Examples: (*a*) when both the vowels are close—

i

Tamil.	*Kannada*
iṭu ...	iḍu 'to place'
iḻi ...	iḷi 'to descend'
kiḷi	giḷi 'a parrot'
ciṟitu ...	kiṟidu 'small'
tiri ..	tiri 'to turn'
nimir ..	nimir 'to become erect'
piṭi ...	piḍi 'a female elephant'
miku ...	migu 'to exceed'
viṭu ...	biḍu 'to give up'

u

Tamil.	*Kannada.*
uṭu ...	uḍu 'to dress'
kuḷir ..	kuḷir 'cold'
kuṭi ...	kuḍi 'to drink'
curuḷ ...	suruḷ 'to roll up'
tuṭi ...	tuḍi 'to flutter'
puri ...	puri 'a string'
puli ...	puli 'a tiger'
muḻuṅku.	muḻuṅgu 'to drown'

[1] The vowels that concern us in Kannada are a and e. O does not occur either finally or in the second and the following syllables in a Kannada root-word.

(b) where the word is monosyllabic—

il	.. —il[1] 'house'	uy	.. uy 'to carry'
iru	. ir 'to exist'	puṇ	.. puṇ 'a boil'
pin	... pin 'back'	pul	... pul 'grass'

There are some interesting cases which confirm these observations. The root-word remains free from mutation while a derivative (or a cognate word) undergoes it since favourable circumstances occur only in the latter. Thus, we have—

sudu 'to burn'; but sodar[2] 'light' (Tam. cutar); sodar has survived even in Modern Kannada as soḍalu.

nil 'to stand'; but nela 'the earth' (Tam. nilam), nele 'an abode' (Tam. nilai), nelasu 'to abide', etc.

bil 'to sell' (this is a very rare word in Old Kannada itself; Kēśirāja records it in the Dhātupāṭha as "Bil-vikrayê" (Tam. vil); but bele 'price' (Tam. vilai).

mun 'front'; but mone 'a point, the front of the battle, etc.' (Tam. munai).

muḷ 'a thorn', but mole 'a nail' (Tam. muḷai). Compare also nir-nir with nir-neram,[3] both of them adverbs meaning 'without cause' (nir—here seems to be the Sanskrit upasarga nir-).

So far, we have considered only those cases where a single consonant intervened between the affecting and the affected vowels. This seems to be one of the governing conditions of the mutation. For, when two consonants intervene, the initial vowel seems to get a sort of double protection; the affecting vowel recedes farther from it and becomes powerless to cause the mutation, as the following examples show:

i		u	
Tamil.	*Kannada.*	*Tamil.*	*Kannada.*
tinkal	... tingal 'the moon, etc'	kuppai .	kuppe 'a heap'
pillai	... pille 'a child'	kurram ..	kutta 'sickness'
villai	.. bille 'a disc'		

[1] Compare Kan. pintil 'back yard,' kiḻil 'down floor,' etc.

[2] Suḍaru occurs in Epi Car., V, Shikarpur, 45 (b), but it seems to be a scribal mistake. The regular soḍaru occurs a number of times in the same inscription.

[3] There are also other readings for these words: ner-ner and ner-neram (Smd., pp. 286, 302); but these again are likely to be scribal errors.

There are however some exceptions to this rule :

Tamil.		*Kannada.*
kuppam		koppa 'a hamlet'
muṭṭai	...	moṭṭe 'a bundle', there is also mūṭe, which presupposes * muṭṭe in Kannada.
munnai	.	monne 'the day before yesterday'
mullai	.	molle 'a variety of flower'

Lastly, we have to note a very important limiting condition for this mutation. It affects only deriviation and not the regular influxion of the language. That is to say, when inflexional terminations are added to root-words in the language they remain unaffected even though the other conditions are favourable to the occurrence of the mutation. The entire section of verbal conjugation in Kannada grammar can illustrate this, but here are two examples:

ir 'to be': ire, iral, irade; iran, irar; iravu 'existence'.

sudu 'to burn': suḍe, sudal, suḍade, etc. Compare also the indeclinables uṟe 'much', mige 'much', etc., which are really derived from vuṟu, vmigu, etc.

The examples of the Open Vowel Mutation which we have here examined are all really cases of derivation from the Pre-Kannada to the Kannada stage. In the Kannada language itself, even in its earlist records, we find that any word capable of undergoing this mutation is already affected and shows only the form with the mutation. Thus, in the Primitive Old Kannada Inscriptions[1] there occur only forms like eḍe 'place,' tere 'to open,' nela 'the earth,' veḷe 'to grow,' koḍe 'an umbrella,' pola 'a field,' etc. In the Tagare plates of the Kadamba King Bhōgivarma (C. the end of the 5th century A.C.) which are in Sanskrit there occur a few lines of Kannada writing at the end. These contain such words as eraḍu 'two' (Tam. irarḍu), keṟe (cp. Tam. ciṟai), 'a tank,' modal 'the beginning' (Tam. mutal), and keḻagu 'below' (Tam.

[1] Some observations on this period of the language can be found in Section III of this paper.

kiḷakku)[1]. It is very rarely indeed that we come across a form without the mutation. Probably the only definite instance in P.O.K. is 'nile' for the expected 'nele' which occurs in E.C., II, Sravanabelgola, 84 (C. 700)[2]. There is little doubt that Kannada had been definitely affected by the Open Vowel Mutation by the time it set up as an independent language. One curious fact needs our attention. Though Kannada bears closer kinship with Tamil than with Telugu, we observe that Kannada sides with Telugu in being affected by this mutation, while Tamil and its ancient offshoot Malayalam are free from it at least in their classical stages[3].

Phonetic laws are said to work regularly and relentlessly, but there are sure to remain some puzzling exceptions. We shall consider here a few tough words in Kannada which resisted the Open Vowel Mutation for a long time, sometimes successfully. A good instance is ude 'a garment' (Tam. utai; >√udu 'to wear'). This is quite an ancient word in Kannada occurring in such old compounds as uḷl-ude 'an under-garment.' But it retains the non-mutation form throughout its life in the language.

The word kuḷa 'a kind of measure (equal to about 16 seers now)' was less fortunate though it put up a strenuous fight. While its homophone signifying 'a pond' became koḷa in Kannada (Tam. kuḷam) at the outset, this word continues to be found in the non-mutation form throughout the early period of the language.

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[1] See M.A.R., 1918, p. 35. The passage in question runs as follows ". kiru-kūḍalūra mūvvttā-eraḍu ... perggereyā modal-gere ... periyadigal kereya kelagu . ."

[2] Śiva-nile paḍedān 'attained the abode of auspiciousness.' Note the 'arisamāsa'

[3] But even these two languages did not finally escape from the mutation, as their present-day pronunciation will show. It would be of interest to ascertain when exactly the open vowel mutation began to operate in them. Telugu, no doubt shows the mutation from the beginning, but it is necessary to make sure by an examination of the oldest inscriptions in it. So far as we know, Kannada seems to have led the way in this matter.

Thus we find, *e.g.*, ir-kkuḷa jōḷam 'two measures of jōḷam' (C. 7th century A.C.),[1] ay-guḷa kalani 'land with the sowing capacity of five measures of grain' (C. 780 A.C.).[2] But its tenacity seems to wear away gradually, and in a later inscription (1057 A.C.)[3] we meet with ay-goḷa; the same inscription contains the form ay-goḷaga also and koḷaga is the word in current use for the measure.

An important set of words that have also fully resisted this mutation are the demonstrative pronouns signifying persons near and not so near: ivan, ivaḷ, ivar; uvan, uvaḷ, uvar. Their immunity is probably due to the fact that the initial i- and u- in them are the basic pronominal elements and any alteration in their pronunciation would have led to much confusion

A seemingly analogous problem is presented by kuḷa 'a ploughsare' (nēgil-vāya karbunaṁ—ŚMD.) which is found even now in Kannada in the same old and allied senses. But an examination of the coguate forms in the other Dravidian languages (Tam. and Mal. koḻu, Tel. koṟṟu) seems to point out that the original form of the word must have had an o in the initial syllable. The steps in its devemopment may have been as follows: Pre-Kannada koḷu >kuḷu (by the Close Vowel Mutation explained in Section III of this paper) >kuḷa (on the analogy of puttu>hutta, gidu>gida, etc.), and probably also—kuḷ as in (ir-kkuḷ 'a pair of tongs,' M. K. ikkula). kuḷa seems to be etymologically connected with kuḍu- 'bent' (Tam. and Mal. koṭu).

Again, in the list of rare words given by Kēśirāja in the Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa there is the entry "niradaṁ= kondam" (p. 302). Kittel in his 'Kannada-English Dictionary' records √ nire 'to kill' with references to the

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[1] I A., X. Fleet (ed.), CV.

[2] E.C., X. Srinivasapur, 6.

[3] E.C., IV. Heggadadevanakote, 18. Padir-kkoḷa 'ten measures' occurs in an undated inscription written in Old Kannada characters. (M.A.R. 1927, No. 88). The language indicates that it probably belongs to the 9th century A.C.

In the colloquial speech of the villagers to-day this word has become aigaḷa, *Cp.* also okkaḷa, ikkaḷa, mūgaḷa, etc., (a<o).

SMD. and the Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa. Of these the reference to Pamparāmāyaṇa is clearly wrong; Kittel seems to have mistaken the padavibhāga in the passage "iṟiyalke bagedu Siṁhodaran-ireyum." The word under discussion is cognate with neri 'to crush' (Tam. and Mal.). *Cp.* also Kan. nergu > neggu 'to crush' (Tam. neruṅku). Hence, Kēśirāja may have really recorded √ niri (< neri by the Close Vowel Mutation) and niradaṁ, √nire, etc., are most likely scribal errors.

This is the place to notice certain forms recorded in Kittel's Dictionary, which seem to go against this phonetic principle we are discussing. Kittel's ideal was to give almost every current form of a word together with the various shapes it had passed through in its history. He did not reject forms which were only colloquial or dialectal, but recorded them along with the standard ones. Thus for instance the Kannada word for 'ant' is entered as iṟive = iṟave, irupe, iṟumpu, iṟumpe, iṟuvu, iṟuve, iṟube, irvu, irve. Of these however, iṟumpe is the earliest form and iruve is the only standard form in Modern Kannada. We must remember this feature of Kittel's Dictionary when we come across forms like iḍaku, udaru, tinasu, tiragu, etc.,[1] in it. Their standard forms are iḍuku, uduru (O. K. udir), tinisu (< √tin), tirugu (< O. K. tiri + ku), etc. Moreover, we must not forget that we should always take into consideration only the earliest forms in Kannada when discussing this phonetic change, because it had already run its course by the time Kannada began a recorded life. We shall see later (in Section IV) that Modern Kannada has developed forms which do not obey this mutation. Another caution too seems to be necessary. Kittel has given forms like iḍe, idaṟu, ime, etc., beside the usual eḍe, edaṟu, eme (> eve), etc. Since the former are identical with the Tamil forms, there may arise a suspicion that these have descended from the Primitive Dravidian stage unaffected by the mutation. But

[1] This diversity in recording the forms has become possible because in the present day Kannada speech the medial short vowel is pronounced indistinctly with the value of about half a mātrā or even less.

no such thing has happened. These non-mutation forms are not substantiated by any quotations from literary works. The oldest literature in every case only records the standard form with the mutation. At best, iḍe, etc., can only be local variants confined to the speech of a few individuals of probably Tamilian extraction or connection. Hence it is a matter for regret that the Tamil Lexicon of the Madras University should have given iḍe, iḍaru, ime, etc., as the cognate forms in Kannada under the corresponding entries and thus obscure the phonetic developments in Kannada. And what is most surprising is the Lexicon gives iradu as the Kannada word for 'two,' while from the earliest times[1] Kannada has known only eraḍu, and even Kittel's Dictionary does not record iradu!

So much for exceptions, real and apparent. It is now time to press the help of the Open Vowel Mutation for explaining some puzzles of Old Kannada Grammar. We might as well begin with the numeral which was on our lips a moment ago In Kannada we have the declinable independent form eradu (Tam. irantu) beside the shorter ir- [2] (Tam. iru) which is found only in composition, as in ir-tadi 'the two banks of a river', ir-me 'twice', ir-var,

[1] See the quotation from the Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma already referred to

2 When the second member of the combination begins with a vowel, the i- of ir-becomes ī- and thus escapes the Mutation, e g īr-aydu 'ten', īr-ēlu 'fourteen', etc. Such a lengthening of the radical vowel is found in many similar cases Cp or-me 'once' but ōr-okkal 'a single family', kar-mugil 'a dark cloud' but kār-oḍal 'a dark body' and so on. We have to explain such formations as irr+aydu > īr-aydu, karr+odal > kārodal, etc. The lengthening of the radical vowel, seems to have occurred as a compensation for the shortening of the final long consonant of the first member Note that the long consonant is found in the adverb karrage 'darkly'. Note also the retention of the long consonant (with a short radical vowel) before the initial vowel of the second member of the compound in kitt-īle 'an orange' (adj. kiṛidu), pacc-aḍake 'green areca-nut' (adj. pasidu), etc. But why the consonant fails to be long in eraḍu, karidu, kiṛidu, pasidu, etc., remains a mystery.

ir-bar 'two persons' etc. Here the shorter is the more primitive form. Its i- remains unchanged in the combinations given above since it is protected there by the consonant groups -rt-, rm-, etc. But in the case of eraḍu no such protection occurred and hence the radical vowel became e under the influence of the following a. A similar explanation holds good in the case of Keḷagu[1] 'below' (Tam. kiḻakku) which stands as a fuller form beside kiḻ —[2]: kiḻ-kere 'lower tank', kinnela 'underground' (<*kiḻ-nela), etc.

The case of oḷagu 'inside' and its variants needs some detailed notice. In Classical Kannada its shorter form found in composition is usually oḷa-; cp. oḷa-aṭṭa 'private upstairs' oḷa-gōṇṭe 'inner citadel', etc. Kēśirāja mentions only this 'ādēśa'. (SMD., sūtra 58); but his predecessor Nāgavarma[3] records the form ul- also as an 'ādēśa' for oḷagu and illustrates it with uḷḷ-ōvaṇaṁ, uḷ-vakkaṁ uḷḷāḷ and uḷḷ-ūḍe. Of these, only uḷḷude occurs commonly in O. K. literature. In uḷḷ- alar 'to blossom fully', uḷḷ-aḷku 'to be afraid at heart' found also in literature (the latter occurs in the Kāvyāvalōkana itself, Stanza no. 261) we may note that uḷ- is prefixed as a sort of 'upasarga' to verbal roots. It is strange that Kēśirāja who is usually very careful about mentioning such out-of-the-way forms, if they actually occur in standard literature should keep silent on this point. But there is no doubt that Nāgavarma has preserved for us some very old forms.[4] In fact, -uḷ was the common locative suffix (as in Tamil) in the oldest extant period of the Kannada language, *viz.*, the

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[1] Very rarely forms like kiḻagana occur in old inscriptions (M.A.R. 1926, No. 91 undated, curiously, this contains keḷagaṇa also, kere kiḻa. . . . occurs in an inscription of C. 800, (M.A R., 1927, No. 86) They are most probably mistakes for keḷagana.

[2] Kiḻ- before vowels, as in, kīḻ-il.

[3] Kāvyāvalōkana, sūtra 53, Bhāṣābhūṣana, sūtra 144. The Vṛtti on the latter says. "kēcid oḷasya uḷḷ-ādēśam apīcchanti" (v. l. atra kēcid uḷḷ-ādēśam apīcchanti.')

[4] Uḷ is a very common prefix in Tamil. It is found there in numerous compounds like uḷḷ-aṅkai 'the inner palm', uḷḷ-iṭa 'to include', uṭ-cilai 'an under-garment', etc.

P. O. K. period; e.g., Kaḷvappinā veṭṭaduḷ 'in the mountain Kaḷvappu' (C. 700 A. C.)[1], jaladuḷam sthaladuḷam 'on water and on land' (C. 800 A. C)[2]. With uḷ- then, as the root, the forms oḷagu and oḷa- can be explained by the Open Vowel Mutation as regularly as eraḍu and keḷagu.[3]

Lastly, we take up the verbal-root uḷ 'to be' and the strange variety of its infected forms. On the one hand there are oḷan, oḷar, oḷavu, etc. (cp. Tam. uḷan, uḷar, uḷa, etc.) all of which show the mutation, while on the other hand the solitary uṇṭu stands up without the mutation, with the participle uḷḷa thrown in to support it. All these forms can be regularly explained by our mutation, but what is not clear is how it came to affect inflexion. It may, however, be remembered that all these are irregular formations, without the usual tense-affix. They must have set hard even before the time of the Open Vowel Mutation, probably when Kannada and Tamil were still mere dialects of a single language, and must have been felt as independent words, and not as regular formations from the √uḷ. Hence oḷan, etc., seem to have come under the range of the present mutation.

III.

So far, we have only gone through half the story. The more interesting part of it, from the stand-point of Kannada is yet to come We have now to consider the converse of the Open Vowel Mutation, namely, the change of e and o to the corresponding close vowels i and u under the influence of a following close vowel, i or u. We shall term this 'The Close Vowel Mutation.'

At the outset one notices a striking difference between the range of the two Mutations. While the

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[1] E. C. II. (Sravanabelgola), 27.

[2] E. I IX, P. 10.

[3] We may note here that uḷ- itself developed a strange history by the time of the Old Kannada stage. It was no longer alive in compounds having yielded that place to oḷa, and in its function as the locative case-sign it became oḷ. It is still a problem how to account for the latter change.

i, u>e, o Mutation had an extensive domain, having affected most of the Dravidian languages at one time or another, the e, o>i, u Mutation discloses a much restricted scope. It seems to have been mainly confined to Kannada. We may consider a few examples:

Tam	Malayalam	Telugu	Tulu	Old Kannada
eli ..	eli	eluka	eli	ili 'a rat'
keṭu ..	keṭu	cedu	keḍaguni	kiḍu 'to be spoilt'
cevi ..	cevi	cevi	kebi	kivi 'the ear'
teḷi, teri ...	teri, tiri	teriyu	teriyuni	tiḷi 'to know'
neṭu ..	neṭu-, niṭu-	niḍi-	neḍi-, niḍi-	niḍu- 'long'
koṭi ...	koṭi	koḍi	koḍi	kuḍi 'a tip, sprout'
koti, kudi 'to leap'	koti, 'greediness' kuti 'to leap'	goda 'hunger'	kodi, kudi	kudi 'to boil'
koṛi ...	kori	gorre, gorri	kuri	kuri 'sheep'
toṭu ...	toṭu	toḍugu	.	tuḍu 'to wear'
toṛu 'a herd'	turu 'a heap'	torru	..	tuṛu 'cow'
poṭi ...	poṭi	poḍi	..	puḍi 'powder'

We see that the mutation of the radical e and o is regular only in Kannada. Though it does not seem to be entirely unknown to the other Dravidian languages, its occurrence in them is sporadic; in the great majority of cases the original vowel remains unchanged.[1] In the case of Tulu we have probably to attribute forms like kuṛi to the influence of Kannada, as was also observed with reference to the Open Vowel Mutation. There are again as before, Tulu words both with and without the mutation.

Among the minor Dravidian languages Kurukh presents an interesting variety of the Close Vowel Mutation, The relevent passage from the I. L. S.. (Vol. IV, pp. 411-2) can be quoted here. "There are several other changes in the vowels in the past tense of verbs. E becomes i, and

[1] The observations made in this paper regarding the Dravidian languages other than Kannada need confirmation by special studies of those languages in the light of the Open and Close Vowel Mutations.

ē becomes ī in words such as *errnā*, to sweep; *īrrkan*, I swept; *ērnā*, to see; *īrkan*, I saw. In other cases the change of *e* to *i* seems to be due to following *i* or *u*. Thus *esnā*, to break; *eskan*, I broke; *ād isī*, she breaks; *isū*, a breaker; *khē'enā*, to die; *khī'idī*, thou (fem.) diest . . . Similarly *o* sometimes becomes *u*; thus *ottnā*, to touch; *uttkan*, I touched: *Khōrnā*, to sprout; *khūṛkan*, I sprouted; *onnā*, to eat; *unus*, an eater." It is to be noted that in Kuṛukḥ the mutation has affected regular inflexion and that intervening consonant group has been powerless to prevent it. In both these important respects Kurukh differs from Kannada as will be seen presently.

The conditions which govern the Close Vowel Mutation (e, o>i, u under the influnce of a following i or u) are similar to those we have already noticed in discussing the Open Vowel Mutation (i u>e, o under the influence of a following e or a). Thus, it is that accented vowel in the initial syllable of a word that undergoes that mutation when the affecting vowel occurs in the following syllable; hence if the word is monosyllabic there is no mutation. Any consonant might come between the affected and the affecting vowels, but it is usually necessary that it should be a single consonant. Lastly, the mutation affects derivation and not regular inflexion. Some examples in addition to those already given may be adduced to illustrate these points. Here again the Tamil forms are taken to represent the quality of the original Dravidian vowel.

(1) e>i

Tam.		Old Kannada
etir	...	idir 'opposite'
elumiccai	...	ilimiñci 'lime'
eḷitu	...	iḷidu 'easy'
eṟumpu	...	iṟumpe 'an ant'
peritu	...	piridu 'great'
vetir	...	bidir 'bamboo'

o>u

Tam.		Old Kannada
oḷi	...	uḷi 'to hide'
cori	...	suri 'to pour-down'
toḷil	...	tuḷil 'service, etc.' contrast toḷtu 'a slave'
potu-	...	pudu- 'common'
pori	...	puri 'to fry'
poruḷ	..	puruḷ 'meaning, wealth'

(2) No mutation in monosyllabic words :—

ey	ey	'a wild boar'	kol	kol	'to kill'
eḷ	eḷ	'sesame'	col	sol	'speech'
cey	key	'to do'	pon	pon	'gold'
nel	nel	'paddy'			

(3) No mutation where a consonant group intervenes :—

eytu	eydu	'to approach'	oppu	oppu	'to agree'
erutu	eltu	'an ox'	oḷukku	oḷku	'to flow'
orumai	erme	'a buffalo'	koṭṭu	koṭṭu[1]	'the cock's comb'
elumpu	elvu[2]	'bone'			
ceruppu	kerpu	'foot-wear'	koḷḷi	koḷḷi	'a fire-brand'
nelli	nelli		toṭṭi	toṭṭi	'a trough'
nerri	neṭṭi	'the forehead'	toṭṭil	toṭṭil	'cradle'
			poḷutu	poḷtu	'time.'

It is necessary to mention here that it is the Kannada form of the word that we should examine for the intervening consonant groups. And, in words like erme, eḷtu, poḷtu, etc., the pobability is that Kannada has preserved the original consonantal combinations while Tamil has resorted to anaptyxis to facilitate the pronunciation.

(4) No mutation in inflexion :

Gel 'to win'—gelutum ; koḷ 'to seize'—koḷuṭṭe, etc.[3]. It is noteworthy that the mutation does not occur even when the causal suffix—isu (which is strictly derivative) is appended to verbal stems. cp. ol 'to love'

[1] The case of > kuṭṭu 'to beat, to pound' in Kannada is interesting. We find the forms koṭṭu as well as kuṭṭu in Tam., Tulu seems to posses only kuṭṭu while Telugu prefers kottu in the sense of 'beat,' etc. It is hard to decide which is the primitive Dravidian form, but one is inclined to give kottu the precedence. If so kuṭṭu in Kannada will be the result of the Close Vowel Mutation which must have exceptionally prevailed against the intervening consonant group. Observe also that we have in Kannada koṭṭana 'the pounding of rice' beside kuṭṭani (ge) 'a metallic mortar to pound betel.'

[2] Eluvu, elu, etc., are all later forms. Kittel records an iluvu too which shows the mutation.

[3] It is hard to illustrate this point with varied examples for the simple reason that when the few inflexional affixes with an initial i-or u-in Kannada are applied, there develops either an 'āgama-saṁdhi' or a long consonant at the end of the stem. Cp. eḷ 'sesame' + im = eḷḷim ; kone 'the end' + inde = kone-y-inde.

'—' olisu, en 'to say' —enisu, kol 'to kill,'— kolisu, and so on.

Since the mutation under discussion is caused by the influence of a following close vowel, it is obvious that the initial e or o will remain intact when followed by an open vowel. It is enough if we mention pesar 'a name' (Tam. peyar), and kole 'killing' (Tam. kolai) in substantiation of this point.

When did the close vowel mutation occur in Kannada? We find that, unlike its converse, it operated during a recorded period of the life of the language. The oldest extant inscriptions in Kannada, ranging roughly between the 5th[1] and the 8th centuries A.C. show a language which differs in a number of interesting points from that of Classical Kannada literature, dating with its earliest extant work the Kavirājamārga from the middle of the 9th century A. C. It is now well known that Primitive Old Kannada (=P.O.K.), as the language of those inscriptions is called, represents a definite stage in the development of Kannada.[2] P.O.K. appears to be the period next in chronology to the

[1] Till now the Bādāmi cave inscription of Mangaleśa (I. A. X, Fleet's No. LXXXII, date C. 578 A.C.) was regarded as the earliest authentic Kannada inscription. We may exclude here from consideration the few stray lines in Kannada at the end of the Tagare plates (op. cit.). Very recently a Kadamba stone inscription in Kannada was discovered at Halmiḍi in Belur Taluk which goes back to about the middle of the 5th century at the latest. That is to say, the recorded antiquity of the Kannada language has now taken a leap backwards by more than a century. In the Halmiḍi inscription we find the form pogaḷe (√ pogal:—Tam pukal); note the existence already of the Open Vowel Mutation. What is equally if not more interesting is that we meet with the form eṛidu (kād- eridu line 11) showing that the root was eṛi (Classical Kannada iri, Tam. eṛi). This means that the Close Vowel Mutation had not yet come into operation.

I am deeply indebted to Mr. R. Rama Rao, B.A., Assistant to the Director of Archæology in Mysore for kindly furnishing me with the information I needed about this still unpublished (1935) inscription and permitting me to make use of it for the present paper.

[2] See R. Narasimhacharya, H.K.L., p. 128-132.

one in which Kannada and Tamil were not so completely differentiated as to be called independent languages. That P.O.K. really represents the stage of transition from the fluid Pre-Kannada period the fixed Classical (Old) Kannada period is attested by the fact that we find in it many Tamil-like forms existing side by side with the never classical forms and gradually yielding place to the latter. The P.O.K. inscriptions brought to light so far are considerable in number and they have been found in all parts of the Kannada country. Though the language of a few of them shows definite indications of contamination with Tamil (see, *e.g.*, E. C. X, Kolar, 6, and E. C. IV, Gundlupet, 88), we have no reason to suspect that the peculiar forms repeatedly found in the huge majority of these inscriptions were not actually current in the Kannada of the times.

With these observations we shall return to our present theme, the mutation of e, o>i, u. In P.O.K. we find that words which are capable of coming under this phonetic principle show form without as well as with the mutation, sometimes in the same inscription.

Here is a list of such words (not exhaustive) frequently met with.

1. *eṛi-iṛi* 'to stab' to fight [Tam. eṛi]

eṛi: kād eridu (c. 450),[1] eṛiveppaduvōrum (c. 675 A.C.)[2] kāḷegaduḷ-eṛidu (c. 750),[3] paṛḍeyānn-eṛidu (c. 800);[4] *iṛi*: ūralivinoḷ-iṛidu sattu (c. 765),[5] nāyakaruḷ-talt-iṛid-ōḍisi (c. 780);[6] *both*: band-iṛidu kāḷegamān geldalli... neṛe gaṅgan-eṛidu (c. 9th century).[7]

2. *Keḍu-kiḍu* 'to be spoilt' [Tam. keṭu, Tel. ceḍu.]

Keḍu: vittidalli veḷeyāde keḍuge (c. 680-696)[8] idon-

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[1] The Halmiḍi stone inscription (op. cit.)
[2] E.C. VI, Koppa, 38.
[3] E.C. XII, Maddagiri, 101.
[4] S. I.I., VII, No. 283.
[5] I.A., VI, p. 161.
[6] E.C. X, Srinivasapur, 6.
[7] S.I.I., VII, No. 2.
[8] I.A., XIX, Fleet's No. 186.

kedisidon (c. 750),[1] kedisi [donge] (c. 800),[2] idam kedisidarol (803-4),[3] *kidu* : dattiyān kidipon (708 A.C.)[4]; *both* : kede belasuvēldōrum kidisidōnu [m] (c. 750).[5]

3. *Kesu-kisu*-'red' [Tam. cem-]

Kesu : kesugola (c. 750)—this is the name of a village occuring thrice in the same inscription.[6] *Kisu* : devanā pīṭhamān kisuvine kaṭṭi (c. 720),[7] kisumangala (750), the name of a village found in the Kendūr Sanskrit plates [8] of Kīrtivarman II.

4. *Koḍu—Kuḍu* 'to give' [Tam. Koḍu]

Koḍu : upādēśam koḍuvōrum (c. 675),[9] Idān-kolvōnum koḍuvōnum (c. 690)[10]; *kuḍu* : dēvēndrarāmar-kkuḍe rakṣisuven (c. 750),[11] kosagaveṭṭinol-kuḍe (c. 750),[12] irrkula jōlam kuduvudu (c. 7th cent.).[13]

5. *Toru—Turu* 'cow' [Tam. Toṟu, Tel. Toṟṟu]

Toṟu : toru-kolvallı vildōr (c. 750),[14] toṟu-gole toṟuvam pa[rı]yālīyade (c. 9th cent.)[15]; *tuṟu* : tuṟupi (vi) na puyyalol (c. 780),[16] turu-gōlol (c. 890).[17]

6. *Pogu—Pugu* 'to enter' [Tam. Puku]

Pogu : udayapuramān-poguvalli (c. 800),[18] udeyapuramān-pogutappalli (c. 800),[19] *pugu* : [u]da[yā]puraman pugutappalli (c. 800).[20]

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[1] E.C. Mysore District, Chamarajanagar, 63.
[2] I.A , VI, p 253.
[3] I.A., XI, Fleet's No. 123
[4] I.A , VIII, Fleet's No. 57.
[5] E C , VI, Kadur, 145.
[6] E.C., Mysore District, Heggadadevanakote, 4.
[7] I·A., X, Fleet's No. 114.
[8] E.I., IX, p. 202.
[9] E. C., VI, Koppa, 37.
[10] *Ibid*, 38.
[11] E. C., Mysore District, Chamarajanagar, 63.
[12] I. A., X, Fleet's No. 105.
[13] E. C., Mysore District, Heggadadevanakote, 4.
[14] E. C., X, Srinivasapur, 20.
[15] S. I. Ep. Report for 1932, p. 46.
[16] E. I., VI, p. 161.
[17] E. C., X, Mulbagil, 244.
[18] E. I., IX, Ālupa Inscriptions, Nos. II and III.
[19] Ibid No. IV.
[20] Ibid No. V.

In addition to these, we may note a few more words for which we get only stray references. *Poruḷ* 'wealth' (Tam. poruḷ; O.K. puruḷ) aputraka-pora(ru)ḷumān-vittār (c. 680-696),[1] īre ottarā poruḷ (c. 760)[2]; *periya-* 'big' (Tam. periya, O.K. piriya): periyaḍigaḷ (c. the end of the 5th century),[3] pē(pe)riyā osage (c. 680-696)[4]; *edir* 'opposite' (Tam. etir; O.K. idir)....edirum-āde....(c. 750),[5] but, *idir* in idirane naḍa(de)du(c. 9th century)[6]; lastly, we find the form *kori* (Tam. kori; O.K. kuri) in the name of a district, cp. Koṁkundāḷke (c. 700).[7]

It ought to be clear from all this that P.O.K. originally possessed only the non-mutation form of these words, and that the mutation forms began to appear gradually side by side with and ultimately supplanted the former.[8] By the time of Classical Kannada we meet with only the mutation forms, iri, turu, etc.[9] Hence we have to regard the P.O.K. stage as the period when the Close Vowel Mutation was active. Though the number of inscriptions pertaining to this period is fairly big their scope is limited; hence we find in them only a handful of words which illustrate the mutation we are at present considering. One wishes that at least a part of the extensive literature that is known to have been written during this period could be recovered.

Now we shall note a few exceptions. Poru 'to obtain, to give birth to' (Tam. peru) and poru 'to carry' (Tam. poru) are two of them. It is unfortunate that we do not find either of these words in the P.O.K. inscriptions. However, they emerge in Old Kannada untouched by

[1] I. A., XIX, Fleet's No. 186 = E.C., Shimoga District Shikarpur, 154: The latter reads porudumān.

[2] E. C. X, Kolar, 7.

[3] M.A.R., 1918, Tagare plates of Bhōgivarma (Opt. Cit.)

[4] I. A., XIX, Fleet's 186.

[5] E. C. X, Goribidanur, 76

[6] I. A., X, p. 39.

[7] M.A.R., 1919, p. 25 (Khāji Hosahalli Inscription.)

[8] From the foregoing references we gather that it was about 700 A.C. that the forms with -i- and -u- begin to appear in abundance in P.O.K.

[9] Something will be said of kiḍu, pugu, etc., later on.

the mutation and we find them leading a vigorous life in Kannada even at the present day without any vowel change. One wonders what might be the secret of their pertinacity. Again, as in the Open Vowel Mutation, pronominal forms remain quite stubborn. *Cp.* enitu 'how much,' ěnibar 'how many (persons),' etc.[1]

One of the most interesting parts of our study is to watch how one grammatical form after another in Old Kannada, hitherto regarded as anomalous, now submits to a regular explanation with the aid of the Close Vowel Mutation. This phonetic principle solves a much greater number of grammatical puzzles than its converse. We shall first take some adjectives which show a variation of the root-vowel with their derivatives. Examine the following:—

Kisidu[2] 'red'— -*i*-: Kisu-gaṇcu 'to flare in the eye,' Kisu-sañje 'crimson sunset'; -*e*-: Keccane 'red,' Keñca 'Rufus' (Smd. under 179), Kempu 'redness'; cen-duti 'red lip,' cem-bon 'the red metal, gold'; -*ē*-: Kēs-akki 'red rice,' Kēs-uri 'red flame.' Compare also the forms Kisu and Kesugoḷa occurring in P.O.K.

Piridu 'great— -*i*- : Piriya (>hiriya Mod. K.); -*e*-: per-cu 'to increase.' per-me 'greatness, pride,' per-maram 'a big tree'; -*ē*- : pēr-īḷe (>heriḷe, heraḷe Mod. K.); Cp. also Periyadigaḷ in P.O.K.

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[1] Curious forms like enebbarum (E. C, Sorab 10, C. 800 A.C.) and enetumam occur in P.O.K. Enetu occurs even in an inscription of the 10 century · panam enet-anittum (I.A, XI, Fleet's No. 131, 929-30 A.C.). Throughout the present paper we have noticed only the influence of the following vowel on the preceding one. But these forms can only be explained as the mutation of the close vowel -i- in the second syllable of the word under the influence of the open vowele in the initial syllable. Evidently the pronominal root-vowel e proved too strong and turned the tables against the vowel of the following syllable.

[2] Kēsirāja gives keccane, beccane and paccane as the adjectives in place of kisidu bisidu and pasidu; but the former set are clearly adverbs. The word bisidu occurs in Pampa-Bhārata, IV, 60 and E.C., II, (Sravanabelgola), 133 (982 A.C.). Pasiya (<pasidu), again, is a very common word.

Bisidu 'hot' — -i- : Bisupu 'heat' Bisu-vuḍi 'hot dust' (Kāvyāvalokana, 59) ; -e- : Beccane, Beṅke 'fire,' Ben-nīr 'hot water,' Cp. also √bey 'to burn.'

Biḷidu 'white' — -i- : Biḷiya ; -e- : Beḷ-pu 'whiteness,' beḷḷ-akkariga 'an ignoramus,' beḷagu, 'light,' beḷar 'to become pale,' beḷatige 'whiteness.' Beḷḷi 'silver, venus.'

There is little doubt that, in these words, e was the root-vowel in the earlier stages of the language. This is supported by the available P.O.K. forms and all the cognate words in Tamil (*Cp.*, cemmai, periya, vennīr, etc.,) except in a few instances.[1] The primitive e remained unchanged in kempu, per-cu, beḷḷi, bennīr. etc., as the intervening consonant group protected it from the following close vowel. But in kisu-, piridu, biḷidu, bisu-, etc., the Mutation was bound to play its part. That these variant root-vowels were fixed once for all by the time of the O.K. stage is attested by the fact that such of these words as have survived in Mod. K. show the same distribution as O.K. *Cp.* kempu ; hiriya, hemme ; biḷiya, beḷagu, bisi, beccane, etc.[2]

The Close Vowel Mutation helps us in giving a regular explanation of such O.K. formations as mīn-guli 'one who kills fish,' lañcaṁ-guḷi 'one who takes bribes,' pōr-kuḷi 'one who picks up quarrels.' A few preliminary observations are necessary since Kannada grammarians like Kēśirāja class the first example as a 'bahuvrīhi' compound, assigning the other two with some more[3] to the

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[1] The chief exceptions are the words denoting whiteness. On the one hand we have the Tamil forms veṇmai, veḷḷi, veḷḷai, veḷiccam, etc , but on the other we meet with viḷakku, viḷar, etc. Telugu shows velagu 'to shine,' velaru 'whiteness' On the whole one is inclined to take veḷ- as the Primitive Dravidian root-form. Again, Tam. civappu 'redness' by the side of cemmai, etc., also needs explanation.

[2] Mod. K. bilupu (O.K. belpu) is probably from bil(du) + pu. Note that beḷupu was not unknown in Med. Kannada.

[3] These are baṇḍ-uṇi 'that which sips honey, the bee,' maṇṇ-uḷi (ga) 'that which lives in mud,' and aḍa-dini 'a flesh-eater,' to give one example of each 'pratyaya.' These are all upapada compounds with uṇ, uḷ, and tin respectively as the governing roots.

taddhita section, considering -guḷi, -kuḷi,[1] etc., to be taddhita suffixes. The fact, however, is that these are genuine compounds of the type which goes by the name 'upapada-asmāsa' in Sanskrit; their characteristic feature being that the first member which is a substantive is governed by the second member, a verbal derivative which cannot be used independently in the form in which it occurs in the compound.[2] (Compare kumbhakāra, sāmaga, etc., in Sanskrit). If mīnguḷi can be explained as mīnaṁ kolvaṁ, lañcaṁguḷi and its companions can be equally well explained as lañcamaṁ koḷvam, etc. The formation of these compounds is simple: Substantive + the governing root + the suffix -i; *e.g.*, mīn + √kol + -i; lañcam + √koḷ + -i, pōr + koḷ + -i. The effect of the Close Vowel Mutation now becomes apparent. The suffixal -i converts the preceding -o-of the two roots kol and koḷ into- u- and we get -uli and -kuḷi.

Lastly, we come to the phenomenon of Vowel-Variation in the case of some ten dissyllabic roots in Old Kannada. It is found that the radical -i- and -u- of these roots occur respectively as -e- and -o- before the tense suffix -d - or its modifications (SMD. 238, Śabdānuśāsana, 489, 490), but in other cases remain unaltered. Among these roots there are our old friends kiḍu, kuḍu, tuḍu and pugu. Thus, kiḍuvan 'he is ruined', kuḍade 'without giving,' tuḍuge 'an ornament,' pugal 'don't enter'; but keṭṭaṁ, toṭṭu (*cp.* also kiṟiyandu toṭṭu 'since his childhood') pokku (*cp.* also pāsuṁ pokkuṁ 'the warp and the woof'), etc., (with the tense-suffix -d-). The other roots are isu 'to shoot an arrow,' bisu 'to solder,' Kiṟu 'to shut,' giṟu 'to think, to take (one) for (another),' tiṟu 'to exchange (vinimayē), to pay (as tax),' and ugu 'to ooze, to leave.' The past participles of these roots are respectively eccu, beccu, kettu (*cp.* also ketta paḍi 'closed

[1] Guḷi and kuḷi are really the same, since both are modifications of the same root koḷ.

[2] The O. K. Compounds pall-ili, 'worth-less' (pal illam ārge), nāṇ-ili 'shameless,' etc., with-ili as the second member belong to this class. The verbal element here is the defunct root il (the negative of ir 'to be').

door),' gettu (*cp.* also mugilam mārane gettam 'took the cloud for an opposing elephant), tettu, okku (*cp.* also okkudan undem 'I ate the leavings'). In contrast we have forms like isuva, bisuge 'soldering,' etc. What was the original radical vowel in these cases and what light does the Close Vowel Mutation throw on all these diverse forms?

The problem of kiḍu, kuḍu and tudu is simple enough. The first two occur as keḍu and koḍu both in P.O.K. and in Tamil; though the third is not available in the P.O.K. inscriptions, its cognate form in Tamil is toḍu. Hence in these three cases there is little doubt that keḍu, koḍu and toḍu are the original forms. This inference can be confirmed in another way. One method of deriving verbal nouns (bhāvanāma) from certain Dravidian roots is simply to lengthen the radical vowel. *Cp.* in Kannada iḍu —īḍu, biḍu —bīdu, suḍu —sūḍu, koḷ —kōḷ[1]. But the O. K. roots kiḍu, kuḍu tuḍu and isu give not kīḍu, kūdu, etc., but kēdu, kōḍu,[2] tōdu,[3] and ēsu.[4] This only means that the original radical vowels were e and o in all these roots. As regards isu (< *esu)we may note further the existence of the radical e in the cognate ēvu 'to throw, to fling' of Telugu; probably the Kurukh esnā 'to break' is also a related word.

Next we go to pugu and tiṟu. The cognate forms in Tamil are no doubt pugu and tiṟu; but in the case of the former we have seen that the P.O.K. inscriptions present an imposing array of form with pogu.[5] As regards tiru too a P.O.K. inscription comes to our help. In an already cited inscription (E. C., Mysore District Heggaddevanakote, 4; c. 750 A.C.) we find teṟu in teṟe per-nnandi eraḍu teṟuvudu. Again, in Old Kannada itself forms with the -i- like tiṟuvudu

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[1] Cp. eḷtu kōḷ (M. A. R., 1917, p. 31: C. 750), mun-gōḷ (Pampa-Bhārata, IX, 95 f.)

[2] Cp. tenage koṭṭa kōḍiṅge (Pampa-Bhārata, V, 77 f.)

[3] Cp. tōḍuṁ pīḍuṁ (Pampa-Bhārata, V, 96 f).

[4] Cp. palavuṁ ēsu-vettu (E. C., Sorab 10; I. C., 800).

[5] We have noted that pugu also occurs once. Again there is pugil 'entry' which is well accounted for by the Close Vowel Mutation.

are only very rarely met with.[1] One is familiar only with tettam, tettu, etc. Whatever may have been the radical vowel in Primitive Dravidian, we are safe in concluding that in Kannada at any rate pogu and teṛu were the earlier forms and they turned into pugu and tiṛu under the Close Vowel Mutation.

As in the case of tiṛu, it is very hard to find formations with i from the roots kiṛu[2] and giṛu. But we find that kiru, unlike tiru has a cousin with the helpful e- in Tamil, *viz.*, ceri, ceṛu 'to close, to fasion.' It is now easy to think of a Primitive Kannada keṛu. Its companion giru is however, quite singular. It does not seem to possess any cognate forms in Tamil or Telugu, is not recorded in P. O. K.,[3] and even in O.K. it is only found as the second member of the so-called kriyā-samāsa. *Cp.* kidigaḷe-gettaḷ, tamma naṇtaran page-vade-gettu, etc. Did giṛu ever exist as a full-fledged root? One suggestion is that our gettu (and gettaṁ, gettaḷ, etc., which follow in its train) should be ultimately traced to ghĕttūṇa (Skt. gṛhītvā) 'having taken' of Prakrit[4] and that √giṟu is only a back-formation from it on the analogy of kiṛu > kettu.

Of the ten roots under discussion, we have been able to say something about eight. Now ugu (Tam. ugu) and bisu (Tam. Viḻai ?) are left facing us. These cannot be traced in P.O.K. Still, we shall see a little later that even these probably had* ogu, and* besu as their precursors in Kannada.

After this digressive, but necessary attempt to determine the primitive radical vowels of these roots, we can

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[1] But tiṛavēlkuṁ occurs in (E. I., XV, 27; 1110 A.C.: teṛeyaṁ dēvar tiṛavelkum-emba-).

I am indebted for this and some other references in the present paper to Mr. D. L. Narasimachar, M.A., Kannada Department, Maharaja's College, Mysore.

[2] We meet with the imperative form with i-, however, in bāgilaṁ kiṛu teṛe-y-embudilla (E. C., II, Sravanabelgola, 351, 1119 A. C.)

[3] As in Old Kannada, gettu occurs in I. A., X., p 39 (C. 9th century A.C.): tamma paḍe-gettu.

[4] I owe this suggestion to Vidvân R. Anantakrishnasarma, Telugu Pandit, Maharaja's College, Mysore.

return to the question of the Mutation. Once we grant that e or o as the case may be was the original vowel in Kannada, the whole range of forms, keṭṭu, koṭṭu, tettu, pokku, etc., becomes as regular as biṭṭu (<biḍu) and suṭṭu (<suḍu). It is also to be noted that these forms remain unchanged through every period of the language. They were not effected by the Close Vowel Mutation because there was the long consonant affording protection to the radical e or o. The fate of the root-words keḍu, koḍu, etc., and other formations from them was necessarily different because here the -u- in the second syllable could exert its influence unhindered, giving rise to kiḍu, kuḍu, etc., in Old Kannada. Since these Mutations, both Open and Close, are inoperative in regular inflection, we have also forms like kiḍe, kuḍade, pugal, etc. Otherwise the e and a of the terminations ought to have reconverted the intitial i and u into e and o.[1]

The story of these roots is not however, complete. All of them except kiṟu and giṟu (which do not seem to have outlived the Old Kannada stage) appear in Med. Kannada with e (or o as the case may be) again as the radical vowel. Thus we meet with keḍu, koḍu, toḍu, esu (also ese), pogu (also hogu), teṟu, ogu and besu (also bese) in Med. Kannada works like the Bhārata of Kumāravyāsa. Their derivatives too show the same vowel. *Cp.* toḍige, teṟige, besuge (also besage), o g u -mige, etc. Here indeed is a curious situation. A root like keḍu (or koḍu) commences its career in the language with e (or o) as the radical vowel, changes it definitely to i (or u) in Old Kannada, but reappears with the original e (or o) in Med. and Modern Kannada. The last step is quite surprising. It is possible that in Med. Kannada, the original radical vowel of these roots was restored by analogy to harmonize with the unchanging keṭṭu, koṭṭug, etc. But it is also possible that like peṟu and poṟu (which

[1] In koḍagūsu 'virgin, lit., a child ungiven (in marriage)' the radical o remains unchanged even in O.K. (*Cp.* Pampa-Bhārata III. 25 l.), for evidently its form was fixed quite early in the life of the language and hence was no longer regarded as a [illegible] formation from <koḍu-kuḍu.

we have noticed already) keḍu, koḍu, etc., retained the original e or o through all the stages, at least in some dialects ; only the basic dialects, of Old Kannada being affected by the Close Vowel Mutation. The parallel case of P.O.K. edir— O. K. idir —, Mod. K. eduru (=edir + u) seems to favour the latter explanation only, unless eduru is to be traced to some unknown contamination with the Tamil cognate form edir. Again there is further support in the fact that while O.K. piridu, piḷidu, etc. descend into Mod. Kannada with the mutation vowel only, kiḍu, kuḍu, etc., are seen with the more primitive root-vowel in Med. and Modern kannada. Any how if this interpretation is accepted the problem of ugu and bisu disappears. Their earlier forms, as evindenced by Med. Kannada forms, must have been ogu and besu.

IV.

The course of a phonetic change may be compared to the coming of Spring. The trees begin to shed their old leaves and new sprouts appear here and there. For some time you can see both the old and the new together, even on the same tree. Then slowly, but surely, the autumnal leaves become scarcer, the fresh blossoms greet the eye everywhere, and at last Spring is in full swing. An exceptionally tough tree might even then put off its decking to a rather late day. The newer phonetic variants in a language supplant the older in the same gradual way, the complete process sometimes spreading over centuries. There is this difference to be noticed however. Spring recurs periodically; but a particular phonetic change which has once affected a language may never visit it again. During the period of its activity it combs the language thoroughly probing into even nooks and corners; but once its date is past the older conditions may develop again in the language untouched by it.

Such has been the matter with the two mutations we have discussed here. It was seen that the Open Vowel Mutation affected Kannada before its recorded history and by the time of our earliest authentic inscription it had

finished its work. Barring a few exceptions like kuḷa which succumbed very late, we do not see this mutation at work during historical times in Kannada. Med. and Modern Kannada show no trace of it. Hence such developments as giḍa <O.K. giḍu 'a small tree,' biḍadi <√biḍu+di (Tam. viṭuti) 'a camp,' biḍāra <bīḍāra (a formation from bīḍu +āra (<āgāra) probably on the analogy of gūḍāra<gūḍhāgāra), cirate (Tam ciṟuttai) 'a lepard,' jirale (<jiṟile) 'a cockroach' and so on, abound in Modern Kannada. The Kannaḍiga now feels no difficulty in pronouncing such a sequence of vowels.

The Close Vowel Mutation too has run on much the same lines; only, it arrived later than its converse thus providing us with some means to watch its progress through the language. Its activity closed at the threshold of Old Kannada proper : and by the time of the Med. Kannada stage it had become quite extinct. Perhaps the best examples of this, apart from kedu, kodu, etc., are the host of words (compound words included) which emerge from O.K. saddled with the euphonic increment -u or -i, but unaffected by any mutation. Thus, beḷu-dingaḷu (<O.K. beḷ-diṅgaḷ) 'moon-light,' melu-naḍe (O.K. mel-naḍe) 'soft gait,' teḷuvu (<O.K. teḷpu)', sliminess,' celuvu (<O.K. celvu) 'beauty,' oli (<O.K. ol) 'to love,' holi (<pol) 'to sew' elu, eluvu, etc., (<O.K. elvu) 'a bone,' etc. Again, we do not observe this mutation in a number of words (with a final e) which are now pronounced colloquially with a final -i, *e.g.*, toḷe>toḷi 'to wash,' heṇe>heṇi 'to plait,' etc.

A phonetic change usually makes no distinction between the native and the foreign elements of the vocabulary of a language. Once the loan-word has became naturalized, it shares the same fate as the native word with the most ancient pedigree. Loan-words from Prakrit and Sanskrit came, in the usual course, under the sway of the Open Vowel Mutation [1] in a Dravidian language if they

[1] There are no cases of Close Vowel Mutation among the *tadbhavas* since in Sanskrit ĕ and ŏ do not exist, and in Prakrit they occur only before a double consonant. In neither case is there any room for the Mutation as we see it in Kannada.

had been borrowed before or during the period of its occurrence. Accordingly we find the change of i>e and u>o among the many rules which make up the *tadbhava* section of a Kannada grammar (*cp.* SMD. 270, 271), with ilā>eḷe 'the earth,' divasa>devasa 'a day,' diśā>dese 'direction,' bilvapatra>bellavatta, sindūra>sendura 'red lead,; kuṇḍa>koṇḍa 'a pit,' pustaka>pottage 'a book,' mukha>moga[1] 'the face,' and sudhā>sode 'nectar' as some examples in illustration of the change. Before proceeding further, we must make, however, certain distinctions. We must remember that the -i- and -u- of Sanskrit become -ĕ- and -ŏ-[2] before a long consonant in Prakrit itself.[3] Thus, bilva>bella-, sindūra>sendura; kuṇḍa>koṇḍa, pustaka>potthaa are formations which show the -ĕ- and -ŏ- already in Prakrit. We have to separate such words from the list of *tadbhavas* which owe the change of their initial vowel to the operation of the genuine Dravidian Open Vowel Mutation. Sanskrit snuṣā—Pr. susā—Kan. sose 'daughter-in-law' is an example of the latter. It is found, as was to be expected, that Tamil shows the non-mutation form of such *tadbhavas* of the second group as are common to Kannada and itself. Compare Sans. diśā—Tam. ticai—Kan. dese, Sans. mukha—Tam. mukam—Kan. moga, Sans. yuga—Tam. mukam—Kan. noga 'yoke' and so on.

The occurrrence of this mutation among the *tadbhavas* in Kannada may help us to date the borrowings from Sanskrit and Prakrit. Thus while Sanskrit diśā becomes dese and divasa becomes devasa in Old Kannada, tire is found to be the Kannada garb of Sans. sthirā 'the earth'; contrast this with the native tere 'a wave' (Tam. tirai). Does not this indicate that while dese, for instance, is an

[1] The form muka also exists.

[2] The change of ĕ, ŏ>i, u also is not unknown to Prakrit. Here again it is the intervening double consonant that plays the effective part.

Cp. anyōnya>annunna.

[3] Can the few cases of the Open Vowel Mutation before a double consonant that we observed before, (*cp.* muḷḷai>moḷḷe, etc., be due to Prakritic influence?

old loan-word going back probably to the beginning of the Christian era, if not earlier, tire is most likely the late creation of scholars and poets? This is a fascinating problem, but it is impossible to pursue it further in the present paper.

Before concluding, it may not be unnecessary to reiterate the importance of the Open and Close Vowel Mutations for a correct understanding of Dravidian Etymology. In this paper an attempt has been made to give some account of their working in Kannada, the Dravidian language with which the present writer is most familiar. There still remain difficulties which resist a final solution in the present state of our knowledge. Tamil while affording us immense help at almost every step, has also posed problems of its own. For instance how should we explain the variation of the radical vowel in veḷiccam and viḷakku, cemmai and civappu, (both of which we have noticed) or in peṟu 'to give birth to' and piṟa 'to be born'? Again, did Tamil also possess ogu pogu, teṟu, etc., (with the radical -o- and -e-) originally? Specialists in the different Dravidian languages should turn their attention to these and kindred problems and examine their respective languages for the working of the two Mutations. Such a study will not only be of great help in clearing many obscure points in the grammar and etymology of the various Dravidian languages, but will also contribute its own quota towards a more accurate comparative Dravidian philology.

XII (a). KANNADA AND OTHER DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By *Prāktanavimarśavichakshaṇa Mahāmahopādhyāya Rao Bahadur* R. Narasimhachar, M.A., M.R.A.S.

Antiquity of Kannada Literature as compared with that of the Literatures of the Sister Languages of Southern India.

It has been suggested by some scholars that there may have been a Buddhist period in Kannada Literature before the Jaina period. A similar suggestion has likewise been made by some Telugu scholars with regard to their Literature and it has been stated that Buddhist works have been completely lost in Telugu, though a very few Jaina works have survived. The Tamils do not divide their Literature into Buddhist, Jaina and other periods, because their Literature contains works by Buddhist and Jaina authors at different times. With regard to Buddhist works in Tamil, it may be said that they are very few in number; and they occur along with the works of the Jainas and others at different periods till the 11th century A.C. As instances may be mentioned Maṇimēkhalai and Kuṇḍalakēśi, two of the five great *Kāvyas* in Tamil, which are said to go back to the Sangam period, and the grammar Vīrasōḷiam of the 11th century A.C.

Whether there was a Buddhist period in Kannada or no, its Literature, such as it is, is of considerable antiquity, though no sages like Agastya and Kaṇva, as in Tamil and Telugu respectively, are associated with its origin. The earliest work extant is a treatise on poetics known as Kavirājamārga written or caused to be written

by Nṛipatunga or Amōghavarsha, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king who ruled from 815 to 877. This king was a great scholar both in Kannada and Sanskrit and a generous patron of literary merit. He has written in Sanskrit a small work called Praśnōttararatnamālā, of which the concluding verse tells us that he voluntarily retired from the throne.[1] It may be of some interest to learn that Ugrāditya, the Jaina author of Kalyānakāraka, a Sanskrit work on medicine, states at the close of the work that at the instance of this king he delivered at his court, in the presence of many physicians and doctors, a discourse on the evils of a flesh diet and on its avoidance in the treatment of disease. Nṛipatunga was a Jaina king, a disciple of Jinasēnāchārya, the author of Ādipurāna. His work on poetics presupposes the existence of previous Kannada works, and accordingly we find references in it which enable us to place the rise of Kannada literature much farther back. He mentions several Kannada authors that preceded him: Vimala, Udaya, Nāgārjuna, Jayabandhu and Durvinīta as the best writers of Kannada prose; and Śrīvijaya, Kavīśvara, Paṇḍita, Chandra and Lōkapāla as the best writers of Kannada poetry. Durvinīta, mentioned as a Kannada Prose writer, was evidently the Ganga King of that name. The name Durvinīta, being rare and unusual, may safely be taken to refer to the Ganga King, the only inscription in which, to my knowledge, the name occurs, outside Ganga grants being Māgaḍi 75 (*Epigraphia Carnatica* IX), of 966, about a century after Nṛipatunga's time. Durvinīta was a remarkable personage with many-sided scholarship. His Nallāla plates[2] tell us that he was the author of many poems, stories and dramas, and that he was equal to Vishnugupta or Chāṇakya in politics, to Tumburu, Nārada, Bharata and Kambaḷāchārya in music and dancing, to Rājaputra and Śālihotra in training elephants and horses, to Paraśurāma in the use of arms, to Samudrasūri in physiognomy, and to Ātrēya, Dhanvantari

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1 विवेकात्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधिया सदलंकृति : ॥

2 Mysore Archæological Report for 1924, page 70.

and Charaka in medicine.[1] The plates also explain his ominous name Durvinīta, ill-mannered, by stating that he was so to hostile kings *arinarapati-śrī-Durvinīta-nāmadhēyēna*).

The Avantisundarikathāsāra, discovered some years ago by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library, gives a valuable clue to the period of Durvinīta. In the introductory chapter it says that Bhāravi, the author of Kirātārjunīya, stayed for some time at the court of Durvinīta and that he was a contemporary of Vishnuvardhana, evidently the first Eastern Chālukya King of that name, and of Simhavishnu, the Pallava King of Kānchi. Briefly, the account given of Bhāravi runs thus :—

In the city of Kānchi in the south of India ruled a King of the Pallavas named Simhavishnu who was a great patron of learning One day a stranger appeared before him and recited a Sanskrit verse in praise of the Narasimha incarnation of Vishnu. On hearing the lofty sentiments expressed in the verse the King enquired of the stranger who the author of the verse was. He replied thus—

" In the north-west there is a town named Ānandapura, the crest-jewel of Āryadēśa, from which a family of Brāhmanas of the Kauśika-gōtra migrated and settled at Achalapura. Nārayanasvāmi, a member of this family, had a son named Dāmōdara, who became a great scholar and was known as Bhāravi. He became a friend of king Vishnuvardhana. On one occasion he accompanied the king on a hunting expedition and while in the forest had to eat animal flesh. To expiate this sin he set out on a pilgrimage and finally settled in the court of Durvinīta. He is the author of this verse."

On hearing this account the king, desirous of seeing the poet, invited him to his court. The poet caused great

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[1] अनेककाव्यकथानाटकप्रणयनप्ररूढपाटवेन नीतिशास्त्रग्रंथार्थप्रयोगप्रतिपादनं प्रति प्रत्यक्षविष्णुगुप्तेन गान्धर्वनाट्यशास्त्रव्याख्यान विनियोगं प्रतिसमतिशयित तुंबुरुनारद भरत कंबळाचार्येण हस्तिशिक्षाश्वशिक्षाविज्ञान विनियोजनं प्रतिसमतुलित राजपुत्रशालिहोत्रेण अस्त्रोपास्त्र विप्रहरण विद्याभियोगं प्रतिसमक्षीकृत परशुरामेण पुरुषलक्षणशास्त्रविधीन् प्रतिसाक्षात्समुद्रसूरिणा आयुर्वेदविज्ञानं प्रतिसदृशात्रेय धन्वन्तरिचरकेन अरिनरपति श्री दुर्विनीत नामधेयेन ॥

joy to the king by reciting his poems. The king gave him a respectable dwelling to live in and supplied all his wants.

This extract establishes the contemporaneity of the Pallava King Simhavishṇu (C. 575—600), the Gaṅga King Durvinīta and the Eastern Chālukya King Vishṇuvardhana I. This association of Durvinīta with Bhāravi affords a clear explanation of the statement in most of the Gaṅga grants that Durvinīta was the author of a commentary on the 15th sarga of Bhāravi's Kirātārjunīya. When Bhāravi was with him, Durvinīta might have exercised his skill in commenting on the 15th sarga of his work, which is full of alliteration and other forms of *śabdālaṅkāra* or verbal ornaments and is consequently difficult of comprehension without a commentary. The period of Durvinīta according to the newly discovered work will thus be about 600.

As stated before, Durvinīta was a great Sanskrit scholar. He wrote, according to the Ganga grants, a grammatical work named *Śabdāvtāra*, a commentary on Pāṇini's grammar, and translated into Sanskrit the Paiśāchi Vaḍdakathā or Brihatkathā of Gunādhya as the epithet applied to him in the Ganga grants, *viz.*, *Dēvabhāratīnibaddha-Bṛihatkathah*, clearly shows. This epithet was not properly read and understood by some scholars who read it *Dēvabhāratīnibaddha-Brihatpathah* and interpreted it as meaning that Durvinīta was a desciple of Dēva or Dēvanandi, a name of Pūjyapāda. It is to be regretted that his translation has not come down to us. It happens to be the earliest Sanskrit translation of Guṇāḍhya's work. There are three later translations of this work, namely, Bṛihatkathāślōkasangraha by Budhasvāmi, of about the 8th century; Bṛihatkathāmañjari by Kshēmēndra, and Kathāsaritsāgara by Sōmadēva, both of the 11th century. Budhasvāmi's work has been published in Paris by Professor Felix Lacote, Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Lyon. The period we have already arrived at for Durvinīta is corroborated by an inscription at Aihole (Epigraphia Indica VI, 1-12). This epigraph was composed in 634 A.D. by a Jaina poet named Ravikīrti, who speaks of himself as having acquired the fame of

Kalidāsā and Bhāravi (kavitāśrita-Kālidāsā-Bhāravikīrtiḥ). For the fame of Bhāravi as a great poet to spread to the south we have to postulate a period of about half a century, and this fact, too, confirms the period of Durvinīta as about 600.

Kannada inscriptions make their appearance from about the 5th century, which indicate an older stage of the language, as will be shown later on, than that found in Kavirājamārga. Besides the authors named by Nṛipatunga, Śyāmakundāchārya appears, according to Indranandi's Śrutāvatāra[1], to have written Prābhṛita in Kannada.

When speaking of the greatness of the Kannaḍa language in his Sabdānuśāsana, Bhaṭṭākalanka (1604) says: "Nor is Karṇāṭaka a language unused for scientific purposes. For, in it was written, the great work called Chūdāmaṇi, 96,000 verse-measures in extent, a commentary on the Tattvārthamahāśāstra."[2] And from Indranandi's Śrutāvatāra[3] and Devachandra's Rājāvalīkathe, we learn that the author of this voluminous Kannada commentary was Tumbulūrāchārya who, judging from the pedigree of Jaina gurus given at the end of Chāmundarāyapurāna (978), appears to have lived along with the above-mentioned Śyāmakundāchārya in about the middle of the 7th century. This voluminous work of the 7th century presupposes the existence of an earlier literature and a widespread cultivation of the language.

From the Śravana Belagoḷa inscription 67, of 1129, we learn that Śrīvarddhadēva, a crest-jewel of poets, was the author of a great poem named Chūḍamaṇi and that he was thus praised by Daṇḍi: "Śiva bore the Ganga on the tip of his matted hair. O Śrīvarddhadēva! you bear Sarasvati

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1 काले ततः कियत्यपि गते पुनः श्यामकुंदसंज्ञन ।
प्रकृत संस्कृत कर्णाटभाषया पद्धतिः परा रचिता ॥

2 न चैषा (कर्णाटभाषा) शास्त्रानुपयोगिनी ; तत्त्वार्थमहाशास्त्रव्याख्यानस्य षण्णवति सहस्रप्रमितग्रंथसदंभरूपस्य चूडामण्यभिधानस्य महाशास्त्रस्य . . . उपलभ्यमानत्वात् ॥

3 कर्णाटभाषयाकृत महतीम् चुडामणिं व्याख्यां ॥

on the tip of your tongue."[1] From the similarity of the name Chūḍāmaṇi, Srivarddhadēva has been identified with Tumbulūrāchārya. But this, I am inclined to think, is a mistake. The great poem Chūḍāmani and the commentary Chūdāmani cannot be the same. I venture to think that the reference is to the Tamil poem Chūdāmani attributed to Tōlāmolidēvar, otherwise known as Śrīvardhadēvar Chūdāmani is a classical Jaina poem in Tamil, considered as one of the five well known minor poems in that language, written during the rule of the Kārvetti King Vijaya, whose period is not definitely known

It has been stated above that Kannaḍa inscriptions of an earlier period than Kavirājamārga show an older stage of the language. To illustrate this statement, I give below some extracts from early inscriptions :—

EARLY INSCRIPTIONS PRIOR TO NRIPATUNGA'S PERIOD.

1. Chikmagalūr 50. (c. 500). Epigraphia Carnatica VI.
ನಿರ್ವ್ವಿನೀತರಾ ಕಿಱಿಯಾಮುಗನ್ದಿರ್ ಪಟ್ಟ ಸೂಡಿದೊರ್

2. Sravana Belgola 27 (c. 700).
ಮಾಸೇನರ್ ಪರಮಪ್ರಭಾವರುಷಿಯರ್ ಕಟ್ವಪ್ಪಿನಾವೆಟ್ಟದುಳ್
ಶ್ರೀಸಂಘಂಗಳವೇಟ್ಟ ಸಿದ್ಧಸಮಯಂ ತಪ್ಪಾದೆ ನೋಂತಿಂಬಿನಿಱ್ ।
ಪ್ರಾಸಾದಾಂತರವಾಱ್ ವಿಚಿತ್ರಕನಕ ಪ್ರಜ್ವಲ್ಯದಿಱ್ ಮಿಕ್ಕುದಾಱ್
ಸಾಸಿರ್ವ್ವರ್ ವರಪೂಜೆದಂದುಯೆ ಅವರ್ ಸ್ವರ್ಗ್ಗಾಗ್ರಮಾನೇಱಿದಾರ್ ॥

3. Chikmagaḷūr 92. (c. 750).
ಇದಾಱ್ ನಾಡಾಳ್ವೋ ನಾನುಂ ಊರಾಳ್ವೋ ನಾನುಂ ಊರಾ ಒಕ್ಕಲಾನುಂ
ಅೞಿದೋರ್ ಪಞ್ಚ ಮಹಾಪಾತಕಯುಕ್ತರ್.

4. Kadūr 45. (c. 750). Epigraphia Carnatica VI.
ಒರ್ವ್ವಳ್ ನೆಯ್ಯ್ಱಿಸಿದಾಱ್. ಕಿಡಿಸಿದೋನುಂ ಬಾರಣಾಸಿಯುಳ್ ಪಾತಕಂ
ಗೆಯ್ದೋನ ಸಂದಗತಿಗೆ ಸರ್ವ್ವೋಱ್.

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1 चूळामणिः कवीनां चूळामणिनाम सेव्यकाव्य कविः ।
श्रीवर्धदेवएवहि कृतपुण्यः कीर्तिमाहर्तुं ॥
[illegible] श्लोकितो दण्डिना:—
[illegible] कन्यां [illegible] बभार परमेश्वरः ।
[illegible] जिह्वाग्रेण सरस्वतीम् ॥

In these extracts we find many archaic forms not found in Kavirājamārga and works that followed it. In fact the language of Kavirājamārga scarcely differs from that of the later authors of the 10th and 11th centuries. The inscriptions show.—

1. A general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the genitive.
ನಿರ್ವ್ವಿಣ್ಣೀತರಾ, ಕಟ್ಟುಪ್ಪಿನಾ, ಊರಾ.

2. The use of the locative suffix *ul* for the later *ol.*
ವೆಟ್ಟದುಳ್, ಬಾರಣಾಸಿಯುಳ್.

3. A general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the accusative, even when followed by a consonant.
ಪ್ರಾಸಾದಾಂತರಮಾನ್, ಮಿಕ್ಕುದಾನ್, ಸ್ವರ್ಗಾಗ್ರಮಾನ್, ಇದಾನ್.

4. The use of *n* for the later *bindu*: ಇಂಬಿನನ್, ಪ್ರಜ್ವಲ್ಯದನ್; *see* also examples under (3).

5. The use of the long vowel instead of the later short vowel ತಪ್ಪಾದೆ and ಕಿಱಿಯಾ.

6. The general use of the lengthened form of the vowel of the conjugational suffixes.
ಏಱಿದಾರ್, ಅೞಿದೋರ್, ನಿಱಿಸಿದಾನ್, ಕಿಡಿಸಿದೋನ್, ಆೞ್ವೋನ್, ಗೆಯ್ವೋನ್, ಸಲ್ವೋನ್.

TAMIL LITERATURE.

No one entertains a doubt about the antiquity of Tamil Literature, but this antiquity depends to a great extent on the period assigned to the authors and works of the third Tamil Sangam.

According to tradition there were three Tamil Sangams or Academies at long intervals in different places. The following particulars are given about them in Nakkīrar's commentary on Iraiyanār's Agapporuḷ:—

The first Academy was established at Southern Madura, now submerged in the Indian ocean. Its members were 549 in number, including among others Agastya, its president, and the Gods Śiva and Subrahmanya; and the number of authors who obtained its approval for their works was 4,449. It was patronised by 89 Pāṇḍya Kings, of whom 7 were also poets, and lasted for 4,440 years.

The second Academy had its seat at Kapāṭapuram, also submerged in the ocean. Its members including Agastya, his disciple Tolkāppiya and others, were 59 in number, the number of poets whose works were passed by it being 3,700. It received the patronage of 59 Pāṇḍya Kings, 5 of whom were also learned scholars, and continued for 3,700 years.

The third Academy was founded at Northern Madura. Its members were 49 in number, including Nakkīrar, its president, Kapilar, Paranar, Śittalai Śāttanār and others, the number of authors who obtained its approval for their writings being 449. It was patronised by 49 Pāṇḍya Kings, 3 of whom were also poets, and lasted for 1,850 years.

If the facts stated above be subjected to strict historical criticism, most of them will have to be rejected as pure myths. The number of members of the academies and of the kings who patronised them, as also of the poets whose works were passed by them, and the long periods during which they are said to have existed, look incredible. Some scholars are therefore inclined to think that the account given above is a later fabrication foisted on the early author Nakkīrar. Kavātapuram of the Pāṇḍyas is, however, mentioned in Vālmīki Rāmāyana as full of gold and adorned with pearls[1] and must therefore be an ancient city. The existence of the academies may be a fact, though the details given about them may not be credible. They exercised a great authority over Tamil Literature and were something like literary associations including among its members the best poets and learned men of the age. Any work not approved of by them was looked upon as a very inferior production. The members of these learned corporation maintained a strict monopoly of literary reputation so that it was not an easy matter to have works, however excellent, recognised by them. According to some scholars the accounts of the first two academies contain much legendary matter so that it is difficult to

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1 ततो हेममयं दिव्यं मुक्तामणिविभूषितं ।
युक्तं कवाटं पाण्ड्यानां गता द्रक्ष्यथ वानराः ॥ (किष्किंधा कांड, ४१, १९)

admit them within the pale of real history. Such, however, does not seem to them to be the case with the third academy. The third academy was by far the most important, almost all the classical works of Tamil Literature that have come down to us, including a good number by Jaina authors, being productions which received the *imprimatur* of this Sangam.

Opinion is divided among scholars about the period of the third Sangam, some assigning to it the 2nd century A.C., some the 5th century and some others the 8th century. The 2nd century is arrived at by the fact that Gajabāhu, a king of Ceylon, who ruled in the middle of the 2nd century, was, according to the poem Śilappadikāram, present at the installation of the Goddess Pattini conducted by the Chēra King Śenguttuvan. The 8th century is objected to on the ground that Nakkīrar, a poet of the third Sangam, is referred to in his Dēvāram by Appar, a contemporary of Śiruttondar, who fought at the battle of Vātāpi which took place in 642. The balance of opinion among Tamil scholars appears to be in favour of the Gajabāhu synchronism, which will carry back the antiquity of Tamil literature to the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

But Śīttalai Śāttanār, author of the Tamil epic Manimēkhalai, which is considered to be a work of the third Sangam, and has been assigned by several Tamil scholars to the 2nd century, has regularly translated the Buddhist author Dinnāga's Nyāyapravēśa in lines 110 to 474 of the chapter known as *Tavattirampūndu tarumam kētta kādai* of his work. So, he must be posterior to Dinnāga who is supposed to be not earlier than the 4th century. His period is given as 345—425. Dr. Vidyābhūshana justly styles him as the father of Medieval Indian Logic. The most important service Dinnāga did was the reduction of the five members of a syllogism, as propounded by Akshapāda and Vātsyāyana, to three, thereby giving it a form very similar to the Aristotelian syllogism of three members. His personal history as derived from Tibetan sources is as under—He was born of a Brahman family in Simhavaktra near Kānchi, was subsequently admitted into

the Buddhist Church of the Hīnayāna by Nāgadatta and became the disciple of Vasubandhu (280—360). He was invited to Nālanda where he defeated many Tīrthikas in disputation. His works were translated into Chinese by Paramārtha (499—569) But Tamil scholars may say that both the authors may have derived the information from an earlier common source. This is not, however, likely as the following extracts from the Tamil and Sanskrit works will show, the only difference being a few additional explanatory words in the Tamil passage :—

Lines 122—124.

எது மூன்றுயதத் தோனறு மொழிநத பக்கத
தான்றி நிறறலுஞ் சபக்கத துண்டாதலும
விபக்கத தின்றியே விடுதலும்

Lines 147—171.

பககப்போலி யொன்பது வகைப்படும்
பிரததியக்கவிருதத மனுமான
விருததஞ் சுவசன விருததமுலோக
விருததமாகமவிருததமபபிர
சிதத விசேடணமய பிரசித்த
விசேடியமப பிரசிதத வுபய
மப்பிரசிதத சமபநதம்மென
இவற்றுட் பிரத்தியகக விருதத
ங்கண்ணிய காட்சிமாறு கொளவாகு
ஞ்சத்தஞ் செவிக்குப் புலனன்றென்றன்
மற்றனுமானவிருதத மாவது
கருத்தளவையை மாறுககூற
வனிததியக் கடததை நிததியமென்றல்
சுவசன விருத்தந்தன் சொன்மாறியியம்ப
லென்றாய் மலடியென்றே யியம்பல்
ஆகமவிருத்தந் தன் னூன்மாறறைறத
வனித்த வாதியாயுளளவை சேடிக
னனித்தியத்தை நித்தியமெனறுவற
வப்பிரசித்த விசேடணமாவது
தத்தமெதிருக்குச் சாத்தியந் தெரியாமை
பௌத்தன் மாறாய்நின்ற சாங்கியனை
க்குறித்துச் சத்தம் விநாசியென்றால்

[illegible]: । किं पुनस्त्रैरूप्यं ।

पक्षधर्मत्वं सपक्षेसत्वं विपक्षे चा सत्वमिति ।

पक्षभासाः नव तद्यथा—

प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धः, अनुमानविरुद्धः । आगमविरुद्धः, स्ववचनविरुद्धः, लोकविरुद्धः, अप्रसिद्धविशेषणः, अप्रासद्धविशेष्यः, अप्रसिद्धोभयः, प्रसिद्ध [1]संबंधश्चेति ।

तत्र प्रत्यक्षविरुद्धोयथा--अश्रावणः शब्द इति ।

अनुमान विरुद्धोयथा—नित्योघट इति ।

स्ववचनविरुद्धोयथा—मातामेवंध्या ।

आगमविरुद्धोयथा--वैशेषिकस्य नित्यश्शब्द इति साधयतः ।

अप्रसिद्धविशेषणोयथा—बौद्धस्यसांख्यं प्रतिविनाशी शब्द इति ॥

If the period assigned to Dinnāga is correct, the period of Manimēkhalai and consequently the period of the 3rd Sangam will probably be the 5th century.

TELUGU LITERATURE.

The earliest work extant in Telugu Literature is the Bhārata of Nannaiya-bhatta, the court poet of the Eastern Chālukya King Rājarāja who ruled from 1023 to 1063 A.C. He is generally considered to be the first poet in that language.[2] But, as in the case of Kannada, inscriptions of an earlier period have been found such as that of the time of the Eastern Chālukya King Gunaga-Vijayāditya, who ruled from 844 to 888, (Epigraphia Indica XIX, 273) and the pillar inscription at Bezwada of the Eastern Chālukya King Yuddhamalla who ruled in the early part of the 10th century. These inscriptions are important as they furnish evidence of the existence of Telugu poetry long before the period of Nannaiya-bhatta. Nannaiya-bhaṭṭa also happens to be the first grammarian of the Telugu language[3], and grammar presupposes the existence of previous literature.

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[1] I am told that some Tibetan Manuscripts have the reading. अप्रसिद्ध.

[2] वाचामाश्रमयीनां यः प्रवक्ता प्रथमो भवत् ।
आचार्यं तं कवीन्द्राणां वंदे वागनुशासनं

[3] It is true that Atharvanachārya refers to earlier Telugu Grammars by Brihaspati, Kanva and Rāvaṇa, but many scholars express a doubt as to the existence of such works.

Malayalam Literature.

With regard to Malayālam literature, the scholars of that language are of opinion that up to about the 10th century the language of Kērala was Śandamil̤ i.e., pure Tamil. By the 11th century two types of Malayālam compositions—*manipravālam* or the Sanskrit variety and *pāttu* or the Dravidian variety—are said to have become more or less well established in Kērala. In manipravāla works not only Sanskrit words but also Sanskrit case endings were freely combined with Malayāl̤am words. The real secret of manipravāl̤am according to Malayāl̤am scholars lay in the blending of Malayālam and Sanskrit words in such a manner as to make the latter indistinguishable from the former, exactly as the intermingling of the ruby and the coral in one and the same necklace[1]. Malayālam with its peculiar genius for the absorption of Sanskrit favoured the development of the manipravāl̤am literature. The earliest manipravālam works such as Vaiśikatantram and Aṭṭaprakāram belong to the 10th century. The author of the latter work, Tolam, was a contemporary and dependent of the Chēra King Kulaśēkharavarma who ruled over Kēral̤a from 935 to 955. The earliest manipravāl̤am *champu* work was written in the 12th century. Punam Nambūdiri, the greatest manipravālam poet of Kēral̤a, lived in the first half of the 15th century. Pāttu literature closely followed Tamil in alliteration, rhyme etc. The earliest type of this literature was Rāmacharitam by Śrī Rāma, a Travancore King of the 13th century. Tuñjattu El̤uttachchan, of the second half of the 16th century, is looked upon as the father of modern Malayāl̤am literature. It may be added that there are manipravāl̤a works in Tamil also.

It will thus be seen that the literature of Kannaḍa is of greater antiquity than that of any other South Indian Vernacular except perhaps that of Tamil.

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[1] As instances two verses are given from Srīkrishnacharitam :—
[illegible]ಂತರೇ ತತ್ರ ಸು[illegible]ವಾಸೀ ಸತ್ರಾಜಿತಾಖ್ಯಃ ಕಿಲಯಾದವೇಂದ್ರಃ ।
[illegible]ಸಾದೇನ ಮುದಾಲಭಿಷ್ಟಾಃ ಮಿತ್ರಪ್ರಕಾಶೋಽಪಮಮೇಕರತ್ನಂ ॥
[illegible] ವೇಶ್ಚದಿನ್ನಾಯ್ ಪೋಕುನ್ನ ದಿನ್ನ ಬಹುಸಂಕಟಮಂಗನಾನಾಂ ।
[illegible] ಪನಿತ್ಯಮೇಥಿಂ ತೃಷ್ಣಾವಶೇನ ಎವಶಾದಿವಸಾವಸಾನೇ ॥

KANNADA LANGUAGE

ಕನ್ನಡದ ಭಾಷೆ

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ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವು ಭಾಸಕವಿಯ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ವ್ಯವಹಾರದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಪಾಣಿನಿಯ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಚರಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಗೆ ಬಂತೆಂದೂ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತವು ಪತಂಜಲಿಗಳ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕೆ ಚರಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಗೆ ಹತ್ತಿತೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ವರ್ಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥ ಭಾಷೆಗಳು ದ್ವಿತೀಯಾವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಕ್ಷುಲ್ಲಕಗಳು ಪ್ರಥಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಇರುತ್ತವೆ ಚರಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಗೆ ಅವುದೂ ಬಂದಿಲ್ಲ.

ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಕೆಲವು ಪದಗಳು ಅತಿವಿಕಾರದಿಂದ ದೇಶ್ಯಗಳಂತೇ ಕಾಣುತ್ತವೆ ವಿಚಾರಮಾಡಿದಲ್ಲಿ ಇವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ತದ್ಭವಗಳೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಪ್ರಷ್ಟದಪಟ ಎಂಬ ಪದವು ಪಚ್ಚವಡ, ಪಚ್ಚಡ, ಹಚ್ಚಡವೆಂದೂ ಉಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಎಂಬುದು, ಉವಜ್ಝಾಯ, ಉವಜ್ಝ, ಉವಜ, ಒವಜ, ಓಜ ಎಂದೂ ವಿಕಾರವನ್ನು ಹೊಂದುತ್ತವೆ. 'ಪಯಸ್, ಪಯ,' 'ಧನ, ದನ' ಪಶು, ಹಸು,' 'ಗಾವು, ಆವು' ಮೊದಲಾದ ದೈನಂದಿನ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದ ಪದಗಳು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಜನ್ಯಗಳು. ಇದಂ=ಇದು, ತದ್=ಅದು, ತದ್=ತನ್, ಅಥವಾ ಅದನ್=ಅದು, ಅಹಂ=ಆನ್ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಸರ್ವನಾಮಗಳಿಂದ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಸರ್ವನಾಮಗಳು ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತವೆ ಇದರಿಂದ, ಪ್ರಾಕ್ತನ ಭಾರತೀಯ ಪಂಡಿತರು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ ದ್ವೈತೀಯೀಕ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತವಾದ ಪೈಶಾಚೀ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೂ, ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ ಅರ್ಧಭಾಷೆಗೂ, ಸೇರಿದುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿ ಕನ್ನಡವೂ ಉಳಿದ ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ವರ್ಗದ ಭಾಷೆಗಳೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಜನ್ಯಗಳೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಲೂ ಅವಕಾಶವಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಬುದ್ಧಿಕೌಶಲ್ಯವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುವ ವಾದಗಳು ; ವಿಷಯ ನಿರ್ಣಾಯಕಗಳಲ್ಲ.

ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ವರ್ಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥ ಮತ್ತು ಕ್ಷುಲ್ಲಕವೆಂದು ಇತ್ತೆರದ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಿವೆ. ತಮಿಳು, ತೆಲುಗು, ಕನ್ನಡ, ಮಲೆಯಾಳ, ಕುರ್ಗ್, ತುಳು, ಇವು ಮಧ್ಯಸ್ಥಾವಸ್ಥೆಯವು. ತುದಾ, ಕೋಟಾ, ಗಾಂಡ್, ಕು. ಬಿಒರಿಯಾನ್, ರಾಜಮಹಲ್, ಇವು ಪ್ರಥಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಯವು. ಈ ಕೊನೆಯ ಕ್ಷುಲ್ಲಕಗಳಿಗೆ ಪ್ರತ್ಯೇಕವಾಗಿ ವರ್ಣಮಾಲೆಯೂ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳೂ ಇಲ್ಲ ಪ್ರಾಥಮಿಕ ವರ್ಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ತಮಿಳು ಮಲೆಯಾಳಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಾಪುಷ್ಟಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡ ತೆಲುಗುಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದ ಪರಿಪೋಷಗಳನ್ನುಳ್ಳವು. ಭಾಷೆಗಳ ದ್ವಿತೀಯ ತೃತೀಯಾವಸ್ಥೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣದ ಸಹಾಯವು ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಬೇಕು. ದ್ವಿತೀಯಾವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾವಹಾರಿಕ ವಿಕಾರಗಳು ಸೇರದಂತೆ ಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೂ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಜ್ಞಾನಕ್ಕೂ, ಚರಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಷಾಜ್ಞಾನಕ್ಕೂ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣದ ಸಹಾಯವು ಬೇಕು.

ಕನ್ನಡದ ಉಪಲಭ್ಯಮಾನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲನೆಯದಾದ ಲಕ್ಷಣ ಗ್ರಂಥವಾದ ಕವಿರಾಜಮಾರ್ಗದ ಕಾಲವು ನೃಪತುಂಗನ ಕಾಲ. ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥದಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯಾಸವಾಲ್ಮೀಕಿಗಳೂ ಕಾಳಿದಾಸಾದಿಗಳೂ ಸ್ಮೃತರಾಗಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ.

ಕನ್ನಡದ ಗದ್ಯಪದ್ಯ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳೂ ಉಪಾತ್ತಗಳಾಗಿವೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ಲಕ್ಷಣ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಹಿಂಬಾಲಿಸುತ್ತವೆಯೆಂಬುದು ಸಿದ್ಧ ನೃಪತುಂಗನ ಕಾಲಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ಕನ್ನಡವು ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಕವಿಚರಿತ್ರೆಯ ಭೂಮಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಗ್ರೀಕ್ ನಾಟಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡದ ವಾಕ್ಯಗಳು ಸಿಕ್ಕುತ್ತವೆಯೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅನ್ಯಭಾಷೆಯ ದೃಶ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಇದರ ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥತೆಯು ಸಿದ್ಧವಾದಮೇಲೆ ನಮ್ಮ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ದೃಶ್ಯಗಳಿದ್ದಿರಬೇಕೆಂದು ಊಹಿಸಬಹುದು. 'ನಾಟಕಾಂತಂ ಕವಿತ್ವಂ' ಎಂದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಇದಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಹಿಂದೆಯೇ ಗದ್ಯಪದ್ಯ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳು ಹುಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು.

ಆಶ್ರಯದಾತ್ರಗಳಿಲ್ಲದುದರಿಂದಲೋ ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಅಜ್ಞಾನದಿಂದಲೋ, ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅನಾದರದಿಂದಲೋ ಕನ್ನಡ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಪ್ರಚಾರವು ನೃಪತುಂಗನ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ಇಲ್ಲವಾಗಿದೆ ಅಲ್ಲಿಂದ ಮುಂದೆ ಪಂಪನನ್ನು ತೊಡಗಿ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಗ್ರಂಥಗಳೂ ಭಿನ್ನಭಿನ್ನ ರೂಪದಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಕಾಲದವರೆಗೂ ಸಿಕ್ಕುತ್ತವೆ ವ್ಯವಹಾರದ ವೈಲಕ್ಷಣ್ಯವುಳ್ಳುದೋ ಎಂಬಂತೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಆದಿಕಾವ್ಯವಾದ ವಾಲ್ಮೀಕಿ ರಾಮಾಯಣವೂ ಋಗ್ವೇದ ಸೂಕ್ತಗಳೂ ಪದ್ಯಶೈಲಿಯಲ್ಲಿವೆ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧವಾಗಿ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಾನುಕರಣವುಳ್ಳುದೋ ಎಂಬಂತೆ ಗದ್ಯಕಾವ್ಯವೇ ಮೊದಲು ಹುಟ್ಟಿರಬೇಕು. ನೃಪತುಂಗನಿಂದೀಚೆಗೆ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕವಿಗಳು ದೃಶ್ಯಕಾವ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು, ಅಭಿನಯಾನಾನುಕೂಲ್ಯದಿಂದಲೋ, ಆ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹೃದಯಾಭಿಮಾನವು ಕಡಮೆಯಾದುದರಿಂದಲೋ, ಮೊದಲು ಹುಟ್ಟಿದ ಜೈನ ವೈದಿಕ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳು ಶಾಂತರಸ ಪ್ರಧಾನಗಳಾದುದರಿಂದ ಅಭಿನೇಯಾಸೌಕರ್ಯದಿಂದಲೋ ರಚಿಸದೇ ಇರಬೇಕು ಪಂಪ ರನ್ನ ಪೊನ್ನರು ಚಂಪುವನ್ನೂ, ಹರಿಹರನು ಚಂಪುವನ್ನೂ, ಅಷ್ಟಕಗಳನ್ನೂ ರಗಳೆಗಳನ್ನೂ, ಇವನ ಶಿಷ್ಯನಾದ ರಾಘವಾಂಕನು ಷಟ್ಪದಿಯನ್ನೂ, ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ ಭಿನ್ನಭಿನ್ನವೃತ್ತಗಳನ್ನಂತ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಳಕೊಂಡ, ಉಳಿದ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಜಾತಿಯ ವೃತ್ತವನ್ನುಳ್ಳ ಸರ್ಗಭೇದಗಳ ಸಮವೃತ್ತದ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲ. ದಾಸರ ಪದ ಸಾಂಗತ್ಯ ಯಕ್ಷಗಾನ ಮೊದಲಾದುವು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪದಗಳನ್ನೊಳಗೊಳ್ಳದೆ ಹುಟ್ಟಿವೆ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಆಯಾಕಾಲದ ಜನಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ಕವಿಗಳ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಗಳಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಹುಟ್ಟುತ್ತವೆ ಆಯಾ ಕಾಲದ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಪರಿಶೀಲನೆಯಿಂದ ಆಯಾ ಕಾಲದ ಜನಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ಕವಿಯ ಬುದ್ಧಿ ವೈಶದ್ಯವು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಪಂಪನು ಕನ್ನಡ ಕವಿಗಳಿಂದ ಸ್ತುತ್ಯನೂ ಎಲ್ಲರಿಗೂ ಮಾರ್ಗದರ್ಶಕನೂ ಆಗಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನೂ, 'ಪೊನ್ನನ ಪಂಪನ ಸುಮಾರ್ಗಮಿದರೊಳ್ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಂ' ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾನೆ ಪಂಪನು, ಧರ್ಮವನ್ನೂ, ಕಾವ್ಯಧರ್ಮವನ್ನೂ, ತನ್ನ ಆದಿ ಪುರಾಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕಟಮಾಡಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಧರ್ಮವು ವೈದಿಕ ಮತ್ತು ಲೌಕಿಕವಾಗಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹಿಂದುಗಳ ಧರ್ಮವು ಚರಮಾವಸ್ಥೆಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿವೃತವಾಗಿತ್ತು ಜೈನ ಧರ್ಮವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪ್ರಾಕೃತಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿದ್ದುವು ಅಸಂಸ್ಕೃತರಾದ ಸಾಮಾನ್ಯ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಈ ಭಾಷೆಗಳ ಜ್ಞಾನವಿಲ್ಲದುದರಿಂದ ಬೌದ್ಧರು ಹೇಗೆ ಮತಪ್ರಚಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಪಾಳಿಯನ್ನು ಹಿಡಿದರೋ, ಅದರಂತೆ ಜೈನರು ಕನ್ನಡದ ವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯ ಪ್ರದೇಶಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕನ್ನಡವನ್ನು ಮತಪ್ರಚಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಗ್ರಂಥಸ್ಥಾವಸ್ಥೆಗೆ ತಂದರು. ವೀರಶೈವರೂ ಹಿಂದುಗಳೂ ಇವರನ್ನು ಹಿಂಬಾಲಿಸಿದರು. ತಮ್ಮ ಕವಿತಾ ಚಾತುರ್ಯವನ್ನೂ ಲೌಕಿಕ ಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನೂ ಸಾರ್ವಜನೀನವಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಲು ಇವರು ಲೌಕಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನೂ ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಆಶ್ರಯವನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟವರ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಸಂತೋಷವನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡುವುದಕ್ಕೂ ಲೌಕಿಕಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ಇವರು ಕೈಕೊಂಡಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಹೀಗಿದ್ದರೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಮತ ಪ್ರಕ್ರಿಯೆಯನ್ನು ಸರಸ್ವತೀ ನದಿಯಂತೆ ಗುಪ್ತಗಾಮಿಯನ್ನಾಗಿ ಹರಿಯುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡದೇ ಬಿಟ್ಟಿಲ್ಲ. ವೀರಶೈವ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಈ ಲೌಕಿಕ ಸ್ವಾರಸ್ಯವೂ ಕಾವ್ಯದ ಗಾಂಭೀರ್ಯವೂ ತೋರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರೂ, ಇತರರೂ ಪುರಾಣಗಳನ್ನು ಹೀಗೆ ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಮತತತ್ತ್ವವನ್ನು ಕನ್ನಡಿಗರಿಗೆ ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ

ತಿಳಿಸಲು ಮಾಡಿದ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನದ ಫಲವಾದ ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಪದ ಭೂಯಿಷ್ಠತೆಯು ಮೂರೆೋದ್ದೇಶ ಘಾತಿಯಲ್ಲವೇ ? ಎಂಬ ಶಂಕೆಯು ಹುಟ್ಟುವುದು ಸಹಜ. ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಪಂಡಿತರಾಗಿ ಪದ ಪರಿಚಯವು ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯಕ್ಕೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕೂ ಛಂದಸ್ಸಿನ ಧಾಟಿಗೂ ತಕ್ಕಂತೆ ಕನ್ನಡದ ಪದಗಳ ಜೊತೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪದಗಳು ಕರೆತು ಮುತ್ತುಂ ಪೊಳಸುಂ ಕೊದಂತಲ್ಲದೆ ಉಚಿತವಾಗಿ ಪದ್ಯವು ತಾನಾಗಿಯೇ ಓಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೆ ಕವಿಯ ತಪ್ಪೇನು ? ನಮಗೆ ಅದು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗದ ಮಾತ್ರಕ್ಕೆ ಆ ಕಾಲದ ಜನಗಳಿಗೆ ಅದು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುತ್ತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ನಾವೇಕೆ ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳಬೇಕು ? ಆ ಕಾಲದ ಜನರಿಗೆ ಅಶ್ಲೀಲಯು ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುತ್ತಿರಬೇಕು: ಇಲ್ಲವಾದರೆ ಕವಿಯ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನವು ವಿಫಲವಾಗುತ್ತಿತ್ತಲ್ಲವೇ ?

ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಕವಿಗಳು ಹಾಡಿದುದನ್ನೇ ಹಾಡುವರು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದು 'ಕುತ್ಸ್ಯಾಃ ಸ್ಯುಃ ಕುಪರೀಕ್ಷಕಾ ನಮಣಯೋ ಯೈರರ್ಘತಃ ಪಾತಿತಾಃ' ಎಂಬಂತೆ ನಮ್ಮ ದೋಷವನ್ನೇ ಹೊರಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಯಾರಾದರೇನು ? ಒಂದೇ ವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಕುರಿತು ಮಾತಾಡುವಾಗ ಪುನರುಕ್ತಿಯು ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ ಆದುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಜಯಂತ ಭಟ್ಟನು 'ಕುತೋಽಯಂ ನೂತನಂವಸ್ತು ವಯಮುತ್ಪ್ರೇಕ್ಷಿತುಂ ಕ್ಷಮಾಃ॥ ವಚೋವೈಚಿತ್ರ್ಯ ಮಾತ್ರಂತು ಸಮ್ಯಗತ್ರಾವಧಾರ್ಯತಾಂ॥ ಎನ್ನುತ್ತಾನೆ. ವಿಷಯವೊಂದಾದರೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸುವ ಕ್ರಮವೂ ವಾಗ್ಗುಂಫನವನ್ನೂ ಬೇರೆಯಾಗುತ್ತದೆಯೆಂದು ಇವನ ಭಾವ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನರಲ್ಲಿ ಇದು ದೋಷವಾದರೆ ನವೀನರಿಗೂ ಈ ದೋಷವು ವಜ್ರಲೇಪದಂತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಇವರ ವಿಷಾದಾಂತ ಕಾವ್ಯಗಳ ದುಷ್ಪರಿಣಾಮವನ್ನು ಸಹೃದಯನು ಅನುಭವಿಸಲು ಆ ತೆರದ ಗ್ರಂಥವೊಂದಿದ್ದರೆ ಸಾಕು. ಉಳಿದ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಪುನರುಕ್ತಗಳಲ್ಲವೇ ?

ವಿಚಾರಯುಗದ ವಿಮರ್ಶಕರು 'ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಧರ್ಮದೃಷ್ಟಿಯುಳ್ಳುವೆಂದೂ, ತಮ್ಮ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳೂ ಧರ್ಮಸಂಬಂಧವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಇಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ,' ಹೇಳುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇವರ ಧರ್ಮದ ಸ್ವರೂಪವೇ ಬೇರೆ. ದೊಡ್ಡವರೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದುಕೊಂಡಿರುವ ಕೆಲವರು ತಾವು ಯಾವುದನ್ನು ಧರ್ಮವೆಂದು ಒಪ್ಪಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತಾರೆಯೋ ಅದು ಇವರ ಧರ್ಮ ಉಚ್ಛಿಷ್ಟ ಭೋಜನ, ವಿಧವಾವಿವಾಹ, ಅಸ್ಪೃಶ್ಯತಾ ನಿವಾರಣೆ, ಪ್ರೌಢಾವಿವಾಹ, ಸ್ತ್ರೀಪುಂ ಸಹಾಧ್ಯಯನ. ಇಂದ್ರಿಯಾನಿಗ್ರಹ, ಮೊದಲಾದುವಿವರಧರ್ಮ. 'ಯತ್ಕಿಂಚನ ಮನುರವದತ್ತದ್ಭೇಷಜಂ' ಎಂದು ಯಾವ ಮನುವಿಗೆ ವೇದವೂ ಗೌರವವನ್ನು ತೋರಿಸುವುದೋ ಆ ಮನುವಿನಿಂದ ಉಪದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ಮಾರ್ಗವು ತುಚ್ಛವೆಂಬ ಭಾವನೆಯು ಇವರ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ. ಹೀಗಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಇದ್ದರೆ, ತಪಸ್ಸು ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥವೆಂದೂ ಸೀತಾಪಹರಣವಾದಾಗ ರಾವಣನನ್ನು ಋಷಿಯೊಬ್ಬನು ತಡೆಯಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ, ಚಿರಜೀವಿಯು ಸತ್ತನೆಂದೂ, ಆತ್ಮಹತ್ಯೆಯು ತಕ್ಕುದೆಂದೂ, ಹಿಂದಣ ಜಾತಿಪದ್ಧತಿಗಳೂ, ಆಚಾರ ವ್ಯವಹಾರಗಳೂ ಅಪ್ರಯೋಜಕಗಳೆಂದೂ, ಇವರು ಪ್ರತಿಪಾದಿಸುತ್ತಿರಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅನೇಕ ವಿರುದ್ಧ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಗಳ ಅಪ್ರತಿಹತ ಪ್ರವಾಹವೂ ಯಾವ ಆರ್ಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ನಿರ್ಮೂಲ ಮಾಡಲು ಅಶಕ್ತಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದುವೋ ಅದನ್ನು ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯು ನುಂಗುವಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತದೆ ರಾವಣನೂ ಕೈಲಾಸವನ್ನು ಕಿತ್ತೆಸೆಯಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಪಟ್ಟನು ಆಧುನಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧವಾಯಿತೆಂದು ಇವರ ಭಾವ ಒಂದು ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನು ಅನೇಕಾವೃತ್ತಿ ಓದಿದರೆ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯು ಹೆಚ್ಚೆಂದು ಇವರ ಅರಿವು. ಗ್ರಂಥವನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದು ಆವೃತ್ತಿ ಮಾಡುವುದುಪಯುಕ್ತ. ಈ ಗ್ರಂಥ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿದ್ದರೂ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಅಜ್ಞಾನವು ಕಡಮೆಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಂತಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಅನುಷ್ಠಾನಕ್ಕೆ ತರುವ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿಲ್ಲ ಏಕಮತ್ಯವು ಪ್ರತಿದಿನದಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಲಯವನ್ನೈದುತ್ತಿದೆ; ಹ್ರಾಸವಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಇಂದ್ರಿಯ ನಿಗ್ರಹವು ಕನ್ನಡಿಯ ಗಂಟಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥವು ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಪರೋಪಕಾರವು ಮಾಯವಾಗುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಕಾಮಕ್ರೋಧಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಶಾಂತಿ

ಯಿಲ್ಲ. ಇತರರಿಗೆ ತೊಂದರೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವ ಬುದ್ಧಿಯು ಅಧಿಕ. ದಾರಿದ್ರ್ಯವು ದಿನ ದಿನಕ್ಕೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚುತ್ತಿದೆ. ಧರ್ಮಬುದ್ಧಿಯಿಲ್ಲ. ದುರ್ಗುಣಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಪುಸಿ, ಪೋರತೆ, ಪಾರದರ ಚೌರ್ಯಗಳು ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಯಾವ ಐಹಿಕಸುಖ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಕ್ಕೆ ಸಾಧಕಗಳೆಂದೂ ಪ್ರಕೃತೋಪಯುಕ್ತಗಳೆಂದೂ ತಮ್ಮ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದಿರುವರೋ ಅದೊಂದೂ ಸಿದ್ಧಿಸಲಿಲ್ಲ ವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದಮೇಲೆ ಪಾರಲೌಕಿಕ ಸುಖಕ್ಕೆ ಇದು ಸಾಧಕವಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾ ಗಿಲ್ಲ.

ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಾದರೋ ಜನರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಳ್ಳೆಯ ಗುಣಗಳನ್ನು ಹೆಚ್ಚಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಆತ್ಮ ಶುದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಕ್ರಮ ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನೊದಗಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಮನಸ್ಸಿಗೆ ಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನೂ ನೆಮ್ಮದಿ ಯನ್ನೂ ತಂದು ಭಕ್ತಿಪ್ರಪತ್ತ್ಯಾದಿ ಮೋಕ್ಷೋಪಾಯದ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಆತ್ಮನ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯನ್ನು ಸೆಳೆ ಯುತ್ತಾ, ಕೃಷ್ಣಪರಮಾತ್ಮನು ಹೇಳುವಂತೆ 'ಬಹೂನಾಂಜನ್ಮನಾಮಂತೆ' ಎಂಬ ಉಕ್ತಿಗನು ಸಾರವಾಗಿ ಈ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಯನ್ನು ಬಿಡಿಸಿ ಪರಮಾತ್ಮ ಸಾನ್ನಿಧ್ಯಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಲು ಅವಕಾಶ ವನ್ನೊದಗಿಸುತ್ತದೆ.

ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಬ್ದದೋಷಗಳು ಕಡಮೆ ಅಚ್ಚಿನ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥ ಗಳೂ, ಲಿಖಿತಪುಸ್ತಕಗಳೂ, ಅನೇಕ ಸ್ಖಾಲಿತ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿದಂತೆ ಕಾಣುತ್ತವೆ. 'ಕೇತು ಕೃತಾಂಜನೆ ತನಯುಂ, ವಿಹಂಗಮುಮಂ ಕಚ್ಚಿಸಿಂದೇಳಿಪರ', ಅದತಿ ಪಾಪಮುಂ ಪಡ ಣಮುಂ, ಭುಜಮಂಡಲದಿಂ, ಕಾಲು ನಾಲಗೆಯು ಕಪ್ಪಾಗೆ, ಅಲರ್ಗಣ್ಣಂಬಾಳವೆಂದು, ಉದ್ಯಾನಕೆ ದೊರೆವೆತ್ತುದು, ಪೀಲಿಯ ತಳೆಯಿಂ ಧರದಲ್ಲಿ ಬರ್ಪತೆರಂ, ಇರ್ಬಾಳ್, ಮೂ ವಾಟಿ ಇಕ್ಕಿರ್ದುರ್ವರೆಯೊಳ್. ಚಿಕ್ಕಶ್ರೋತಕಲಧಂ, ಭಾರಮದಿನಿತಿಲ್ಲದೆನ್ನ ಪರಿಧವ ಧಾವಂ, ನೆಲಕೆನೆಗೆತ್ತಿಗರ್ತಮನೆಮಾಳ್ಪುದರಿಂ, ಮುಂತಾದುವು ಲೇಖಕನ ಮತ್ತು ಅಚ್ಚಿಡು ವವನ ತಪ್ಪುಗಳು ಕವಿಯವಲ್ಲ

ಆಧುನಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಶಬ್ದದೋಷವು ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಇವೆಲ್ಲವೂ ಕವಿಯ ಅಜ್ಞಾನಕ್ಕೇ ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸಿದುವು ಇವರೆಲ್ಲರೂ 'ಅರ್ಥರ್ಯೋವನಶಬ್ದರಿ' ಎನ್ನುವ ಗುಂಪಿಗೆ ಸೇರಿದವರು. ಶಬ್ದಾರ್ಥಗಳೆರಡೂ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯವೆನಿಸಿಕೊಳ್ಳುತ್ತದೆ. ಒಂದವಯವವು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಯನ್ನು ಹೊಂದಿ ಉಳಿದವಯವಗಳು ಕೃಶಗಳಾದರೆ ಎಂತು ಮನುಷ್ಯನು ಅಸುಂದರನೂ ಅಪ್ರಯೋಜಕನೂ ಆಗುವನೋ ಅದರಂತೆ ಕಾವ್ಯಾವಯವಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದನ್ನು ಅನಡ್ಡ ಮಾಡಿ ದರೂ ಕಾವ್ಯದ ಸೌಂದರ್ಯವು ಕೆಡುತ್ತದೆ ವೇಷಕ್ಕೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಭಾಷೆಯುನ್ನುವಂತೆ ಗಂಭೀ ರವೂ ನಿರ್ದುಷ್ಟವೂ ಆದ ಅರ್ಥವನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸಲು ನಿರ್ದುಷ್ಟವಾದ ಶಬ್ದವೇ ಬೇಕಾ ಗುತ್ತದೆ

'ಯುಕ್ತಂಹಿ ವಿದುಷಾಂ ಲೋಕೇ ಸಮಾಸವ್ಯಾಸಧಾರಣಂ' ಎಂಬ ನ್ಯಾಯಕ್ಕನುಸಾರ ಕಾಗಿ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ವಿಸ್ತರಗಳಾದರೆ ವಿಸ್ತರವಾಗಿಯೂ ಸಂಗ್ರಹವಾಗಿಯೂ ಗ್ರಹಿಸಲು ಅವ ಕಾಶವಿರುತ್ತದೆ. ಗ್ರಂಥವು ಸಂಕುಚಿತವಾದರೆ ವಿಸ್ತರಧಾರಣಕ್ಕ ಅವಕಾಶವಿರುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ವಿಸ್ತರಯುತಗಳು. ಆಧುನಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಸಂಕುಚಿತಗಳು. ಇಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಅಜ್ಞಾನದೋಷಗಳು ಅನೌಚಿತ್ಯಗಳೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚು ಮೈಸೂರು ಸಕಲ ವಿದ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಸಂಗ್ರಹ ಗ್ರಂಥವಾದ ಕಾದಂಬರೀ ಸಂಗ್ರಹದಲ್ಲಿ ಅತಿ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಶುಕನಾಸನ ಉಪದೇಶವು ಮಾಯ ವಾಗಿದೆ. ಯುವರಾಜನಾಗುವ ಚಂದ್ರಾಪೀಡನಿಗೆ ಅವನು ಮಾಡುವ ಉಪದೇಶದಿಂದ ಮಂತ್ರಿಯ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥತ್ಯಾಗ, ಸ್ವಾಮಿಹಿತಬುದ್ಧಿ ಧೈರ್ಯ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಗುಣಗಳು ತಿಳಿಯು ವುದಲ್ಲದೆ, ಯೌವನದಲ್ಲಿ ಮನುಜನು ಇರಬೇಕಾದ ಪರಿಸ್ಥಿತಿಯೂ ಗೊತ್ತಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅನಂ [illegible] ಗ್ರಂಥಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದುವು ಇದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಗ್ರಹಕಾರರು ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನು [illegible] ದೌರ್ಭಾಗ್ಯ.

[illegible] ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಕೋಶವು ಅಜ್ಞಾನಭೂಯಿಷ್ಠ. 'ಪಕ್ಕಮೂಡಾಗೊರಗುತ್ತುಂ'

ಎಂಬ ಪಾಠಕ್ಕೆ ಬದಲಾಗಿ ಪಕ್ಕ ಗೂಡಾಗೋರಗುತ್ತು೦ ಎಂದು ಆಚ್ಚಾಟ್ಟು. ಪಕ್ಕ ಗೂಡು ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮಗ್ಗಲು ಮೇಲಾಗು ಎಂದರ್ಥ ಬರೆದಿರುವುದು 'ಮುಹುರ್ಮುಹುಃ ಪರಿವರ್ತಮಾನಾ ಏಕಯಾಪಕ್ಷಪಾರ್ಶ್ವಾ ಸಂಧಾರಯತಃ' ಎಂಬ ಮೂಲದ ಆಶಯದ ಅಜ್ಞಾನವನ್ನು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಈ ತೆರದ ತಪ್ಪರ್ಥಗಳೇ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಕಾಣುತ್ತವೆ.

ಭಾಸನ ಊರುಭಂಗವೊಂದನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ನಮ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಷಾದಾಂತ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಬಹಳ ವಿರಳ. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯವೂ ಜನ ಜೀವನವನ್ನು ಕನ್ನಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ಜನಜೀವನವು ಇಹಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಂಬಂಧಪಟ್ಟುದಲ್ಲ. ಪರಕ್ಕೂ ಇದು ಸಂಬಂಧಿಸುತ್ತದೆ. ಪುನರ್ಜನ್ಮವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪುವವರ ಮತದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಆತ್ಮವೂ 'ಜಗದೇವದುಃಖ ಪಂಕನಿಮಗ್ನಮುದ್ಧರ್ತುಮೀಶ್ವರಃ' ಮೊದಲಾದ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಗಳ ಮಾತಿನಿಂದ ಮೋಕ್ಷಕ್ಕೆ ಅನೇಕ ಜನ್ಮಗಳ ಕೊನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರುತ್ತದೆ ಎಂಬುದು ಸಿದ್ಧಾಂತವು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಂದು ಆತ್ಮಕ್ಕೂ ಸ್ವಂತತೆಯು ಆನಂದ ಪರಿಣಾಮವು ಕೊನೆಯ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯ. ದುಃಖವು ಅಂತರಾಳಿಕ. ಇದನ್ನು ನಮ್ಮ ಸ್ವಂತತೆಯ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತವೆ. ವಿಷಾದಾಂತತೆಯು ನಮ್ಮ ಸಂಸ್ಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರುದ್ಧವು. ಆಧುನಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ವಿಷಾದಾಂತವಾಗಿ ಮುಗಿಯುವುದೇ ಹೆಚ್ಚು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಪುನರ್ಜನ್ಮವನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪದ ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯಸಂಸ್ಕರಣಕ್ಕೆ ಇದು ಉಚಿತ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವಾತ್ಮಗಳು ದುಃಖದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕೊನೆಗಾಣುತ್ತವೆ.

ಆಧುನಿಕ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಕೆಲವು ವಿಮರ್ಶಾತ್ಮಕಗಳು. ಇದರ ಸಾರವೆಷ್ಟೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಒಂದೆರಡು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ವ್ಯಕ್ತಪಡಿಸುತ್ತೇನೆ. ಕಾಳಿದಾಸನು ಶಕುಂತಲೆಯ ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಾನದ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ವಿರಹವನ್ನು ವರ್ಣಿಸುವುದು ಉಚಿತವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದೂ ಹಾಗೆ ಪಂಪನು ಮಾಡದುದು ಅನುಚಿತವೆಂದೂ, ಇದರಿಂದ ಪಂಪನು ಇವನಿಗಿಂತ ಮೇಲೆಂದೂ ಒಂದು ದೊಡ್ಡ ಶೋಧನೆ. ಈ ವಿಮರ್ಶಕರು ವಿವಾಹವಿಲ್ಲದ ಋಷಿ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಿಗಾಗಲಿ, ವೃದ್ಧರಾದ ಗೌತಮಿಗಾಗಲಿ ವಿರಹ ವ್ಯಥೆಯು ಅನುಚಿತವೆಂದೂ ಶಕುಂತಲೆಯ ವಿರಹವು ಪ್ರಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂಬಂಧವಾದುದಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ತಿಳಿಯಲಾರದೇ ಹೋದರು. ಮತ್ತೊರ್ವ ಶೋಧಕರು ಕೌರವ ಕರ್ಣರ ಗಾಢಮೈತ್ರಿಯನ್ನು ತನ್ನೆಡುರಿನಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಕರ್ಣನಿಗೆ ತನ್ನ ಹೆಂಡತಿಯೊಡನೆ ಪಗಡೆಯಾಡಲು ಅವಕಾಶವನ್ನು ಕಲ್ಪಿಸಿ ಪರಾಜಿತೆಯಾದ ಭಾನುಮತಿಯು ಕತ್ತಿನ ಹಾರವನ್ನು ಹಿಡಿದೆಳೆದುದನ್ನು ಕೀಳುವ ಸಲಿಗೆಯಿಂದ ಉಪಪಾದಿಸಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಕವಿಯಜಾತಿ, ಕಾಲ, ಮತ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಅಪ್ರಯೋಜಕ ಪ್ರಸಂಗಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಮ್ಮ ಬುದ್ಧಿ ಶಕ್ತಿಯನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ವೆಚ್ಚ ಮಾಡುವ ಮಹನೀಯರನೇಕರಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಉಪಯೋಗವೇನೆಂದು ಅವರು ವಿಚಾರಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಆಧುನಿಕ ವ್ಯುತ್ಪತ್ತಿಯೇ ವಿಚಿತ್ರ. ಇದಕ್ಕನುಸಾರವಾಗಿಯೇ ಇವರ ಶೋಧನೆಗಳೂ ವಿಚಿತ್ರಗಳು ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನೂ ತನಗೆ ತೋರಿದ ವಿಷಯಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿ ಇದರಿಂದಲೇ ಭಾಷಾದೇವಿಯ ಶುಶ್ರೂಷೆಯು ಸಾಂಗವಾಗಿನೆರವೇರಿತೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿಕೊಳ್ಳುವ ಅಹಂಕಾರದ ಪ್ರಕಾಶವು ಆಗುವ ಕಾಲವು ಒದಗಿದುದಕ್ಕಾಗಿ ಶೋಕಪಡಬೇಕಾಗಿದೆ. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ದೋಷಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವ ಕಾಲವು ಬಂದ ಹೋಯಿತು. ಮೊದಲಿನಿಂದ ಕೊನೆಯವರಿಗೂ ಉಪದೇಶವೂ ಪಾಠ ಪ್ರವಚನಗಳೂ ಇದೇ ಅಂತಸ್ತಿಗೆ ಬರುತಿದೆ. 'ಉಭಾವಪ್ಯಶ್ರುತಗ್ರಂಥೌ' ಎನ್ನುವ ಅಂತಸ್ತಿಗೆ ಗುರು ಶಿಷ್ಯರೂ ಪರೀಕ್ಷ್ಯ ಪರೀಕ್ಷಕನೂ ಇಳಿಯುವ ಕೆಟ್ಟ ಕಾಲವು ಬಂದೊದಗಿದೆ. ಕನ್ನಡದ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಸರಿಯಾದ ಶೋಧನೆಯೂ ಉಚಿತ ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಗಳೂ ನಡೆಯಬೇಕಾದ ಕಾಲವು ಬಂದೊದಗಿದೆ. ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಗ್ರಂಥಗಳ ಕಡೆಗೆ ಎಷ್ಟು ಗಮನ ಕೊಡಬೇಕೋ ಲಕ್ಷಣ ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಕಡೆಗೆ ಅದಕ್ಕಿಂತಲೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಗಮನವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವ ಕಾಲವು ಬಂದೊದಗಿದೆ.

[illegible] ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯವಾಗಲಿ ಪೌರಸ್ತ್ಯವಾಗಲಿ, ಇವೆರಡು ಪ್ರಾಕ್ತನ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಿಗೆ ಅವಿರುದ್ಧ [illegible] ನಮ್ಮ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನು ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಪಡಿಸಬೇಕು. ವಿಷಯಗಳ ಕಡೆ

ಗಮನ ಕೊಡುವಷ್ಟೇ ಭಾಷೆಯಕಡೆಗೂ ಗಮನವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ಲಕ್ಷಣಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ಪರಿಷ್ಕರಿಸಬೇಕು. ಅವುಗಳ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆಯೂ ಶೋಧನೆಯೂ ಹೆಚ್ಚಾಗಿ ಆಗಬೇಕು ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಗ್ರಂಥಗಳಕಡೆಗೂ ಇಷ್ಟೇ ಗಮನವನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬೇಕು. ರಸಾಯನ, ಶಕ್ತಿ ಗಣಿತ ಉದ್ಭಿಜ್ಜ, ಪ್ರಾಣಿ, ಚರಿತ್ರೆ, ಪುರಾಣ, ಸ್ಮೃತಿ, ಇತಿಹಾಸ, ವೇದ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ವಿಷಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಉತ್ತಮಗ್ರಂಥಗಳು ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಗೆ ಬರಬೇಕು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವನ್ನು ಅಲೆಗಳೆಯುವ ಭಾವವು ಕಡಮೆಯಾಗಬೇಕು. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬ ಕನ್ನಡಿಗನೂ ತಾನು ಚೆನ್ನಾಗಿ ಕಲಿತಂಶವನ್ನು ಸುಲಭವಾದ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಬರೆಯಲು ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಮಾಡಬೇಕು. ತನಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯದುದನ್ನು ಬರೆದು ಯಶಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಬೇಕೆಂದು ಹೋಗಿ, 'ಸ್ವಯಂನಷ್ಟಃ ಪರಾನ್ನಾಶಯತಿ' ಎಂಬ ನ್ಯಾಯಕ್ಕೆ ವಿಷಯನಾಗಬಾರದು. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನೂ ಪರಸ್ಪರವಾಗಿರುವ ಹೊಟ್ಟೆಕಿಚ್ಚನ್ನು ಬಿಡಬೇಕು. ಸ್ಪರ್ಧೆಯನ್ನು ಬಿಡಬಾರದು. ಪ್ರತಿಯೊಬ್ಬನೂ ಸ್ವಾರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟು ತತ್ವದ ಮತ್ತು ಪ್ರಮಾಣದ ಕಡೆಗೆ ದೃಷ್ಟಿಯನ್ನಿಡಬೇಕು. ಸರ್ವಂಶಂ.

REVIEW OF KEŚIRAJA'S ŚABDAMAṆIDARPANA

ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣ ವಿಮರ್ಶೆ.

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ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಐಂದ್ರ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣವನ್ನೂ ನಾಗವರ್ಮನ ಶಬ್ದಸ್ಮೃತಿ ಭಾಷಾಭೂಷಣಗಳನ್ನೂ ನೋಡಿ, ಶಬ್ದಸ್ಮೃತಿಯ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನನುಸರಿಸಿ, ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣವನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿರುವನು. ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಶಬ್ದಸ್ಮೃತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಅಥವಾ ಅವುಗಳ ಬಾಗಗಳನ್ನು ಇವನೂ ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಈ ಅಂಶವು ವ್ಯಕ್ತವಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಅನೇಕ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ನಾಗವರ್ಮನಂತೆಯೇ ಹೇಳಿ, ಅವನು ಎಡವಿರುವೆಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ತಾನೂ ಎಡವಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ ಇದು ಸ್ಥಿರಪಡುವುದು. ಪಂಪಭಾರತದ 13ನೆಯ ಆಶ್ವಾಸದ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ತೆಗೆದುಕೊಂಡು, ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ, ರನ್ನನು ಗದಾಯುದ್ಧವನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿರುವಂತೆ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದನ್ನು ವಿಸ್ತರಿಸಿ, ಅವನು ಬಿಟ್ಟಿರುವ ಕೆಲವು ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸಿ, ಬರೆದಿರುವನು. ಅವನು ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಪದ್ಯಗಳನ್ನು ಹಾಗೆಯೇ ಬರೆದರೆ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಬರೆದಂತಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೊ ಏನೊ ಪ್ರಾಸವನ್ನೂ ಪದಗಳನ್ನೂ ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಹೀಗೆ ಮಾಡುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ನಿರರ್ಥಕ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಲ್ಲದೆಯೂ ಬಿಗಿಯಾಗಿಯೂ, ವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಲ್ಲದೆಯೇ ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವಂತೆಯೂ ಇರುವ ನಾಗವರ್ಮನ ಕೆಲವು ಸೂತ್ರಗಳನ್ನು ಕೆಡಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ.

"ಲರಡಗ್ರಹಣದೆ ಳಱಡಾ
ಕ್ಷರಮಕ್ಕುಂಪೀಡನ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಾಶ್ರಯದಿಂ॥" (ಶ.ಸ್ಮೃತಿ ಸೂ. 6)

ಎಂದು ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಅರ್ಧ ಪದ್ಯದಿಂದ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು,

"ಅತಿಪೀಡನದಿಂ ರೇಫಾ
ಶ್ರಿತಮಾದಱಕಾರಮುಂ ಸಮಂತುಡಕಾರಾ।
ಶ್ರಿತಮಾದಱನುಮಂಗೀ
ಕೃತಪದಲತ್ವಕ್ಕೆ ಬೆಟ್ಟಿ ತೆನಿಸಿದ ಕುಳನುಂ॥" (ಶ. ದ. 18)

ಎಂಬ ಕ್ರಿಯಾಪದವಿಲ್ಲದ ಒಂದು ಪದ್ಯದಿಂದ ಅಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಇಲ್ಲಿ 'ಅಂಗೀಕೃತಪದಲತ್ವಕ್ಕೆ' ಎಂಬ ಪದಕ್ಕೆ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಅರ್ಥವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನ ಶೈಲಿಯೂ ಹೇಳುವ ಕ್ರಮವೂ ಪ್ರೌಢವಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಲಲಿತವಾಗಿ ಬಾಲಬೋಧನ ಕ್ರಮದಲ್ಲಿದೆ. ಕಾರಕಕೃದಂತಗಳನ್ನು ಸಿದ್ಧ ಮಾಡುವ ಕ್ರಮವನ್ನು

"ಭೂತಭವಿಷ್ಯತ್ಕ್ರಿಯೆಗಳು
ಹೇತ ವಿಭಕ್ತಿಗಳನುಱಿಯೆಕೃತ್ತಪ್ಪುವು............ ॥" (73)

ಎಂದು ಎಷ್ಟು ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ನೋಡಬಹುದು. ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ವ್ಯಂಜನಾಂತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಹೇಗೆ ಮಾರ್ಪಟ್ಟು ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಲಿಂಗಗಳಾಗುವುವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು

" ಪ್ರಚುರತೆಯಿಂ ಪ್ರಥಮಾಬಹು
ವಚನಂಗಳ ವೇಕವಚನ ಕೃತಲಿಂಗಂಗಳ್ ||
ನಿಚಿತವಿಸರ್ಗಮನುಬುದಂದು || " ಎಂದು

ಎರಡನೆಯ ಮಗ್ಗಿಯನ್ನು ಬರೆದು ಪಕ್ಕದಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಸೊನ್ನೆಯನ್ನು ಹಾಕಿದರೆ ಇಪ್ಪತ್ತನೆಯ ಮಗ್ಗಿಯಾಗುವುದೆಂದು ಬಾಲಕರಿಗೆ ಹೇಳುವ ಹಾಗೆ ಅತಿ ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲವೆ !

ಕೇಶವನು ತನ್ನ ಕಾಲದ ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಸ್ವರೂಪವನ್ನು ಎಂದರೆ ವ್ಯಂಜನಾಂತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಸ್ವರಾಂತಗಳಾಗಿಯೂ, ಟಿಟಘಟಿತವಾದ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಳುಳಘಟಿತಗಳಾಗಿಯೂ, ಸಂಯುಕ್ತವ್ಯಂಜನದಿಂದ ಕೂಡಿದವು ಮಧ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಇ, ಉ, ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸ್ವರಗಳನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸಿ ಕೊಂಡು ವಿರಳಾಕ್ಷರಗಳುಳ್ಳವಾಗಿಯೂ ಹೇಗೆ ಮಾರ್ಪಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದುವೆಂಬುದೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ತನಗೆ ತಿಳಿದ ವಿಚಾರಗಳನ್ನು ವಿಶದವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕನ್ನಡಭಾಷೆಗೂ ಆ ಮೂಲಕ ನಮಗೂ ಉಪಕಾರವಾಗಿದೆಯೆಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂದೇಹವಿಲ್ಲ. ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದ ರ್ಪಣದಂತೆ ಸುಲಭವಾಗಿಯೂ ವಿಶದವಾಗಿಯೂ ಕನ್ನಡದ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ತಿಳಿಸುವ ವ್ಯಾಕ ರಣವು ಈಗಲೂ ಮತ್ತೊಂದಿಲ್ಲವೇ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಆದರೂ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ದಲ್ಲಾಗಲಿ ಉದ್ದಾಮ ಪಂಡಿತನೂ ಕನ್ನಡ ಗಡಲ ಆಳವನ್ನು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿ ಅರಿತವನೂ ಸ್ವತಃ ಉತ್ತಮನಾದ ಶೋಧಕನೂ, ವಿಮರ್ಶಕನೂ ಆಗಿರಲಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಇತರರು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದುದನ್ನೂ ತಾನು ಕಂಡು ಕೇಳಿದುದನ್ನೂ ಸ್ವಲ್ಪ ವಿಶದವಾಗಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವನೆಂದೂ ತೋರುವುದು.

ಕೇಶವನ ವಿಷಯ ವಿಭಾಗವು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. ಬೇರೆಬೇರೆ ಸಂಧಿಗಳಿದ್ದರೂ ಒಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾದುದನ್ನು ಮತ್ತೊಂದರಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆರಸಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ವಿಧ್ಯಾರ್ಥರೂಪಮಧ್ಯಮಪುರು ಷೈಕವಚನದಲ್ಲಿ ಧಾತುವಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ಅ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಬಂದು, ಮಾಡ, ನೋಡ, ಬಾರ ಮೊದಲಾದ ರೂಪಗಳಾಗುವುವೆಂದು ಆಖ್ಯಾತ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾದ ಅಂಶವನ್ನು ನಾಮಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಬೋಧನೆಯ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವ ಸಂದರ್ಭದಲ್ಲಿ " ಮೇಣ್ಧಾ ತುಗೇಕವಚನದೊಳತ್ವಂ (ಸೂ. 125) " ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಕೃದ್ಭಾವಾರ್ಥಕ ಪ್ರತ್ಯ ಯಗಳನ್ನೂ ತದ್ಧಿತ ಪ್ರಕರಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿಸಿ, ಕೃದಂತವೆಂಬ ಹೆಸರನ್ನಾದರೂ ಹೇಳದೆ ಆಟ, ನೋಟ, ಬಳವಿ ಮೊದಲಾದುವುಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ತದ್ಧಿತಾಂತಗಳೆಂದು ಭ್ರಮಿಸುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿರು ತ್ತಾನೆ.

ಕೆಲವೆಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಭಾಷೆಯು ಅಶುದ್ಧವಾಗಿದೆ. ವಾಚ್ಯವಾಚಕಗಳಿಗೆ ಭೇದವಿಲ್ಲದೆ ಇವೆ. ಪುರುಷವಾಚಕಗಳು ಪುಲ್ಲಿಂಗಗಳು, ಸ್ತ್ರೀವಾಚಕಗಳು ಸ್ತ್ರೀಲಿಂಗಗಳು ಎಂದು ಹೇಳುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದಲಾಗಿ " ಪುರುಷರೆ ಪುಲ್ಲಿಂಗಂ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಯರೆ ತಾಂ ಸ್ತ್ರೀಲಿಂಗಂ " ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಅಲ್ಲ, ಛಂದೋನಿಯಮವಿಲ್ಲದ ವೃತ್ತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಕೂಡ " ಸ್ವರ್ಗಸ್ಥರಪ್ಪ ಪಿತೃಗಳ್ಗರಾದೇಶಂ " ಎಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ವೃತ್ತಿಯನ್ನೂ ತಾನೇ ಬರೆದಿದ್ದರೂ ಯೋಚಿಸಿ ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾದುದನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪೂರ್ತಿಯಾಗಿ ನಿಷ್ಕೃಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ಬರೆಯದೆ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುತ್ತಾ ನಡುವೆ ಜ್ಞಾಪಕ ಬಂದಾಗ ಮತ್ತೆ ಮತ್ತೆ ಹೊಸದಾಗಿ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಸೇರಿಸಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ವ್ಯಂಜನಾಂತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಭಕ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯ ಯಗಳು ಸೇರುವಾಗ " ಮಾಲರುಳೆಂಬಲ್ಲಿ" ಎಂಬ 109ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲೇ ಸೂಟ್ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿಸಿ, ಋಕಾರಾಂತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಗೆ ಇನಾಗಮವು ಬರುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವಾಗ " ವ್ಯಂಜನದೊಳಂಟು-ಈ ಸೂಟಿನ " ಎಂದು ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ.

ಕೆಲವು ಸೂತ್ರಗಳು ವ್ಯರ್ಥ ಅಥವಾ ಅನವಶ್ಯವಾಗಿವೆ. " ಅವಿಕೃತಿಗಳೆ ವರ್ಣ

ಮೊವ | ರ್ಣವಂತ್ಯವೆನಿಸಿದನಿಪಾತಂ '' ಎಂಬ 58ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದ ಸಂಧಿ ನಿಷೇಧವು ನಿಪಾತಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಎಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿದೆ. 'ಅರೆ' ಎಂಬ ನಾಮಲಿಂಗಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವರವು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ಸಂಧಿಕಾರ್ಯವು ಬರಲು ತೊಂದರೆಯೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಯಾರೂ ಸಂದೇಹಪಡಲು ಕಾರಣವೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಮತ್ತು 'ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಇಲ್ಲ' ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ಎ ಕಾರವು ಅವಧಾರಣಾರ್ಥಕವೇ ಅಗಿದೆ. ಹೀಗಿದ್ದರೂ

"ಅವಧಾರಣೆಯುನಿಯೋಗ
ವ್ಯವಹೃತಿಯಿಂದಿರೆ ನಿಪಾತ ವಿಷಯದೊಳಪ್ಪಾ॥
ರ್ಥವೆನಾಳ್ದರೆ ವಸ್ತುವಿನ
ರ್ಥವನುಸಿರುತ್ತಿರೆ ತಗಳ್ಪುವುದು ಸಂಹಿತೆಯಂ॥" (64)

ಎಂದು ಸೂತ್ರವನ್ನು ನಿರರ್ಥಕವಾಗಿ ಬರೆದಿರುವನು. "ಕುರುಪತಿಯಂವಿಷ್ಣು ಬೇಡಿದಂ ಧರೆಯರೆಯಂ" ಎಂಬ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅರೆ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಸೇರಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೇ ಅರೆ ಎಂಬುದು ನಿಪಾತವಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆ ? ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೀನ ಸಂಬೋಧನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಉಪಯೋಗದಲ್ಲಿರುವ 'ರೆ' ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸಮಾನವಾದ 'ಅರೆ' ಎಂಬ ನಿಪಾತವೊಂದು ಮರಾಟಿ, ಉರ್ದು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಭಾಷೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿರುವಂತೆ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲೂ ಇರಬೇಕು. ಅದನ್ನು ನಿಪಾತವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಲು ಅವಕಾಶವೂ ಇದೆ. ಎಲೆ, ಎಲೆಗೆ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಸಂಬೋಧನ ಶಬ್ದಗಳನ್ನು ನಿಪಾತವೆಂದು ಹೇಳುತ್ತೇವೆ. ನಿಪಾತವಾದ ಅರೆ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವರವು ಪರವಾದರೆ ಸಂಧಿಯಿಲ್ಲವೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಒಪ್ಪಬಹುದು. ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಭಾಗವನ್ನೂ ಸಮಾರ್ಧಭಾಗವನ್ನೂ ಹೇಳುವ ಅರೆಯೆಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವೊಂದಿದೆಯೆಂದೂ ಅದು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವಾಗ ನಿಪಾತವೆಂದೂ ಸಮಾರ್ಧಭಾಗವನ್ನು ಹೇಳುವಾಗ ನಿಪಾತವಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಶಬ್ದಸ್ಮೃತಿಯ 10ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದ ಕೆಳಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವ "ಅರೆ ಎಡೆಹಸ್ತಿ ಶಿಕ್ಷಣ ವಿಚಕ್ಷಣರಿಂದರೆ ಅಶ್ವಶಿಕ್ಷೆಯಂ | (ಪದ್ಯ 51)" ಎಂಬ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯು ಸರಿಯೆಂದೂ ಅದನ್ನೇ ಅನುಸರಿಸಿ, ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನೂ ಹೇಳಿರುವನೆಂದೂ ಕೆಲವರು ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ನಿಪಾತಗಳು, ಕೋಪ ಸಂತೋಷ ದುಃಖಾದಿಭಾವಗಳನ್ನು ಸೂಚಿಸುವ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್‌ನಲ್ಲಿರುವ Interjection ಗೆ ಸಮವಾದ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು. 'ಅರೆ' ಎಂಬ ಭಾಗವಾಚಕವು ಯಾವ ಭಾವವನ್ನೂ ಸೂಚಿಸುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಸಂಬೋಧನಾರ್ಥಕವು ವ ದರೇ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಅದಕ್ಕೆ 'ಎಡೆ' ಎಂಬುದು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ಏಕೆ ಯಕಾರಾಗಮವು ಬರಬಾರದು? ಕೇಳಲು ಅಹಿತವಾಗಿದೆಯೆ ? ಅರ್ಥವೇನಾದರೂ ಕೆಡುತ್ತದೆಯೆ ? ಏನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ನಾಗವರ್ಮನು ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವ ಮೇಲಿನ ಪದ್ಯವು ಪಂಪಪೊನ್ನ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಯಾವ ಮಹಾಕವಿಯದೂ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಯಾವನೋ ಅನಾಮಧೇಯನದು. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಮೇಲಿನ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದ 'ಯೆ' ಯ ಸ್ಥಾನದಲ್ಲಿ ತಿಳಿಯಿಲ್ಲದವರು 'ಎ' ಯನ್ನು ಬರೆದಿರಬಹುದು. ಅದನ್ನು ನೋಡಿ, ನಾಗವರ್ಮನೂ ಭ್ರಮಿಸಿ, ಬರೆದಿರಬಹುದು. ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನೂ ನಾಗವರ್ಮನನ್ನನುಸರಿಸಿ ಬರೆದು, ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟನಾದರೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಮರೆತು, 68ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ತಾನೇ "ಅರೆಯೆಡೆಯೊಳ್ ಜತ್ವಂ ಮೇಣರೆಯೆಡೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಾಗೆ ನಿಯತಂ ಧತ್ವಂ" ಎಂದು ಸಂಧಿಮಾಡಿಯೇ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಹಿಂದಿನ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಧಿ ಮಾಡಿರುವುದನ್ನು ಬದಲಾಯಿಸಿ, ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಸೂತ್ರದಂತೆ "ಅರೆಎಡೆಯೊಳ್ ಜತ್ವಂ ಮೇಣರೆಎಡೆಯೊಳ್ ಸಂಖ್ಯೆಯಾಗೆ ನಿಪಾತಂ ಧತ್ವಂ" ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಭಾವಮಾಡಿ ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಇದು ಸರಿಯಲ್ಲ. ಮಹಾಕವಿಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಪ್ರಯೋಗಾನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣವೇ ಹೊರತು ತಿಳಿಯದವರು ಬರೆದ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣಕ್ಕನುಸಾರವಾಗಿ ವಿದ್ವಾಂಸರ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಲ್ಲ. ದ್ರಾವಿಡಾಂಗ್ಲೇಯ ಭಾಷಾ

ವಿಶಾರದರೂ ಆಧುನಿಕ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕವಿವರ್ಯರೂ ಆದ ಮ|| ರಾ|| B. M. ಶ್ರೀಕಂಠಯ್ಯನವರು ತಮ್ಮ " ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಗೀತ " ದಲ್ಲಿ "ಅರೆಯಾವುದು " ಎಂದು ಯಕಾರಾಗಮಸಂಧಿಯನ್ನೂ ಮಾಡಿಯೇ ಬರೆದಿರುತ್ತಾರೆ. ಸಂಧಿಯುಂಟೆಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಇದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಬೇರೆಯಾದ ಆಧಾರವು ಬೇಕಿಲ್ಲ. " ಮಾಮರನಲ್ಲದಿಲ್ಲ. ತನಿಗಂಪಿನ ಮಲ್ಲಿಗೆಯಲ್ಲದಿಲ್ಲ. " ಎಂಬ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ' ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ' ಎಂಬುದು ಅವಧಾರಣಾರ್ಥಕವಲ್ಲವೆಂದೂ ಬೇರೆಯಾದ ಅರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿದೆಯಾದುದರಿಂದ ಸಂಧಿಯಾಗಿದೆಯೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅವಧಾರಣವಲ್ಲದೆ ಮತ್ತಾವ ಅರ್ಥವಿದೆಯೋ ನನಗೆ ತಿಳಿಯದು.

ಕೆಲವು ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ಅವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿ ಅಥವಾ ಅತಿವ್ಯಾಪ್ತಿಯುಂಟಾಗುತ್ತದೆ. ಎಂದರೆ ಪ್ರಯೋಗದಲ್ಲಿಲ್ಲದ ಅಸಾಧುರೂಪವು ಸಾಧುವಾಗುವಂತೆಯೂ ಸಾಧುರೂಪವು ಅಸಾಧುವಾಗುವಂತೆಯೂ ಆಗುತ್ತದೆ.

" ಧಾತುವಿನಂತ್ಯದವರ್ಗೋ
ಕ್ತ ತೃತೀಯಾಕ್ಷರಕ್ಕೆ ತಾಂಪ್ರಥಮತ್ವಂ॥
ಮಾತೇಂ ವ್ಯಂಜನ ರೂಪದಿ
ನೇತೆಜದಿಂ ಸ್ವಂತ ಧಾತುಗಕ್ಕುಂ ಚತ್ವಂ ॥ " (ಸೂ. 239)

ಎಂಬ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದಲೂ " ಹಾಂತದೊಳಂ " ಎಂಬ 240ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದಲೂ ದಕಾರಾದಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯಗಳು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ವರ್ಗ ತೃತೀಯಾಕ್ಷರಾಂತ ಧಾತುಗಳ ತೃತೀಯಾಕ್ಷರಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಥಮಾಕ್ಷರವೂ, ಸ್ವಂತ ಧಾತುವಿನ ' ಸು ' ಕ್ಕೆ ಚಕಾರವೂ ಆದೇಶವಾಗುವುದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇದರಿಂದ ಕೂಗು, ಬಾಗು, ತಾಗು, ಕುದಿ, ಮಿದಿ ಎಂಬುವಗಳ ರೂಪವು ಕ್ರಮವಾಗಿ ಕೂಕ್ಕಂ, ಬಾಕ್ಕಂ, ತಾಕ್ಕಂ, ಕುತ್ತಂ. ಮಿತ್ತಂ ಎಂದಾಗಬೇಕಾಗುವುದು. ಮಾಡುಧಾತುವಿನ ರೂಪವು ಮಾಟ್ಟಂ ಎಂದೂ ಹಾಸು ಎಂಬುದರ ರೂಪವು ಹಾಚ್ಚಂ ಎಂದೂ ಆಗಬೇಕಾಗುವುದು. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಹಲವು ಅನಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ರೂಪಗಳಾಗುವುವು. ಇದನ್ನು ತಪ್ಪಿಸಲು ವ್ಯಾಖ್ಯಾನಕಾರರು " ವಿಚಾರ " ವೆಂದು ಶಬ್ದಾನುಶಾಸನದ ಆಧಾರವನ್ನು ದರ್ಪಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಸೇರಿಸಬೇಕಾಯಿತು.

" ಸೊಗಯಿಪುವು ಗೆ ಕೆಗಳನ್ನೋ
ಕ್ತಿಗೆ ವಿಧ್ಯರ್ಥಕ್ಕೆ ಮಧ್ಯಮೋತ್ತಮ ಪುರುಷ ।
ಪ್ರಗತ ಬಹೂಕ್ತಿಯೊಳಿಮಮಂ
ದೊಗೆತಕ್ಕುಂ ಯುಗ ಪದುಕ್ತಿಯೊಳ್ ಕ್ರಮದಿಂದಂ ॥ " 229

ಎಂಬ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದಲೂ ವೃತ್ತಿಯಿಂದಲೂ ವಿಧ್ಯಾದ್ಯರ್ಥದಲ್ಲ ಉತ್ತಮ ಪುರುಷ ಬಹುವಚನದಲ್ಲಿ ಧಾತುವಿನ ಮೇಲೆ ' ಅಂ ' ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಬರುವುದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಇದು ಉಕಾರಾಂತವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ವಕಾರಾಗಮವು ಬರಲನುಕೂಲವಾದ ಧಾತುಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಹೊಂದುವುದು (ತಾಗು + ಅಂ = ತಾಗುವಂ, ಓ + ಅಂ = ಓವಂ) ಉಳಿದವುಗಳಿಗೆ ಹೊಂದುವುದಿಲ್ಲ. ಗ್ಯೈ + ಅಂ ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ಯಕಾರಾಗಮವೇ ಆಗಬೇಕಾದುದರಿಂದ ಗ್ಯೈಯಂ ಎಂಬ ಅಸಾಧು ರೂಪವಾಗುವುದು. ಗ್ಯೈವಂ ಎಂದಾಗುವ ಹಾಗಿಲ್ಲ. 54 ಮತ್ತು 55ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಂದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಅಕಾರಾಂತ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿಗಳಿಗೆ ಇಸು ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಪರವಾದರೆ [illegible]ಗಮವು ಬರುವುದೆಂದೂ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಗೆ ಯಕಾರ ವಕಾರಾಗಮಗಳು ನಿತ್ಯ [illegible] ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಇದರಿಂದ ಭೋಗ + ಇಸು ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಯಕಾರಾಗಮವು [illegible]ಸು ಎಂಬ ಅಸಾಧು ರೂಪವಾಗಬೇಕಾಗುವುದು. ಭೋಗಿಸು [illegible]ಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಹಿಂದೆ (52ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದ ಕೆಳಗಡೆಯಲ್ಲಿ) ತಾನೇ

" ವಿದಿತ ಷೆನಿಪ್ಪವ್ಯಯಮುಂ " ಎಂಬ 81ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಾವ್ಯಯ ಗಳು ಸಮಾಸವಾದಲ್ಲದೆ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಲಿಂಗವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ. 'ಇಹಮುಂ, ಪರಮುಂ' ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿದೆ. ಇಹ ಎಂಬ ಅವ್ಯಯವು ಲಿಂಗವಾದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಬಂಧು ವರ್ಮನ ಜೀವ ಸಂಬೋಧನೆಯಲ್ಲಿ 28ನೆಯ ಪುಟದಲ್ಲಿ ಪರತ್ರೆಯಂ ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಯೋ ಗವಿದೆ ಪರತ್ರ ಎಂಬ ಅವ್ಯಯವೂ ಲಿಂಗವಾದಂತಾಯಿತು. ಭಟ್ಟಾಕಲಂಕನೂ ಇಹಾದಿ ಗಣದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ ಕೆಲವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಾವ್ಯಯಗಳು ಸಹಜವಾಗಿಯೇ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಲಿಂಗ ವಾಗುವುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಕೇಶವನು ಏಕದ್ವಿತ್ರ್ಯಾದಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾವಾಚಕಗಳೂ ಸಹಜವಾಗಿ ಲಿಂಗವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು 82ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದ ಹೇಳಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ದ್ವಿಶಬ್ದ ಮೊದಲುಗೊಂಡು ದಶಶಬ್ದದವರೆಗಿನ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾವಾಚಕಗಳು ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಸಹಜವಾಗಿ ಲಿಂಗವಾಗದಿರುವುವು ಎಂದು ಭಟ್ಟಾಕಲಂಕನು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದು ಸಾಧುವಾಗಿದೆ.

ಕೆಲವು ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಗೆ ತಕ್ಕ ಲಕ್ಷ್ಯಗಳಿಲ್ಲ ಅಥವಾ ಆ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳು ಸರಿಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲವೆನ್ನ ಬಹುದು. ಭ್ರಾಂತಿಯಿಂದ ತಪ್ಪಾದ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಾವ್ಯ ಯಗಳೂ, ತ್ಯದಾದಿ ಶತ್ರಂತಗಳೂ ಸಮಾಸವಾಗದೆಯೂ ಏಕಾದಿ (ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ) ಸಂಖ್ಯಾ ವಾಚಕಗಳು ಸಮಾಸವನ್ನಾಗಲಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯಾಂತತೆಯನ್ನಾಗಲಿ ಪಡೆಯದೆಯೂ ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲಿ ಲಿಂಗವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದು 81-82ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರಗಳಿಂದ ಹೇಳಿ, ಅಂತರ್ಮುಖ ತದ್ವಚನ, ಕ್ವಣತ್ಕಂಕಣ, ಏಕಾಂಗ, ದ್ವಿಮುಖ, ದ್ವಿತಯ, ಚತುಷ್ಕ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ಇವುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ದ್ವಿತಯ ಚತುಷ್ಕ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯಾಂತ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾ ವಾಚಕಗಳನ್ನು ಬಿಟ್ಟರೆ ಉಳಿದ ಯಾವ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಯೂ ಸರಿಯಾಗಿಲ್ಲ ಅಂತರ್ಮುಖ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದದಲ್ಲಿ ಮುಖ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಪ್ರಾಧಾನ್ಯ; ಅದರ ಮೇಲೆ ನಾಮ ವಿಭಕ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಸೇರಿದೆ. ಎಂದರೆ ಮುಖ ಶಬ್ದವು ಲಿಂಗವಾದಂತಾಯಿತೇ ಹೊರತು ಅಂತರ್ ಎಂಬ ಅವ್ಯಯವು ಲಿಂಗವಾದಂತಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಏಕಾಂಗ ಶಬ್ದದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಂಗ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಖ್ಯತೆಯೇ ಹೊರತು ಏಕಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕಲ್ಲ. ಸಮಾಸವಾಗದಿದ್ದರೂ ಅಂಗಾದಿ ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಲಿಂಗವಾಗುತ್ತಲೇ ಇದ್ದುವು ಏಕಾದಿ ಶಬ್ದಗಳ ಮೇಲೆ ಸಮಾಸವಾದಾಗಲೂ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಸೇರಿದಂತಾಗಲಿಲ್ಲ. ಅವ್ಯಯಗಳೂ ಏಕಾದಿ ಸಂಖ್ಯಾವಾಚಕಗಳೂ ಉತ್ತರಪದವಾಗಿರುವ ಎಂದರೆ ಮುಖ್ಯತೆಯನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿರುವ ಪಾರ್ವರ್ ಪ್ರಿಯ ಪ್ರಾತರರ್, ಶಿವೈಕನಂ ನರನಂ ಎಂಬುದೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಡಬೇಕಾಗಿದ್ದಿತು.

ಕೇಶವನ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪೂರ್ವೋತ್ತರ ವಿರೋಧಗಳಿವೆ.

" ಪಗಲಿರುಳೆಂಬಲ್ಲಿವಿಕ
ಲ್ಪಗತಿಯಿನಾವ್ಯಂಜನಾಂತದೊಳೆ ಪೇಱ್ವರ್ ನೂ।
ರಿಗಳಾಗಳೀಗಳೆಂದೆಡೆ
ಗಗಲ್ಚರುಟುದೆಪೆ ಗಿನಾಗಮಂ ದೋಷಕರಂ ॥" 109

ಎಂಬ ಸೂತ್ರದಿಂದ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳದ ವ್ಯಂಜನಾಂತ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಿಗೆ ವಿಭಕ್ತಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯ ಗಳು ಸೇರುವಾಗ ಇನಾಗಮವು ದೋಷಕರವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿ, ಮುಂದೆ 235ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರ ದಲ್ಲಿ " ಸಂದಪುದಲ್ಲಿನ ಪರದೊಳ್ " ಎಂದು ತಾನೇ ಇನಾಗಮವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಿದ್ದಾನೆ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಪ್ರತಿಗಳಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ 'ಅಲ್ಲಿನ' ಎಂದೇ ಇದೆ. ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯ ಪರಿಷತ್ತಿನ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿ ದರ್ಪ ಣದ ಪ್ರತಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ' ಸಂದಪುದಲ್ಪಿನ ಪರದೊಳ್ '' ಎಂದು ತಿದ್ದಿದೆ. " ಅಲ್ಪಿನ " ಎಂಬ ರೂಪವು ಹೇಗೆ ಸಾಧುವೊ ತಿಳಿಯದು. 80-82ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಲಾ ಶಬ್ದವು ಸಮ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವೆಂದೂ, ಸಮ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತವನ್ನು ಅಚ್ಚ ಕನ್ನಡದೊಡನೆ ಬೆರಸಿ ಸಮಾಸ ವನ್ನು ಮಾಡಲಾಗದೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿ, ಮುಂದೆ 297ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾಲೆ ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದವು

ತತ್ಸಮವೆಂದೂ ತತ್ಸಮ ಶಬ್ದಗಳನ್ನು ಕನ್ನಡದೊಡನೆ ಸೇರಿಸಿ, ಸಮಾಸ ಮಾಡುಬಹುದೆಂದೂ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು

ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿದ್ದ ಅನೇಕ ಅಂಶಗಳನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ.

ಸಮಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಅದು ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಆದಿಷ್ಟವಾದ ಅಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಉ ಊ ಒ ಓ ಕಾರಗಳು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ವಕಾರಾಗಮವು ಬರುವುದೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಓಕಾರಕ್ಕೆ ಸ್ವರವು ಪರವಾದರೆ ಕೆಲವೆಡೆಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಯಕಾರಾಗಮವೂ ಉಂಟೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಇವನ ಹೇಳಿಕೆಯಂತೆ ನೋಯಿರ್ ಎಂಬ ರೂಪವಾಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅವಕಾಶವಿಲ್ಲ. ವಿಧ್ಯಾದಿ ರೂಪದ ಉತ್ತಮ ಪುರುಷೈಕವಚನದ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವಾವುದೆಂಬುದನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿಲ್ಲ. ಅಕಾರಾಂತ ದಿಗ್ವಾಚಕಗಳಿಗೆ ಮಾತ್ರ ಸಪ್ತಮಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಅಲ್ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಬರುವುದೆಂದು 119ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿ, ಮೂಡಲ್, ತೆಂಕಲ್ ಮೊದಲಾದುವುಗಳನ್ನು ಉದಾಹರಿಸಿರುವನು. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಕಾಲವಾಚಕಗಳಾದ ಅಂದು, ಇಂದು, ಎಂದು, ಎಂಬ ಮೂರು ಶಬ್ದಗಳು ಪ್ರಥಮಾ ದ್ವಿತೀಯಾ, ಸಪ್ತಮೀ ವಿಭಕ್ತಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಏಕರೂಪವಾಗಿರುವುದೆಂದು 121ನೆಯ ಸೂತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಮೊದಲ್ ಎಂಬುದು ಅಕಾರಾಂತ ದಿಗ್ವಾಚಕವೂ ಅಲ್ಲ. ಅಂದು ಮೊದಲಾದುವುಗಳ ಜತೆಯಲ್ಲೂ ಸೇರಿಲ್ಲ. ಆದಿ ಪುರಾಣದ 6ನೆಯ ಆಶ್ವಾಸದ 32ನೆಯ ಪದ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿ "ಮರ ಮೊದಲರ್ದಂ" ಎಂಬ ಪ್ರಯೋಗವಿದೆ. ಇಲ್ಲಿ ಮೊದಲೋಳ್ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಬದಲಾಗಿ ಮೊದಲ್ ಎಂದು ಪ್ರಯೋಗಿಸಿದ್ದಾನೆ. ಅಂದು ಮೊದಲಾದ ಶಬ್ದಗಳಂತೆ ಮೊದಲ್ ಶಬ್ದವೂ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ರೂಪದಲ್ಲೇ ಇದ್ದು ಸಪ್ತಮ್ಯರ್ಥವನ್ನು ಕೊಡುವುದೆಂದು ಹೇಳಬೇಕಾಗಿತ್ತು.

"ಪ್ರಕಟಂ ಚೇತನಭಾವದೊ
ಳಿಕೆ ತನಮುಮಯಕ್ಕುಮುಬದ ಭಾವದೊಳಮೆಯುಂ" ||2||

ಎಂದು ಭಾವಾರ್ಥಕ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿ, ತೀರಮೆ, ಅಟ್ಕಮೆ ಎಂಬ ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನು ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುತ್ತಾನೆ. ತೀರಮೆ ಎಂಬುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕೃತಿ ಯಾವುದು ತೀರು ಎಂಬುದಾದರೆ ತೀರಮೆ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಬಾಯಾರಿಕೆಯೆಂದು ಹೇಗೆ ಅರ್ಥವಾಯ್ತು? ಅಂಜು ಧಾತುವಿಗೆ ಭಾವಾರ್ಥದಲ್ಲಿ ಅಮೆ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯವು ಸೇರಿದರೆ ಭಯವೆಂದರ್ಥವಾಗಬೇಕಲ್ಲವೆ? ಅದಕ್ಕೆ ವಿರೋಧವಾಗಿ ಅಭಯವೆಂದರ್ಥವು ಹೇಗೆ ಬಂದಿತು? ಅಱಿಯಮೆ ಎಂಬುದಕ್ಕೆ ಅಜ್ಞಾನವೆಂಬರ್ಥವು ಹೇಗೆ? ಎಂಬ ವಿಚಾರಗಳು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದಿಲ್ಲ.

"ನೆಗಬ್ದುರ್ದ ರೇಫ ಱಟನಾಂ
ತಗಾಂತ ಸಾಂತೋತ್ವದಿದಿರವತ್ವಂಪತ್ವಂ ||
ಪುಗುಗುಂ ದ್ವಿತ್ವಂ ಮೇಣ್ ಸುಗು |
ಯುಗಕ್ಕೆ ಲೋಪೋಕ್ತಿ ನಾಂತ ಣಾಂತಂ ಬತ್ವಂ ||" 232

ಎಂದು ಭವಿಷ್ಯತ್ಕಾಲದ ವಕಾರವು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ಗಾಂತ ಸಾಂತ ಧಾತುಗಳ [illegible] ಲೋಪವನ್ನು ನಿತ್ಯವಾಗಿ ವಿಧಿಸಿರುವುದರಿಂದಲೂ, ಉದಾಹರಣೆಗಳನ್ನೂ [illegible], ತೊಳವಂ, ತರಿವಂ, ಬರಿವಂ ಎಂಬುವುಗಳನ್ನು ಮಾತ್ರವೇ ಕೊಟ್ಟಿರುವುದ [illegible] ಪೋಗುವಂ, ತೊಳಗುವಂ, ತರಿಸುವಂ, ಬರಿಸುವಂ ಎಂಬ ರೂಪಗಳು ಇಲ್ಲ [illegible] ವುದು. ಈ ರೂಪಗಳೂ ಸಿದ್ಧವಾಗುವಂತೆ ಸೂತ್ರವನ್ನು ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಬರೆಯ [illegible]

[illegible] ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ವ್ಯಂಜನಾದಿಯಾದ ಉತ್ತರ ಶಬ್ದವು ಪರವಾದಾಗ [illegible] ಬರುವುದು; ಕುಡು ಶಬ್ದಕ್ಕೆ ಕೊಡು ಎಂಬಾದೇಶವು ಬರುವುದು [illegible] ವನ್ನು ಹೇಳಿರುವನಷ್ಟೆ. ಪರ್, ಕೊಡು, ಎಂಬ ಶಬ್ದ

ಗಳು ತಮಿಳಿನಲ್ಲಿವೆ. ಅವು ಕನ್ನಡದಲ್ಲೂ ಸಮಾಸದಲ್ಲಿ ಮಾತ್ರ ಪ್ರಯೋಗದಲ್ಲಿದ್ದು ಬೇರೆ ಸಂದರ್ಭಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ವ್ಯತ್ಯಾಸವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದಿರಬಹುದು. ಅಥವಾ ಎರಡು ರೂಪಗಳೂ ಇರಬಹುದು. ಹೀಗೆಯೇ ಧಾತುಗಳಿಗೆ ದಕಾರಾದಿ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯಗಳು ಪರವಾದಾಗ ಆದೇಶವಾಗಿ ಬರುವುವೆಂದು ಹೇಳಿರುವ ರೂಪಗಳೂ ತಮಿಳಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಹಜವಾಗಿಯೇ ಇವೆ. ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಕನ್ನಡ ನಾಡಿನ ಸುತ್ತುಮುತ್ತಿನ ದ್ರಾವಿಡ ಭಾಷೆಯ ವಿಚಾರವನ್ನು ಸ್ವಲ್ಪವೂ ಗಮನಿಸದೆಯೂ ತನಗಿಂತ ಬಹಳ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಎಂದರೆ 7, 8ನೆಯ ಶತಮಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಹಿಂದಿನ ಕನ್ನಡ ಭಾಷೆಯ ಸ್ವರೂಪವನ್ನು ಗಮನಿಸದೆಯೂ ಇರುವನೆಂದು ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗುವುದು. ಆದುದರಿಂದಲೇ ನಕಾರಾಂತವಾದ ಪ್ರತ್ಯಯಗಳನ್ನೆಲ್ಲಾ ಮಕಾರಾಂತವೆಂದೇ ಹೇಳಿರುವನು.

ಮೇಲೆ ಹೇಳಿದವುಗಳಲ್ಲದೇ ಇನ್ನೂ ಅನೇಕಲೋಪದೋಷಗಳು ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿ ದರ್ಪಣದಲ್ಲಿರುವುವು. "ನಿರಸ್ತಪಾದಪೇ ದೇಶೇ ಏರಂಡೋಪಿದ್ರುಮಾಯತೇ" ಎಂಬಂತೆ ಇದಕ್ಕಿಂತ ಉತ್ತಮವಾದ ಕರ್ಣಾಟ ವ್ಯಾಕರಣವು ದೊರೆಯದೆ ಇರುವುದರಿಂದ ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿ ದರ್ಪಣಕ್ಕೂ ಅದನ್ನು ಬರೆದ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನಿಗೂ ಮೇಲ್ಮೆಯೇ ಹೊರತು, ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಸಮಾಪ್ತಿ ವಾಕ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಹೇಳಿರುವ "ಸಿರಿಗೀಕ್ಷಿಪ ರಸಚಿತ್ರಂ ಸರಸತಿಗೆರಡನೆಯ ಬೀಣೆ" ಎಂಬುದು ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿ ದರ್ಪಣಕ್ಕೂ 'ನಡೆದುದೆ ಮಾರ್ಗಂ .... ಕೇಶವಂಗಿದಿರುಂಟೇ|| .. ಲೋಕದೊಳ್ ತಾನೆ ಲಾಕ್ಷಣಿಕಂ" ಎಂಬುದು ಅವನಿಗೂ ಒಪ್ಪುವಂತಿಲ್ಲ. ಶಬ್ದಮಣಿದರ್ಪಣವನ್ನಲ್ಲದೆ ಚೋಳಪಾಲಕಚರಿತವೇ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಬೇರೆ ಐದು ಗ್ರಂಥಗಳನ್ನು ತಾನು ರಚಿಸಿರುವುದಾಗಿ ಕೇಶಿರಾಜನು ಹೇಳಿರುವನು. ಅವುಗಳಲ್ಲೊಂದಾದರೂ ದೊರೆಯದಿರುವುದರಿಂದ ಅವನು ಹೇಳಿರುವುದು ಬರಿಯ ಹೊಗಳಿಕೆಯ ಮಾತೆಂದೇ ತೋರುತ್ತದೆ.

XII (b). INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES SECTION.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

THE STUDY OF NEW INDO-ARYAN

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The study of Modern Indian Languages as an important branch of Indology has slowly come to be given its proper recognition. Oriental studies in general, and Indology in particular, meant the study of the earlier history and culture of the peoples of the East and of India. The languages which are the vehicles of the earlier phases of this history and culture naturally enough deserved the first consideration of scholars. The attention which so long was concentrated on the ancient and mediæval has now extended its scope to the modern as well, as we have realised that history means a continuity in which the past and the present are irrevocably linked and are mutually explanatory of each other. We now know that just as we must study the past in all its bearings to understand the present, so the present must also be known in detail, for then alone we can have light thrown on many an obscure point in the culture of the past which we have taken upon ourselves to investigate. It is with this growing consciousness that, despite a number of apparently revolutionary changes at certain periods, Indian life, like life in most other lands, presents a whole and a continuity from the most ancient period down to our times, that Indology or Indian "Orientalism" as a branch of science is gaining in extent and in chronology. Philology, in the continental sense of the term, meaning the study of culture through language and literature, still

continues to be the main concern of Indology, no doubt, but other connected subjects and other aspects of culture have received a place: not only Philosophy and Religion, which have been a favoured subject with Indian Philology so long, but also Archaeology and Epigraphy, Political History and Historical Geography, Fine Arts and the Exact Sciences, and the growing science of Anthropology which promises ultimately to become all-inclusive. Indian Philology, again, which concerned itself mainly with Sanskrit (Vedic and Classical), has had to extend its scope both before and after Sanskrit—to the pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian stages on the one hand, and to the Prakrits and Apabhramsas and the Vernaculars on the other. The emphasis on the Indo-Aryan speech *par excellence*, *viz.*, on Sanskrit, is still there in Indology, but the Philology of Non-Aryan is now coming to be regarded as of fundamental value, connected as it is with the Dravidian and Austric bases of Indian civilisation. Other forms of culture which touched the fringe of that of India, or were releated to it, or, again, profoundly modified it, or were themselves modified by it, have already been given a recognition, or will in the long run have to be given recognition in a conference of Indian Orientalists, *e.g.*, Iranian and Islamic Studies have already their rightful places as connected fields or branches of Indology; and we shall have ere long to accord a place to Greater Indian Studies as a further branch of Indology. Thus both the scope and the time-limit of Indology have been extended; and the Modern Indian languages are being given a place beside Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit.

In the field of Indology, however, it is Linguistics which still forms the main interest of the Modern Indian languages. The Modern Indo-Aryan languages are a continuation of the Old Indo-Aryan dialectics (as represented by Vedic and Sanskrit) through the Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, the Prakrits and Apabhramsa). Their study is necessary to complete the picture. They also afford valuable evidence, not of a mere ancillary character but fundamentally important evidence, about the basis of Indian culture. For the more

we are studying the Modern Indo-Aryan languages from point of view of scientific Linguistics the stronger is becoming the case for the presence of a Non-Aryan substratum or basis for New Indo-Aryan: and sthi substratum is appearing to have been present in Middle Indo-Aryan and even to some extent in Old Indo-Aryan. The evidence of Indo-Aryan Linguistics, working hand in hand with Archaeology, is revolutionising our notions about the character of Indian civilisation—its bases and its affinites. This in itself is one of the unexpected and far-reaching results of Indian Linguistics. The study of the Non-Aryan languages of India, apart from its bearings on the problems of Aryan speech and culture, has its own intrinsic importance as well. Dravidian and Austric as well as Tibeto-Chinese Linguistics are as much Indological studies as Indo-Aryan Linguistics and Indian Archæology and Ethnology.

In addition to the merely linguistic aspect of the study of Modern Indian Languages, there is the other, broader and more popular aspect of it—the Literary and Cultural. This means the study of these as vehicles of conscious cultural expression, rather than as the result of an unconscious racial fusion and linguistic accommodation. The interest of the latter is primarily for the Man of Science—the Linguistician, and the Historian; while language as the expression of the mentality and culture of a people has an appeal for all. Very few would be moved by the study of the Old Tamil Sangam literature or of the Old Kannada and Telugu inscriptions as documents for the reconstruction of Primitive Dravidian: but many would be attracted by the rich store-house of romance and culture presented by the originality and variety of Old Tamil literature, or by the feast of faith laid out in the poems of Māṇikkavāśakar, in the *Dēvāram* and in the *Nāl-āyira-prabandham*. Kol (and Austric) Philology has its votaries who would find pleasure in studying the structure of Santali and would revel in the grammar of Sora (Śavara) by Rāo Bahādur G. V. Rāmamūrti Pantulu, but the rich store of Santali and Munda legend and folklore as in the splendid series of Santali

texts with English translation published by the Rev. P.O. Bodding (under the auspices of the Royal Frederik University and of the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture of Oslo in Norway) and in the *Mundari Encyclopaedia* of Father Hoffmann are for all and sundry. So, too, in the domain of Indo-Aryan Philology. The question of the origin of Hindi (Hindustani) and the inter-relation of the dialects of Northern India is exercising a few specialists, but the average individual is more captivated by Kabīr and Tulasīdāsa as revealers of the eternal spirit of India in its medieval devotional setting, or is more interested in the immediate problem of unifying India by a common national language.

A survey of the study of Modern Indian Languages as a branch of Indology must take into consideration both the aspects of the question—the purely linguistic and scientific, and the cultural and practical.

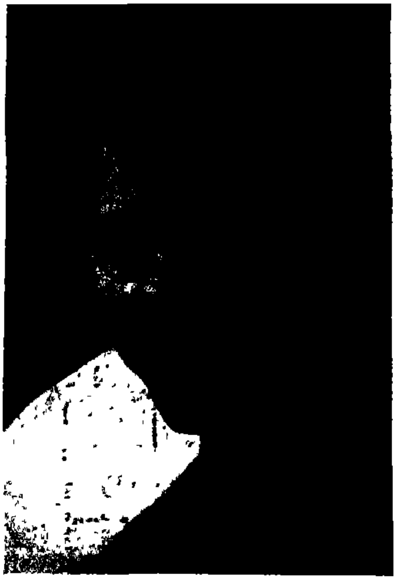
It is not necessary to enter into old history in this connetion. Suffice it to mention that grammars of some of the standard Modern Indian Languages, with the very practical aim of helping the acqusition of the speech, inaugurated Modern Indo-Aryan Philology. This began from the 16th century onwards, when Roman Catholic missionaries who came in the train of the Portuguese traders and adventurers into India found it necessary to learn Konkani (Goanese), Malayalam and Tamil, and Bengali, in order to be able to preach and convert. Business relations also necessitated the study of Modern Indian Languages: the German J. J. Ketelaer, in the service of the Dutch East India Company, wrote the first European Grammar of Hindustani by the end of the 17th century, which was published only as late as 1743. Then a new era began with the establishment of the English in Bengal. Halhed's Bengali Grammar came out from Hooghly in Bengali in 1778, being the first book in which Bengali type was used: 35 years previous to that, in 1743, Padre Manoel da Assumpcam brought out from Lisbon his Bengali Grammar in the Portuguese language, the Bengali words being given in Roman characters following the Portuguese system of orthography.

The founding of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 gave shape to the endeavour to know the culture of India and Asia, and this pioneer institution centered in itself the main stream of oriental studies in India for nearly a century. The establishment of the College of Fort William at Calcutta as a School of Oriental Languages for English civilians and other officials coming to administer the East India Company's possessions, and the foundation of the Baptist Mission translating and publishing board at Serampore, similarly gave a great impetus to the study of the Modern Indian languages and literature from the beginning of the last century. The Fort William College is no longer existent, but the patronage by the English Government in India of the study of Indian Vernaculars manifested itself in various ways, particularly by the institution of the *Linguistic Survey of India* under the guidance of Sir George A. Grierson.

The scientific study of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages began over 60 years ago with the pioneer researches of Beames and Bhandarkar, and it was the direct outcome of Sanskrit and Prakit studies. From Beames, Bhandarkar, Trumpp, Hoernle and Lyall we have come through Grierson and Tessitori to Bloch and Turner and Grahame Bailey and the present generation of Indian workers: and during this period the scientific study of the New or Modern Indo-Aryan Languages has taken a definite shape, and we are now understanding more clearly its implications, while the real character of its problems is becoming clear to us. We cannot of course divorce New Indo-Aryan studies from those of Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, the Prakrits and Apabhramsa), and the scholars who have specialised in them and are working in Middle Indo-Aryan (I am particularly reminded of Helmer Smith in Sweden and P. L. Vaidya and Hiralal Jain in India) are also working for New Indo-Aryan.

In the study of New Indo-Aryan, we have now come to a point when we can take stock of the advance actually made, as idicating the amount of sure and positive knowledge we have attained to about the nature and history of it. In other words, we can now venture to

survey from a distance the broad outline of the structure of Indo-Aryan laid bare by linguistic research, particularly of New Indo-Aryan. Such a structure for better survey should rest on that of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan as its base : and such a survey has already been made and placed before the learned world by no less a personality in Modern Indo-Aryan Linguistics than Jules Bloch. Professor Bloch's recent work, *L'Indo-Aryan du Veda aux Temps Modernes* (Paris 1934) is a masterly exposé of the development of Indo-Aryan as a whole, from its most ancient documents the Vedas down to modern times. In this work of capital importance he has given the nature of the linguistic data at our disposal, in the Vedic texts, in the literature of Classical and Buddhistic Sanskrit, in the Prakrit inscriptions, in Pali and Prakrit as well as Apabhramsa literature; and he has posed certain conclusions and opinions regarding the general trend of this development, which are of great interest, although we might question one or two of his views (*e.g.*, the suggestion that the Vernaculars in Ancient as well as Modern India largely remained unconnected with the trend of the national culture); but we have to thank this brilliant leader of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics for his illumining survey of the whole question of Indo-Aryan through its three periods of Old, Middle and New Indo-Aryan. The rare insight into the facts of the language which is the gift of present-day science and present-day erudition is manifest in every page of the work, which from its nature, is concerned with a large mass of details not conveniently discussable in a general paper. Professor Bloch is inclined to think that inspite of a number of profound local, *i.e.*, non-Aryan influences, Indo-Aryan has not cut itself off from the Aryan speech of Iran and has not differentiated itself strongly from the other Indo-European languages. The internal strength of the Aryan speech, the prestige of Sanskrit as representing the oldest phase of Indo-Aryan, historical links with the West in ancient and medieval times, and the influence of Persian, have all contributed to guard the native or original character of Indo-Aryan; while the action of English at the present day is once



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President, Pandita Parishad

Mahamahopadhyaya Vidyavachaspathi
Brs. Sri S. Kuppuswami Sastrigal, Avl.,
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again contributing to renovate the [illegible] advanced New Indo-Aryan languages and [illegible] European languages of Europe—through [illegible] ing the vocabulary and the syntax. Historically, the repeated "strengthening" of the Aryan or Indo-European basis of Indo-Aryan is of course a fact; but whether that fact has been able to counterbalance the other fact of non-Aryan influences in the transformation of Indo-Aryan is a matter which will remain worth considering by students of Indo-Aryan Linguistics in the future, when we have made further advance in the subject.

For a proper study of Indo-Aryan, we must have all the data available about the living Indo-Aryan languages and dialects. The main facts of the more important of these are known: Hindustani, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Awadhi, Nepali, Kashmiri—these have to some extent been studied. Other Indo-Aryan speeches are slowly being "acquired for science," through properly linguistic researches being carried on by competent scholars who are native speakers of these. Grierson, Bloch and Turner have given us examples of the kind of work that is required. Dr. Baburam Saksena's book on Awadhi, we hope, will not be long in coming. This work presents an admirable combination of the phonetic facts of this important form of Gangetic Indo-Aryan (as they are observable by a trained expert) and a rigidly historical presentment of the phonological and morphological facts in relation to the earlier phases of the dialect. A colleague of Dr. Saksena's at the University of Allahabad, Dr. Dhirendra Varma, has just obtained his doctorate from Paris University on a similar work on Braj-bhakha, in some respects the most important speech of late medieval times in Northern India. Mr. Udai Narain Tiwari, working under Dr. Saksena, has been collecting facts about his own home dialect, *viz.*, Bhojpuriya, and his very fine grammar of this important language of Eastern India is being published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*. The *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, a recent entrant in the field of Sanskrit and Sanskritic studies (which has shown great promise and for which we are indebted to the scholar-

ship and enterprise of our colleague in the University of Calcutta, Mr. Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, who has made the field of Sanskrit Grammar his own), is publishing in instalments Dr. Sumitra Mangesh Katre's *Comparative Glossary of Konkani*, a work which will be indispensable in its own domain within the field of New Indo-Aryan lexicography as controlled by the scientific and comparative method,—the most conspicuous example of which is the great *Nepali Dictionary* of Prof. R. L. Turner (London, 1931). Dr. Katre's *Konkani Phonetics* has appeared from the Calcutta University early in this year as *Calcutta University Phonetic Studies No. 3.* Among last year's noteworthy publications on the subject of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics is Dr. Banarsi Das Jain's *Phonology of Panjabi as spoken about Ludhiana* with *A Ludhiani Phonetic Reader* (University of the Panjab, Lahore, 1934), which gives in an admirable manner the historical development of the sounds of a form of (Eastern) Panjabi from Middle Indo-Aryan. Some important results in the phonology of Indo-Aryan have been propounded in it, relating to the laws of accent, vowel-length and nasalisation. Dr. Jain's *Ludhiani Phonetic Reader*, published in the same volume with the other work, should have been published in the *University of London Phonetic Readers* series, on the general plan of which it has been prepared. The ticklish question of the treatment of the aspirates in some of the North-Western dialects has been taken up by him with conspicuous success. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma's detailed study of the *Phonetics of Lahndi* is awaiting publication for some years past, and it is hoped its printing will be taken in hand soon by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Dr. Varma is carrying on his investigations into the Dardic dialects of Kashmir and into Burushaski, but unfortunately this specialised line of research is meeting with difficulty in the matter of publication—the value of his work is appreciated, but financial difficulties stand in the way. Dr. Banikanta Kakati of Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam, obtained his Ph.D. this year from the University of Calcutta on his valuable history of the development of the Assamese language—a

very fine and scholarly work which should be published as soon as possible and which will be sure to interest scholars as the most comprehensive work on the Phonetics and Linguistics of this easternmost member of the Indo-European family. My former Research Assistant in the University of Calcutta, Mr. Gopal Haldar, whose unfortunate detention by Government is a loss (a temporary one, we hope) to scholarship, has completed the first draft of a comprehensive Comparative Grammar of the Dialects of Eastern Bengali, on which he has been working under considerable disadvantages in the detention camp. This work will mark a distinct advance in our knowledge of Bengali dialectology and of the mutual relations among the dialects.

All the above works recently published or taken in hand in India by trained Indian scholars embody a certain amount of positive result achieved in the noting and scientific arranging of facts. In all this work, the vital thing is that Phonetics is not ignored. Sounds form the basis of human speech, and, as Patanjali observed over 2,000 years ago, it is the sound which is the word. The complexity of human speech sounds, and the various modifications of it as the result of development or of the influence of substrata (not contemplated by the alphabets and consequently so easy to be ignored),—these are now being realised through the establishment of Scientific Phonetics as the cornerstone of the structure of linguistic investigation. In this matter there is room for much work. The various dialects and languages of India present almost a virgin field. Only a corner has been touched, through some of the more important languages. There is an immense lot that is crying for attention from properly trained workers. For recruitment of workers who would be able to detect nuances of sounds and sound-attributes with a tolerable amount of success, it would be very helpful if we could have Phonetics made compulsory in all higher language courses in our Indian Universities,—at least in connection with the Philology section of the course in a particular language.

Apart from purely linguistic investigation in the New Indo-Aryan Languages published or completed in English, as in the works mentioned above, a considerable amount of very useful work has recently been done in the vernaculars, through the edition of texts and through linguistic and literary monographs, which furnish indispensable material for linguistic work.

The important dialect group of Rajasthan, now overshadowed by Hindi, is slowly receiving attention, at least from an academical interest, from scholars who are native speakers of it. A certain amount of popular literature in the dialects was always available in the bazaars, in cheap editions; and at least one Rajasthani writer made a serious attempt to set up a form of Rajasthani as a literary language, taking its stand beside Hindi: the late Śiva-chandra Bharatiyā, author of the drama *Kesar-vilās* (Bombay, Karnatak Press, 1916), and other works. After the *Linguistic Survey of India*, the scientific study of Rajasthani owes most to the late L. P. Tessitori, whose *Notes on a Grammar of Old Western Rajasthani* (Indian Antiquary, 1915) will long remain a landmark in New Indo-Aryan Linguistics, and whose Survey of Bardic Literature in Rajputana and edition of two Rajasthani texts pointed out the importance of Rajasthani studies. The *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā* of Benares, taking "Hindi" in its popular sense as covering all the Indo-Aryan languages and dialects other than Panjabi, Gujarathi, Marathi, Oriya, Bengali, Assamese and Nepali, has made the study of the literatures in the dialects one of its objectives, and we are thankful to this distinguished body of scholars in North India for a number of valuable monographs on New Indo-Aryan Philology in its journal the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā*. In connexion with Rajasthani, mention may be made of Mr. Gajarāj Ojhā's monograph on the Ḍiṅgal Dialect (Saṃvat 1990) and of other articles; and among the publications of the *Sabhā* we may specially refer to the fine edition, which has come out this year, of the popular romance of Ḍhōlā and Mārū (*Ḍhōlā-Māru-rā Dūhā*) edited by Messrs. Rām Sinh, Sūrya Karaṇ Pārīk, and Narottamdās

Swâmî. This gives us a good text with variants, Hindi translation, and full introduction, with a good grammar of the language, for which we are very thankful. The study of early Rajasthani literature and the publication of texts may lead to a revival of the language—or of a form of it—as some Rajasthani speakers seem to hope and mildly to strive for: but the position of Hindi amid the diversity of dialects in Rajputana has become so very secure that it does not look as if it will be seriously assailed, inspite of the influence of local patriotism for the local dialects and a local literature. But we cannot be too sure: for scientific or philological research often leads to unexpected results, in both opinion and conduct.

A desire to revive Maithili, an important form of East Indian (Magadhan) speech, appears now to be very keen among a strong group of scholars and others in North Bihar. This revived interest in their mother-tongue, which is a language quite independent of Hindi (under the umbrage of which it now is), and which can boast of a literature as old as any in New Indo-Aryan, is largely the result of the study of Vidyāpati and other old poets of Mithilā whose influence 400 years ago was most effective on Bengali. A chair for Maithili studies has been endowed by the Mahārājā Bahādur of Darbhangā at the University of Patna; a number of Maithili enthusiasts have caused a fount of Maithili type to be made,—Maithili has so long been printed in Devanagari and only to a limited extent in its own alphabet (which resembles Bengali, its sister-script, very much) by lithography. A *Maithilī Sāhitya Parishad* has been formed, and attempts are being made to induce the University of Patna to recognise Maithili as a vernacular, side by side with Hindi, Urdu and Bengali, as it has already been done in the University of Calcutta.

Tendencies like the above would at first sight appear to be fissiparous, and would be condemend as dangerous for Indian solidarity. It is not an isolated fact in India alone that a language has to suppress itself in favour of a greater and a more widely spread one. Provençal has quietly submitted to French in France; Catalan, although restive and eager to break away, still continues to submit

to the superiority of Castilian in Spain. In matters like this views of the local intelligentsia have to be respected. Assamese, as closely related to Bengali as Scots English is to Standard English, seeks to maintain its separate existence, although Assamese speakers number less than 2 millions as against the 53 millions and more of Bengali speakers. Maithili speakers number over 10 millions; and many of them adopted Hindi when Hindi came, as there was no enterprise among Maithili scholars (Sanskritists of the old school who mainly controlled the intellectual and cultural life of the Maithili-speaking masses) to have a Maithili type-fount made, which would have enabled the local alphabet to come to the rescue of the local language. Now they are finding the spirit of literary Hindi rather different from that of Maithili, in grammar and in turns of expression if not so much in vocabulary. Acquirement of Literary Hindi, with its grammatical gender, its oblique forms and its passive construction for the past tense of the transitive verb requiring concordance between the object and the verb in number and gender, becomes a difficult problem with the peoples of the East ('Purabiyās,' Biharis, Bengalis and others) whose own speeches do not possess these niceties. When these are felt as disadvantages, people can be excused if they look wistfully to their own native speech, particularly when its early literary history is as good as that of any other sister-speech. If we form a just and proper estimate of the position and function of Hindi in the comity of Modern Indian languages, namely, that with most it must be a subsidiary language, we need not feel alarmed at tendencies which may manifest themselves naturally enough. I think it was Rabindranath Tagore who made this beautiful simile, that Indian Culture was like a lotus flower, each petal representing a provincial language and the literature and culture that is embodied in it Hindi may then be compared to the pericarp of this lotus, round which these petals range themselves: and it would be only marring the beauty of the flower, if, in our zeal for the Common Language, we were to attempt to arrest or prevent the normal growth of any provincial language. The culture

of India will be poorer if a future Vidyāpati or Prithwīrāj Rāthaud becomes, as he is bound to become, retarded,—as great poetry cannot be easily achieved in a language which is not the poet's very own. The revival of the Maithili script as against Devanagari would appear similarly to be a retrograde step, when the whole of India would like to have a common script. When, however, the script becomes a symbol of a language or of a special type of culture, the speakers of the language invariably fall under the spell of it, and use it for the language: a sentiment which we see working now in Germany, where the German black-letter is now triumphant once again, restricting to some extent the more international Roman.

To return to the question of work in the Indo-Aryan vernaculars that is going on through the various organisations. Like the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā*, the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad* through its Journal and its publications has for the last 42 years been serving the cause of the Bengali language and literature. The Universities of Calcutta and Dacca have followed suit in becoming centres of research in Bengali. Among recent work done in Bengali, we may mention the attempt carried on through the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishad* and the University of Calcutta, to establish the text of Chaṇḍīdāsa, the oldest Vaishnava poet of Bengal (probably 14th century). Mention is to be made of the first volume of *Chaṇḍīdāsa-Padāvalī* edited by Pandit Harekrishna Mukerji and myself from the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad* and of the edition of the poems by *Dīna Chaṇḍīdāsa* by Mr. Maṇīndra Mohan Bose from the University of Calcutta. It is now becoming clear that we have certainly two, and probably three poets of Bengal, all named *Chaṇḍīdāsa*, whose lyrics on the loves of Rādhā and Krishṇa have become mixed up and whose personalities have merged into one single Chaṇḍīdāsa whom we have established as one of the gods of Early Bengali Literature. The resuscitation of the original personalities behind the name *Chaṇḍīdāsa* and the untangling of the knot of their text is one of the problems of paramount importance in Bengali philology and belles-lettres, and is also of significance for New

Indo-Aryan studies in general. It seems we have at last come upon the right line of investigation in this matter. Mr. Sukumār Sen of the Department of Comparative Philology in the University of Calcutta has published this year his very valuable contribution towards the establishment of a sound chronology of Bengali Vaishnava lyric poetry (in his *History of Brajabuli Literature*, Calcutta University) which is the first seriously sober history of this important aspect of Bengali literature.

Hindi literature is receiving the attention of critical study more than ever, and in addition to the various editions we have a new history of Hindi literature from Mr. Rāmchandra Śukla. Prof. Kshitimohan Sen of Rabindranath Tagore's institution at Sāntinikētan has published his long-promised study of *Dādū* in Bengali, and this study of one of the greatest mystic poets of Medieval India will be an honour to Indian scholarship. We ought to have more of such works introducing the classics of one Modern Indian language into another. For Urdu, first rate work has been done by Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri and by other scholars of the Deccan, and of the Panjab (like Prof. H. M. Shīrānī, author of *Panjāb-mēn-Urdū*). The Deccan writers of Urdu are coming to their own, and their importance in building up the Urdu (Hindustani) language and literature is gradually becoming recognised. Dr. Qadri's *Urdū Shahpārē* (1929) is a capital work for the Deccan writers, while his work on the Phonetics of Dakni Hindustani (Paris, 1930) shows him as a careful and scientifically trained observer who has made a distinct contribution to Indo-Aryan descriptive linguistics. We want more carefully-edited texts, and notes on texts, of Dakni Urdu writers, preferably with Roman or Devanagari transcription so that a wider circle of linguisticians may put them to use: and only with this material can the problem of the origin of Hindustani be tackled. The question of the basic dialect and origin of Hindustani is one of the unsolved problems of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics, just as the origin and basic dialect of Pali is an unsolved problem in Middle Indo-Aryan. The latter is on the way to a

satisfactory solution, thanks to the brilliant initial suggestions of the late Sylvain Lévi and Heinrich Lueders. It seems that the Panjab scholars like Prof. Hāfiz Mahmūd Shīrānī, and Profs. Grahame Bailey and Jules Bloch are right when they emphasise upon the influence of the Panjab in the evolution of this representative language of Modern India.

Linguisticians appear to be more active in Hindi than in any other vernacular. Within a short period, in addition to the works in General Philology and Hindi Philology by Nalinīmohan Sānyāl, Dr. Mangaldev Shastri and Pandit Syāmsundar Dās already in the field, two noteworthy books have recently appeared: the *Hindī-bhāṣā-kā Itihās* by Dr. Dhīrendra Varmā (the Hindustani Academy, Allahabad, 1933) and *Bhāṣā-rahasya, Part I*, by Syāmsundar Dās and Padmanārāyaṇ Āchārya (the Indian Press, Allahabad, Samvat 1992=1935). These excellent books are sure to popularise the study of linguistics among Hindi-users. A similar work composed in a fine style of scholarship is Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri's *Hindūstānī Lisāniyyāt* or Indian Linguistics, in Urdu (Allahabad, 1932)

A work of unique interest for the history of Hindi has recently been brought out from the Visvabhāratī Institution of Rabindranath Tagore—the grammar of Brajbhakha by Mīrzā Khan (edited by M. Ziauddin, 1935). This work forms part of a Persian treatise on the Hindi (Braj) Language and Writing, Grammar and Prosody, Rime and Rhetoric, which besides treats of the following topics: *Nāyakas* and *Nāyikās* in Braj poetry, Indian Music, Indian Erotics, and *Sāmudrika-vidyā*. It was composed during the reign of Aurangzeb by an Indian Musalman scholar. The section on orthography and grammar are of great value for our purposes, and they constitute the oldest account of a Modern Indian vernacular speech by an Indian writer that we possess. Of special value is Mīrzā Khān's minutely careful transliteration of Hindi words in Persian, and this portion will help considerably in the study of the historical phonology of the Braj dialect. The grammar portion has been carefully

edited in the original Persian and published with an English translation, and I hope the section on Orthography will also be edited and translated by Mr. Ziauddin in due course.

A 'comprehensive historical survey of the language, literature and social life of Gujarat from the earliest times, by Mr. K. M. Munshi, which has been highly praised by competent authorities, is very welcome news for students of Indo-Aryan. We hope ere long first-rate histories of the different vernacular literatures will be available for both the general public and the scholarly world. In this connexion, the small volumes published in the *Heritage of India* series (so far volumes on Hindi, Urdu, Kannada and Telugu have appeared) can be mentioned as being exceedingly useful. Valuable work is unquestionably being done in the other advanced Aryan languages, the results of which will ultimately be influencing Indian Philology.

In the domain of lexicography, we have the most up-to-date etymological dictionary of an Indo-Aryan language in Prof. R. L. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* (London, 1931) which forms a landmark in Indo-Aryan studies. This great work has been prepared from point of view of Comparative Linguistics of New Indo-Aryan, and its admirable cross indexes will make the work indispensable for everybody. Sir George Grierson has completed another of his *magna opera*, the Kashmiri Dictionary. Mr. Gopāla Chandra Praharāj's Oriya Dictionary (*Pūrṇa chandra-Odriā Bhāṣā-Koṣa*) is another lexicographical achievement which is progressing, four out of the proposed six volumes (completing up to the letter *pa*) being out. The Hindi lexicon, *Hindī-Śabada-Sāgar*, prepared and published by the scholars of the *Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā* of Benares, has been completed some years ago (1929), and forms a solid testimony to Indian scholarship. The *Chandrakānta Abhidhān*, the biggest dictionary of Assamese (Assamese-Assamese-English) was published in 1933 from Jorhat in Assam by the *Asām-Sāhitya Sabhā*, and it will be appreciated by all students of Indo-Aryan. A comprehensive dictionary of Bengali (*Vaṅgīya Śabda-Koṣa*),

which is more lexicographical than philological, is now being published in parts by Paṇdit Haricharan Banerji of Śāntiniketan. This represents the single-handed and devoted labours of the compiler for over a quarter of a century, and will be, when completed, the largest dictionary of Bengali and invaluable for its comprehensive registration of words and its full lexical notes illustrated by copious quotations from literature. I understand that a Dictionary of Panjabi has been taken in hand under the auspices of the University of the Panjab. This is as it should be, and in this matter all Universities might emulate the example of Lahore, and of Madras, in taking up the compilation of the proper lexicons of the various provincial Indian languages. The University of Madras and the interested public can both be congratulated on the near completion of the *Tamil Lexicon* (the letter *va* is in progress now, which will long remain of unique value in Indian Linguistics, of inestimable help even for workers in Indo-Aryan Philology. It is a pity that the Madras University Series of Dravidian Studies could not be continued.

In this connexion mention should be made of the very valuable work that is being done for Indian Linguistics by the Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture (*Institut for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning*) and the Norwegian Academy of Sciences (*Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi*) of Oslo. The former body has been publishing the Rev. P. O. Bodding's series of Santali Texts with English translation in a very fine edition (one volume has been published by the Royal Frederik University of Oslo, in addition), and the latter the Santali Dictionary by the same authority on the language. The Oslo University, Institute and Academy deserve the thanks of the Indologists for this and other ways in which Indian Philology is being furthered by them. Apart from Kol (Munda) studies, which is a province which Scandinavian scholars have made their own, the Oslo Institute has been publishing Dr. Georg Morgenstierne's researches into the Iranian and Dardic languages of the North-West Frontier, a little-known yet very important group of Aryan

speeches which would appear to be in their last struggle for existence (barring Shina and Kashmiri). The latest publication of the Institute has been Lt.-Col. D. L. R. Lorimer's work on Burushaski (2 vols., Vol. I Introduction and Grammar and Vol. II Texts, Oslo, 1935). Linguisticians everywhere will feel gratified by these two handsome volumes in which we have a full and detailed account of the grammatical structure and a comprehensive series of texts of this unique speech whose affinity still remains a puzzle, and in which some scholars wistfully hope to find a relic of one of the pre-Aryan, possibly primitive Kol, speeches of India. Dr. Morgenstierne discusses (in the Preface to Colonel Lorimer's book) the tantalising question of the affinities of Burushaski with the Caucasian languages as proposed by R. Bleichsteiner, and his conclusions are on the negative side : all that he can say, now, even with the rich mass of material presented by Colonel Lorimer, is this : "the whole problem will certainly deserve a renewed and methodical consideration when the Caucasian languages and the connection between their different groups are better known. And if we ever succeed in connecting Burushaski with some other group of languages, it will be of the greatest importance for our understanding of the early history of Western Asia." In the meanwhile, the well-arranged mass of facts relating to the Burushaski language as it is, running over to some 900 pages, is before workers in Linguistics, to revel in it and to find out something out of it.

Mr. Guillaume de Hevesy, a Hungarian scholar, proposed to affiliate the Kol (Munda) languages with Finno-Ugrian, and he wanted to disprove the existence of an Austric Family of Speeches (with its two main branches of Austro-Asiatic and Austronesian) as propounded by Pater Schmidt. Not being a specialist in Austric and Kol, I do not propose to give my opinion on it, but it appears to me, speaking in general terms, that Schmidt's thesis has not been disproved. M. de Hevesy further created some sensation by suggesting a connexion between the primitive culture of India and that of Polynesia even in the matter of writing, when he presented some 'agree-

ments' between the pictograms of the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa seals on the one hand and the figures in Easter Island wooden tablets on the other. Scholars were inclined to accept these agreements, and even one scholar, Prof. Baron von Heine Geldern of Vienna, found a possible link connecting Mohen-jo-Daro and Easter Island in certain figures (characters) carved on bone from South China. Speculations were rife, but last July when I was in Paris I had the good fortune to meet M. Métraux of the Trocadero Museum who had then recently returned from an ethnological mission to Easter Island and Polynesia, and he totally disproved the alleged agreements between the pictograms from Sindh and the Panjab and the writing on the incised wooden tablets of Easter Island. Figures regarded as those of men in the Easter Island tablets and compared as such with human figures in the prehistoric Indian writing are really (as explained by M. Métraux, following the Easter Island tradition about these tablets) figures of birds. And the comparison between these scripts, separated by so many thousands of years as well as miles from each other, therefore, is not tenable.

The inter-connexion between the primitive culture of India and that of Polynesia, however, is acknowledged by linguisticians and by ethnologists, and by some Indologists including the late Prof. Sylvain Lévi. In this connexion I cannot help drawing the attention of scholars to a little note published in the *Calcutta Oriental Journal* (a new philological journal referred to before) by Dr. Panchānan Mitra, Head of the Department of Anthropology in the University of Calcutta. Prof. Mitra in *A Vedic Night of the Moon from Polynesia* (Vol. I, No. 10 of the Journal, July, 1934), shows how the Polynesians have a custom of naming each night after the phases of the moon (a custom familiar to the Hindus as counting the *tithis*), and how the Polynesians have equivalent words for *Rākā* (= *Pūrṇimā* or full-moon night and *Kuhū* = *Amāvasyā* or new-moon night), which would suggest that the Sanskrit words *Rākā* and *Kuhū* are really borrowings from Austric. It is indeed tempting, although Dr. Mitra warns us against it, to connect Sanskrit *Mātṛkā* with the

Polynesian (Maori) *Matariki*, the latter word meaning the *Pleiades*, and the former in Sanskrit meaning *mother* : the similarity of the Austric word with the Sanskrit *mātṛkā* = mother, ' probably gave rise to the legend of the Six Stars of the Pleiades suckling the infant God of War, Kumāra, as his mothers. The fact of an Austric substratum in Indo-Aryan would appear to go back to the Vedic times, as suggested by Sylvain Lévi and others.

Although Ceylon forms a different political administration, the island is really a part of India, geographically and culturally. Ceylon has two languages, Sinhalese and Tamil, and thus linguistically it is a part of both Aryan and Dravidian India. The study of Sinhalese is a part of Indo-Aryan Philology. So far, we had to be content with Abraham Mendis Gunasekara's Grammar, and Geiger's *Literatur und Sprache der Sinhalesen* and his Sinhalese Etymology and Maldive Studies. Ceylonese scholars have now seriously taken up the study of their language, and with Government support, the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has begun to compile and publish *A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language*, the first fasciculus of which appeared this year. This is a bit of news which will be hailed with real pleasure. There is a strong body of editors (Sir D B Jayatilaka is the editor-in-chief, with Messrs. A. M. Gunasekara, W. F. Gunawardhana and Julius de Lanerolle as his associates, and Prof. W. Geiger is the general director · there are other scholars on the Committee, the Board of Editors, and the Editorial Staff). These scholars are also engaged in editing Eḷu or Old Sinhalese texts, *e.g.*, the *Dhampiyā-aṭuvā-Gätapadaya*, the oldest prose work in Sinhalese (10th century). For those Indian scholars who are interested in Sinhalese and yet are not familiar with the Sinhalese script, the use of Roman transliterations in the dictionary is a great blessing. This is now becoming the rule in all scientific works relating to Indo-Aryan languages (in recent works on the Indo-European or general philology even Greek words are being given in Roman transliteration, a method which cannot be too highly praised). It is hoped that Sinhalese scholars in editing important early Sinhalese texts would

give Roman transcriptions throughout, if they wish their labours to be thankfully utilised by workers in the sister-languages; and a text like the oldest prose text of Sinhalese (which I understand a young Sinhalese scholar, D. E. Hettiaratchi, has taken up for philological study) edited in Roman characters with a linguistic commentary would be a desideratum.

This brings me to another question, of great future import, as it appears to me, *viz.*, the increased use of the Roman script in philological work, and the subsequent move towards the Romanisation of the Indian languages, which I believe is bound to come ultimately. I have stated in detail my views about the Romanisation of Indian languages in a paper published in the *Calcutta University Journal of the Department of Letters* this year (*A Roman Alphabet for India*), and I shall not repeat them here. I have suggested a Roman alphabet for all Indian languages, avoiding the use of letters with diacritical marks,—having adopted a system of detached indicators,' *i.e.* signs placed after a letter to distinguish, *e.g.*, a long vowel from a short, and a cerebral from a dental. I insist upon the Indian (Sanskrit) order of letters, and on the Indian (Sanskrit) names for them. I believe it is the duty of the linguistician in India to give his honest opinion on the question, and I have done it. With the ordinary Roman alphabet, and a few of the Roman letters used upside down, plus three or four special signs (already in use in printing ordinary Roman) placed after the letters it will be possible to transliterate consistently any Indian language.

The Roman idea is already in the horizon: I am inclined to think it will loom larger and larger, in the long run. There is apathy, there will be hostility, and very bitter hostility at that; but there will be a steady and ever growing support. Sentiment and a feeling of patriotism are the only serious obstacles; but they are great obstacles. It will not do to try to attempt to force matters upon an unwilling people. Through education, the demand for Roman must come from within. I would cheerfully give two generations for that. It must be said

that the question of Romanisation is still an academic one; but it is so easy to bring a thing like this from the academy into the street. Quicker than we might anticipate, the matter may become one of practical politics, leaving its academical aloofness or unreality.

An Indianised Roman script would be the most suitable thing for India of the future; but if I cannot have it immediately (and from sentimental reasons even the most ardent supporter of Roman would feel a secret joy if the Indian alphabet, so precious and so old a friend, continued to be in life for a little longer), I would advocate the general adoption of Devanagiri for the whole of India, as such a measure will receive the support of a large number of Indians. The present moment is to same extent propitious for such a movement as Devanagiri is associated with Hindi and with Sanskrit. Hindi was born in the Devanagari script, so to say; although the adoption of Devanagari as the pan-Indian script for Sanskrit is only of recent origin, not even a century old. The scientific arrangement of the ancient Indian alphabet which is presented by Devanagari (and other Modern Indian scripts) notwithstanding, there are some complications in the Devanagari alphabet as in use in writing and printing at the present day; and it is well worth attempting to remove these complications, in order to make the alphabet simpler, easier, and more convenient for the linotype. At the last All-India Hindi Literary Conference held at Indore in April 1935 and presided over by Mahatma Gandhi, a Committee was appointed (including the present writer) to devise a simplified Devanagari. Kākā Kālelkar is the Chairman of this Committee, and after some sittings at Calcutta, Bombay and Wardha, a simplified Devanagari is on the eve of being recommended, which has aimed at reducing the number of letters, particularly the conjunct consonants. It should be easy to change from current Devanagari to this simplified Devanagari; and after it has gained some currency through Hindi, Gujarati, Marathi and Sanskrit, attempts may be made to introduce it to Bengali and the other languages of India.

I now might mention some of our desiderata in Indian Philology, on the two sides of scientific and popular needs. On the first, we ought to have in the first instance as close and accurate descriptive grammars of as many of our Indian languages and dialects as possible. Such descriptive grammars must be preceded by a rigorous phonetic study of the speech concerned. There is no lack of good models: we can at least be guided by the way in which the phonetics of English and other important European languages is being investigated and has been investigated. And in this matter, I would urge most emphatically upon the general adoption and employ of the Phonetic Alphabet of the International Phonetic Association. It is not necessary to dwell on the value of having a set of internationally understood symbols for these elements of human speech—the sounds produced by the vocal organs; and the alphabet of the I. P. A. presents, under the present circumstances, the best set of symbols, and the most widely employed. I would also strongly advocate the use of these symbols (comparable to the international symbols for the elements in Chemistry) even in a book on Phonetics or Linguistics written in a Modern Indian language like Hindi, Urdu, Bengali or Kannada.

Experimental Phonetics is a thing practically unknown in India, and it would be very helpful if we could start it in some of our universities. The findings of Experimental Phonetics are a necessary corrective to whatever blunders that frail instrument the human ear may commit in the way of imperfect reception or imperfect discrimination of sounds.

These detailed grammars and phonetic studies are one great need, and for that there is a great demand for workers. There are other problems, which can be met as we progress with our knowledge of details as well as grasp of the wider issues.

On the side of Etymology, there is that question of a large element in New Indo-Aryan which cannot be derived from Indo-European and which at the same time does not possess sure affinities in the living non-Aryan languages of India (including their sisters and cousins

outside India). This is the great question of the non-Aryan substratum. Any one who has handled Prof. Turner's *Nepali Dictionary* will feel quite baffled about a great many of his "Indo-Aryan Reconstructions," which are "words of non-Indo-European, uncertain or unknown origin" (pp. 657-660, Index). The line of procedure taken by Prof. Turner in reconstructing the possible Middle Indo-Aryan and Old Indo-Aryan equivalents of a number of unexplained New Indo-Aryan words is in principle the right one, but his resultant reconstructions, and their affinities and sources as well, deserve the critical consideration of scholars; and it will be long before we come to any satisfactory conclusion, in the matter of both the reconstructions and their linguistic affinities (which for the present are left undecided or unattempted by Prof Turner). The non-Aryan substratum in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan is one of the most baffling of Indo-Aryan problems, and is connected also with Austric (Kol or Munda) and Dravidian. We are awaiting the reconstruction of Primitive Dravidian and Primitive Austro-Asiatic for signal assistance in this field. The comparative etymological dictionary of Old Indo-Aryan (Vedic, Sanskrit) by Dr. Walther Wust of Munich, which we expect to have soon from the firm of Carl Winter in Heidelberg [*Vergleichendes Woerterbuch des Alt-Indoarischen* (*Alt-Indischen*); printing from 1934] will give us in one volume all that can be said about the etymologies of Vedic and Sanskrit words from point of view of Indo-European; and the work will be of great assistance in discussing the non-Aryan substratum also.

The question of the inter-relation among the various local dialects in Old and Middle Indo-Aryan is of fundamental importance in unravelling the origin of the Modern Indo-Aryan languages and dialects. The Prakrits representing but partially the actual spoken languages, Prakrit evidence is valuable mainly as indirect evidence for dialectal questions.

In this connexion, I would like to draw the attention of scholars to a view put forward by Mr. Manomohan Ghosh of the University of Calcutta that Mahārāshṭrī

Prakrit presents a later form of Śaurasenī and is not contemporaneous with the latter, and that the like Dakni Hindustani of the 16th-17th centuries it was in all likelihood a North Indian dialect of the Second Middle Indo-Aryan stage which came to be employed in literature first in Mahārāshṭra—a view which appears plausible enough (*Mahārāśṭrī, a Later Form of Śauraseni*, in the *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Vol. XXIII, 1933, Calcutta University).

Pali, Prakrit and Apabhraṃsa studies are a basis of New Indo-Aryan investigation which is equally important with the study of the New Indo-Aryan speeches themselves. Hence any work done in these has its bearing on New Indo-Aryan Linguistics also. The great Pali Dictionary of the late V. Trenckner is now under publication, in parts, under the editorship of Dines Andersen and Helmer Smith, and for this undertaking we are indebted to the Royal Academy of Copenhagen, Denmark. After the work of Hermann Jacobi of Bonn on Apabhraṃsa, the editing of texts has been taken up in India; Messrs. Dalal and Gune gave a new edition of the *Bhavisayattakaha* (already edited as *Bhavisattakaha* by Hermann Jacobi) in the Gaekwad's *Oriental Series*; and Dr. P. L. Vaidya (*Jasaharacariu*, 1931), and Mr. Hīrālāl Jain of King Edward College, Amraoti, Berar (*Sāvaya-dhamma*, 1932; *Nayakumāra-chariu*, 1933; *Pāhuḍa-dohā*, 1933; and *Karakaṇḍa-chariu*, 1934) have given us some first-rate editions of Apabhraṃsa texts which will have their bearing on the study of New Indo-Aryan. Mr. Hīrālāl Jain has already made a name in Apabhraṃsa studies; and the rich store-house of Apabhraṃsa and other Jain MSS. at Karanja in Berar, first made known to the outside world by the late Rāi Bahādur Hīrālāl and Mr. Hīrālāl Jain in 1926, has been taken up for edition and publication by Mr. Jain and others. The importance of this form of Middle Indo-Aryan which is the basis and the prototype of the New Indo-Aryan vernaculars *viz.*, of Saurasenī or Western Apabhraṃsa, and its wide use from Mahārāṣṭra to Bengal immediately before the development of the Vernaculars, are too well-known to scholars to require discussion; and it

is fortunate that the scholarly exploitation of the treasures discovered at Karanja and elsewhere has been enthusiastically taken up by Mr. Jain and others. Mr. Jain's editions are a scholar's work, the delight of all serious students—they present a veritable *embarras de richesse* in a form of Indo-Aryan in which hardly anything was available for study (barring the MSS. in which the texts were locked) two decades ago.

In connexion with Apabhramsa studies as related to those of the Vernaculars, mention should be made of the edition of the *Dākārṇava* by Dr. Nagendra Nārāyan Chaudhurī (Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1935). This work is in Western Apabhramsa, and was recovered from Nepal in a fragmentary and debased form by the late Mm. Haraprasāda Śāstrī and published by him about 20 years ago. It gives a specimen of Apabhramsa as written by the Buddhists of Eastern India. Dr Chaudhuri has compared the text with the Tibetan translation and has sought to establish a correct text, with considerable success. A similar attempt was made by Dr. Muhammad Shahidullah of the University of Dacca some years ago when he published from Paris his study of the Apabhramsa *dohāṣ* of Saraha and Kānha, compared with the Tibetan translation for text exegesis. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the University of Calcutta has a similar work in hand, and we hope this edition of further songs and *dohās* in Apabhramsa by Eastern Indian Buddhists will be published speedily, as their printing was taken up by the University of Calcutta some time ago.

The fine edition of the *Pravachana-sāra* of Kundakundāchārya by Prof. A. N. Upādhye of Rajaram College, Kolhapur, is a work for which the editor can be congratulated; Prof. Upādhye has given a critical edition of this important Jaina Śaurasenī text with a valuable introduction embodying a study of the work and of its author's personality, and including a useful note on the language of the work.

There are the bigger issues to decide by toilsome research and by scientific imagination which must be justified by patient recovery of evidence: and there are

hundreds of little points to investigate with infinite patience and caution. Herein only specialists can appreciate or criticise each other's work. The joy of scientific work is there; and the satisfaction of some positive result attained, which is the greatest reward of the plodding Man of Science.

But science, particularly a human science like Linguistics, cannot confine itself in its cloistered hopes and endeavours, its failures and successes, which do not have a direct bearing on the problems of life relating to speech and culture which are crying for solution. The linguistician must contribute his suggestions for what they are worth.

One such problem is that of the National Language for the whole of India which is exercising us so much. We all agree that as the outward expression of a common Indian culture and a common Indian geographical and political entity we ought to have a common National Language. The fact of the diversity of languages and dialects has been exaggerated in India. We do not have 200 and odd languages and dialects which are not reconcilable with each other—we have 10 great literary languages falling into two groups, Aryan and Dravidian, *viz.*, the Hindi form of Hindustani, the Urdu form of Hindustani, Bengali, Oriya, Marathi, and Gujarati; and Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, and Telugu. Speakers of the other dialects including literary languages of the second order like Panjabi, Nepali, Assamese and Sindhi, and languages which are attempted to be revived once again as literary languages, like Maithili, use or understand one or the other of the above. The lesser known non-Aryan languages of the North are all under the umbrage of one great Aryan language or other. Of these ten literary languages, Hindi and Urdu, forming Hindu and Mohammadan literary styles of the same Hindustani speech, has the widest employ and the greatest importance. Without any propaganda, Hindustani has gradually spread from its original seat in Western United Provinces and Eastern Panjab throughout the whole of Northern India (Aryan-speaking India) and has further

established itself in the Deccan. Speakers of Bengali and Oriya, and Gujarati and Marathi, understand Hindustani easily enough. A great many people in the Dravidian South, particularly in the big towns and places of pilgrimage, also understand and speak it ; and recent nationalistic endeavours through special organisations have helped to spread it further in the South, particularly among the Andhras (Telugus). Now, naturally enough, when we think of a National Language we can only think of Hindustani.

As a matter of fact, Indians all over the country, when they do not use English (or Sanskrit, among a few Hindu scholars and religious men) in talking to a person of another dialect or language (this statement is made with reservations for South India), use Hindustani. In this way, Hindustani already exists as a current *Lingua Franca*, an *Umgangsprache*, in India. But this Current Hindustani, based on the Hindustani vernacular speech of Western U. P. and Eastern Panjab, is a very simple language, easy to acquire, vigorous and supple, and quite eclectic in its vocabulary. Compared with it, the literary forms of it, *viz.*, Hindi and Urdu, have far greater complications ; and these complications, to my mind, are retarding the greater progress of literary Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu). Literary Hindi and Urdu have grammatical gender ; *kāgaz* (paper is masculine, *kitāb* or *pustak* (book) is feminine ; *bhāt* (boiled rice) is masculine, *dāl* (pulses) is feminine. They have different plural inflexions for masculine nouns in *-ā* feminine nouns in -ī, and feminine nouns ending in a consonant. Nouns and Pronouns have what are known as " oblique " forms or bases, as opposed to the nominative form. Adjectives take an affix -ī if the noun qualified is feminine. All this has been simplified in Current Hindustani. The irrationalities of grammatical gender are ignored ; oblique forms are optional ; the plural is indicated more commonly by composition. The greatest stumbling block in literary Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) is in connexion with the verb. The past tense of the transitive verb is really a passive form, the verb being an adjective which takes

number and gender inflexions in agreement with the object. The verb in the future tense and the intransitive past are adjectives qualifying the nominative, and become feminine adjectives if the nominative is feminine. This is quite an unnecessary complication, and popular or Current Hindustani ignores it all. Barring the dialects of the native Hindustani area, and of the Panjab, Rajputana, Sindh, Gujarat and Mahārāṣṭra, and the Himalayan tracts, the rest of India,—Aryan, Dravidian and Kol (Munda)—ignores grammatical gender and the passive construction and adjectival treatment in the verb. Current Hindustani has therefore fallen in line with the speech-habits of three-quarters of India. Even those who have some agreement in their speeches with literary Hindustani, *viz.*, speakers of Panjabi, Lahndi, Sindhi, Rajasthani, Gujarati and Marathi,—habitually follow Current Spoken Hindustani in talking that language, ignoring its complications, unless they have taken pains to acquire literary Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu) The Dakni form of Hindustani as current in the Nizam's Dominion and other places in the Deccan (as we learn from Dr. Mohiuddin Qadri's book *Hindustani Phonetics*, referred to previously) has leanings towards Current Hindustani, in that it ignores the passive treatment of the transitive verb past, making it active, as in Current Hindustani.

An English ship's officer writes a practical book on Hindustani as used by Indian sailors, and he takes note of this Current Hindustani, mentioning in his grammar the complexities of literary Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu), but using in his dialogues only the simple forms of this language of the "uneducated" classes (N. Harrison, *A Manual of Lascari Hindustani*, Third Edition, London, 1911). This Current Hindustani, it must be said, is not confined to the "uneducated classes" alone; all people who do not belong to Western U.P. in particular and to U.P., Panjab and Central India towns in general, as a matter of fact habitually speak Current Hindustani. A Bengali or a Mahārāshṭrī, howsoever educated he may be, will use Current Hindustani as a matter of course, unless he has learnt Literary Hindi or Urdu.

This Current Hindustani—it can be called *Bāzār Hindūstānī*, *Chālū Hindī*, *Lōk-bhāshā Hindī*, *Jan-bhāshā Hindī*, *'Am Hindūstānī*, *Bōl-chāl-kā Hindūstānī*, or as a pupil of mine, a Musalman of high social and cultural standing from Delhi, Mr. M. Hamidullah, himself an enthusiast for this Current Hindustani as the proper *Lingua Franca* for India, has named it, *Basic Hindustani*—is the *de facto* National Speech of India, the *Rāshṭra Bhāshā* or *Qaumī Zabān* in its own right. In the matter of Vocabulary, Current Hindustani (*Chālū Hindī* would be a good name for it) retains the Perso-Arabic element naturalised in the language, but borrows freely from Sanskrit, and whenever there is need, from English. The sort of Hindustani that is used in our Hindustani talkies, prepared in the studios in Bombay, Calcutta and elsewhere, addressing as they must do to both Hindu and Mohammadan audiences, show generally this eclectic character in the words employed.

In a paper to the last All-India Hindi Literary Conference held at Indore, I put in a plea for this Current Hindustani, that it be given some recognition in public life. Those who can do so, by all means they should use Literary Hindustani (Hindi or Urdu), as they are doing at present. But all those who cannot, let them use Current Hindustani, which they know and which they have been using in the streets, in the shops, in the *bazārs*. In other words, as a student of language and a lover of Hindustani (Hindi), I would urge giving official recognition to the simplified Hindustani that is already there as the great popular language of India. In Calcutta we have been thinking of this; and whenever I have discussed the case for Current or Popular Hindustani, people have agreed that it should be given its proper place in the national life of India. Let this be therefore recognised as the *Chālū Bhāshā*, the *ᶜĀm-Zabān* of India, as a younger sister of the more elaborate *Rāshṭra Bhāshā* or *Qaumī Zabān* which is Hindi and Urdu. The Hindi and Urdu streams have their common confluence in the spoken Hindustani of the people; and the Hindi and Urdu controversy will be solved only through this.

The grammar of Current Hindustani requires to be regulated, and this should be done on the basis of the absolute *minima* of grammatical forms employed in Current Hindustani. The usage of the whole of India should be considered in this connection. An attempt to regulate or formulate a grammar for this '*Ām Hindūstānī* or *Chalū Hindī*, was made by me in my Hindi paper to the Indore Conference. Herein the co-operation of literary men and linguisticians of different parts of India is needed. The grammar of this Current Hindustani will be on the basis of Hindi-Urdu; the characters employed in writing it will be Devanagari (the reformed one, preferably), Perso-Arabic, or Roman, according to the option of the writer. We would not then feel a shame to say in a public meeting, *ham kal āyā, ham-lōg kal āyā, wo roṭī khāyā, wo bhāt khāyā, āp-lōg kab jāegā, apnā biswās-kā mutābik calō aur-lōg-kā biswās par hāth mat lagāo*, as we are not ashamed to say in private conversation, instead of the literary and correct expressions *maĩ kal āyā, ham* or *ham-lōg kal āyē, us-nē rōṭī khāī, us-nē bhāt khāyā, āp-lōg kab jāēṅgē, apnē biswās-kē mutābik calō aurō-kē biswās par hāth mat lagāō*).

Herein, I believe, those who are occupied in the study of Indo-Aryan linguistically can be of some help to the country at large, in rehabilitating its *de facto* common language—Current Hindustani or *Chālū Hindī*.

Linguistics in relation to Indian languages has a great future; and when the other Indian Universities fall in line with that of Calcutta (where four vernaculars—Bengali, Assamese, Hindi and Urdu—have already been given the status of languages for instruction and examination, with text-books in these languages, for the Matriculation, with the ideal of gradually making the vernaculars replace English in the college classes too), Indian Linguistics and Indian Philology are bound to become two of the major scientific and cultural studies in our country, going hand in hand with the teaching of the mother-tongue and its literature, as well as with higher research.

KAVIRATNA SATYANARAYANA.

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कविरत्न सत्यनारायण.

इस समय जब कि गद्य और पद्य दोनों के लिये हिन्दी में खड़ी बोली का प्रयोग हो रहा है ऐसे एक दो कवि मिल जाते हैं जो केवल ब्रजभाषा (ब्रजबोली) में ही अपनी काव्य रचनाएँ लिखते हैं। हिन्दी के आधुनिक काल में श्रीयुत सत्यनारायण जी रत्नाकर जी और वियोगी हरि जी ऐसे ही कवियों में हैं जिनकी पद्यमयी रचनाएँ ब्रजबोली में ही है। रत्नाकरजी का "उद्धव-शतक" "गंगावतरण" और श्री. वियोगी हरिजी की "वीर-सतसई" उन काव्यरत्नों में से हैं जिनसे हिन्दी भाषा का गौरव बहुत बढ़ गया है। कविवर सत्यनारायण की "हृदय-तरंग" और उनके महाकवि भवभूति के "उत्तरराम चरित" तथा "मालतीमाधव" नाटक के अनुवाद हिन्दी साहित्य की स्थायी निधि में प्रवेश पा चुके हैं। कवि-वर सत्यनारायण की जीवनी अखिल भारतीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन ने प्रकाशित की है पर भी उनके काव्य पर जितना प्रकाश पडना चाहिए था उतना नहीं पडा है। और इस में आश्चर्य ही क्या? इस खड़ी बोली के युग में ब्रजबोली के इस निर्धन निसंतान, असामयिक मृत्यु को प्राप्त होने की फुटकर कविताओं को पढने की यदि चिन्ता न दिखाई पडे तो विस्मय का कोई कारण नहीं है। इसमें सन्देह नहीं है कि उत्तर भारतवर्ष में भवभूति के नाटकों में मूल रचना का आनन्द मिलता है। इनकी भाषा सजीव ब्रजबोली है। वह भाषा नहीं जिसका व्यवहार केवल काव्य में

होती है और जो कुछ शिक्षित समाज के भीतर ही प्रवेश पाकर संतुष्ट हो जाती है ॥

कविवर के जिस जीवन चरित्र का उल्लेख ऊपर किया जा चुका है वह बडी योग्यता से लिखा गया है और उसमें दी गई घटनाएँ कवि की रचनाओं पर यथेष्ट प्रकाश डालती हैं। आगरे में अभी बहुत से ऐसे सज्जनों का सतसंग प्राप्य है, जिनके यहां सत्यनारायण जी नित्य जाया करते थे, और जो उनके साथ स्कूल और कालेज में पढे थे, इसलिए अभी वे सब साधन उपलब्ध हैं जिनके द्वारा सत्यनारायणजी की काव्यकुशलता की ठीक २ आलोचना हो सकती है ॥

कविरत्न ने अपने सीधे, सरल और अकृत्रिम जीवन में व्रजबोली बोलने और उसमें ही लिखने की प्रतिज्ञा की थी। व्रजभाषा की तो वे मूर्ति थे, सेंट जान्स कालेज का बी.ए. और एफ.ए. क्लास में अपनी वृंदावनी बारहबंदी और दुपलिया टोपी से वे एकाकी धज रखते थे। नित्य बोलचाल में प्रिन्सपल हेथार्नवेट तक से व्रज की बोली में ही बात कर दिया करते थे। उनकी "दद्दू हमऊ जाइक्कें" अब इस कालेज की दीवारों से प्रतिध्वनित होती सुनाई पडती है ॥

महाकवि कबीर की भांति वे भी ऐसे पिता की संतान थे जिनसे उनकी माता ने विवाह नहीं किया था। अधिक स्पष्ट शब्दों में हिन्दू समाज की बाल विवाह रूपी कुरीति ने सत्यनारायण जैसी विभूति समाज को प्रदान की थी। कवि की माता विदूषी थी, और तुलसीदास जी के रामचरित मानस को अपने बालक को सुनाया करती थी। उसका जीवन दुखमय था और यही कारण है कि करुणारस की कविता में सत्यनारायण का मन भी लगा और उनकी सभी अच्छी कविताएँ इसी रस की हैं ॥

जिन लोगों ने उन्हें देखा है उन का कथन है कि सत्यनारायण जी की आंखों में स्नेह बरसा करता था, और उन के मुख पर उन की सदाशयता और निष्कपटता स्मित हास्य के रूप में झलकी पडती थी। सत्यनारायण जी के कविता पाठ करने की विधि बड़ी ही मधुर और अपूर्व

थीं। सहृदय भावुक तो सुनते समय बेसुध हो जाते थे। वे स्वयं पढ़ते समय भावावेश में झूमने लगते थे। व्रजभाषा की कोमल-कांत पदावली और सत्यनारायण जी का कोकिलकंठ मणी कांचन का योग था। उच्चारण विस्पष्टता और स्वर की गंभीरता के अतिरिक्त उनमें अनुभूति की वह तल्लीनता थी जो कवि की कविता द्वारा चित्र उपस्थित करती और उससे प्रभावित करती है। इन के कवितापाठने भावुक शिरोमणी कवि रवीन्द्र और स्वामी रामतीर्थ को मुग्ध किया था। सत्यनारायण को कवि सम्राट भारतीय हृदय कविवर रवीन्द्रनाथ ने 'व्रज कोकिल' के नाम से पुकारा था।

सत्यनारायण जी का जीवन दुःखमय करुणारस की कहानी है। माता की मृत्यु से कष्ट तथा विवाह के पश्चात उनका पारिवारिक जीवन भी दुखमय ही था। अपनी स्त्री के व्यवहार से वे सदैव असन्तुष्ट ही थे। इसी लिये उनकी रचनाओं में करुणारस प्रधान है। उनके व्यथित और विपन्न हृदय से ही ये पद निकले थे—

भयौ क्यों अनचाहत कौ संग।
सब जग के तुम दीपक मोहन प्रेमी हमहुँ पतंग॥
लखि तव दीपति देह शिखा में निरत बिरह लौ लागी।
खिंचति आप सों आप उतहिं यह ऐसी प्रकृति अभागी॥
यद्यपि स्नेह भरी तव बतियाँ तऊ अचरज की बात।
योग वियोग दोउन में इक सम नित्य जरावत गात॥
जब जब लखत तवहि तब चरनन वारत तन मन प्रान।
जासों अधिक कहा तुम निरदय चाहत प्रेम प्रमान॥
सतत चुरावत ऐसो निज तन अन्तर तनिक न भावत।
निराकार है जात यहाँ लौ तउ जन को तरसावत॥ इत्यादि।

मंगलाचरण, विनय प्रार्थना, वंदना, स्तोत्र, उपालम्भ, प्रकृतिवर्णन, राष्ट्रीय कविता, भजन, आदि उन्होंने बहुत प्रकारकी रचनाएँ लिखी हैं जिनमें भावुकता और सहृदयता से युक्त कवि-हृदय वर्तमान है। उसमें

अनुभव की अपेक्षा प्रतिभा अधिक है। उदाहरण के लिये 'माधव आप सदा के कोरे' वाले पद में यह पद देखिये ॥

"नाम धरै तुमको जग मोहन। मोहन तुम को आवै।
करुणा निधि तुव हृदय न एकहु कारण बुंद समोवै" ॥

आदि। सत्यनारायण जी ने वसन्त, शरद ऋतुओं का वर्णन भी अच्छा किया है। उनके उन वर्णनों में कवियों द्वारा बताई गई वस्तुओं का परिगणन मात्र ही नहीं है, वरन उस भावना का उल्लेख है जिसने इन ऋतुओं में कवि के हृदय को चोट पहुंचाई थी। वसंत का यह वर्णन मेरे इस कथन को स्पष्ट कर देगा :—

"वह देखो नव कली भली निज मुख हिं निकारति।
लगि लगि वात प्रभात गात अलसात सम्हारति ॥
प्रथम समागम समर जीति मुख मुदित दिखावति।
लहकि लहकि जनु स्वाद लेन को भाव बतावति ॥
मुख हि मोरि जमुहाति भरी तन अतन उमंगति।
जोम जुवानी जगे चहति रस रंग तरंगनि ॥
वह देखौं अलि पुंज कली कल कुंज गुंजारति।
मानहु मोहन मनहि मदन को मंत्र उचारति ॥
ठौर ठौर मधु अंध भयो वह देखौ झूमत।
कबहुँ जापर वापर यों सब ही पर घूमत ॥'

*　*　*　*　*　*

कविरत्न सत्यनारायण के विषय में प्रसिद्ध है कि कविता करने का चाव उन्हें बचपन से ही था। अपने प्राइमरी स्कूल के मास्टर की मासिक पत्रिकाओं की कविताओं को नकल कर के उन्हें कण्ठ करना उनके बाल्यकाल का स्वभाव था, पीछे सयाने होने पर भूगोल, इतिहास तथा अंग्रेजी के पदों को भी कविता में लिखने का तो उन्हें अभ्यास पड़ गया था। मित्रों को पद्य में पत्र तो इन्होंने बहुत बार लिखे हैं और ऐसे कई

पत्र उनके जीवन चारित में छपे हैं, पर उन के जन्मसिद्ध कवि होने को प्रमाणित करने के लिये यह घटना यथेष्ट है। एक बार वे इंटरमिडियेट की परीक्षा में बैठ रहे थे। अंग्रेजी के परचे से पूर्व रात्रि को वर्षा हो गयी। इस से आसपास के वृक्षों के पत्ते धुल गये। और प्रातःकाल की सूर्यरश्मियों ने उन में एक अपूर्व सौन्दर्य एकत्रित कर दिया। कविरत्नजी उसे देखने में ऐसे बेसुध हुये कि परचे का समय ही निकल गया। पर "धोये धोये पातन" वाली यह कविता लिख गयी॥

पौन की सनक घन सघन ठनक चारु
चंचल चिलकि सतदेव चहुँ चाली है।
बादर की कड़ी झड़ी लगी चहुँघा सो वर
बोलत पपैया 'पिय पिय' प्रन पाली है॥
आतुर सौ दादुर उछरि दुर दुर देत
दीरघ अवाज बाज गाज मतवाली है।
सीतल प्रभात वात खात हरखात गात
धोये धोये पातनु को बात ही निराली है॥

सत्यनारायण जी बडे ही सरस थे। एक बार वे ज्वालापुर (हरिद्वार) में पं. पद्मसिंह शर्मा जी से मिलने गये। वहाँ उन्हों ने बडी नम्रता से यह पद परिचय के रूप भेंट किया—

निरत नागरी नेहरत रसिकन ढिंग विसराम।
आयौ हौं तुव दरस कौं सत्यनरायन नाम॥

उनके हास्यरस का यह पद भी प्रसिद्ध है—

देखौ अंगरेजनको खेल निकास्यौं माटी में ते तेल।
जरे जैसे घिय कौ सौ दिवला॥

अपने भविष्य में कहा करते थे "कोरो सत्यग्राम को वासी कहा तकल्लुफ जानै"। सत्यनारायण की सब से बडी विशेषता यह है कि उनकी कविता की भाषा में उस ब्रज की बोली के शब्दों मुहाविरों और उदाहरणों का वर्णन है, जो आज भी ब्रज में बोली जाती है। ब्रजबोली

के संबंध में एकबार उन्होंने कहा था " सज्जनों जाके मुंह में रसीली बातें लगा गई हैं वाई कडुई बिचौरी कैसे भावेंगी " । खडीबोलीवालों के प्रति उनके हृदय में सम्मान था । एक खडी बोली के कवि के सम्मुख कविता पढ़ने से पूर्व उन्होंने कहा था " नांय नांय पंडत जी मोरे बडे हैं । इनके सामने मैं नांय बोलुंगो " । व्रज के बोली के लिये उनकी यह कामना थी—

सजन सरस घन स्याम अब दीजै रस बरसाय ।
जासों व्रज भाषा लता हरी भरी लहराय ॥

* * * * * *

क्यौं जासों मन फिरयो कृपा करि कछुक जतावौ ।
वृथा आत्मा या व्रजभाषा की न सतावौ ॥

सत्यनारायण जी ने एक दो खडीबोली की कवितायें भी लिखी है, पर वे अपवाद स्वरूप हैं । कवि सम्राट पं अयोध्या सिंह जी के ' प्रिय प्रवास ' पर उन्होंने उसी छन्द में यह पद लिखे थे—

प्रिय प्रवास लखा प्रिय आप का
सरस ओजमई कविता पढी ।
मन प्रसन्न पुनीत महा हुआ
हृदय में गुण श्रीपति के लिखे ॥
कहीं यशोदा प्रिय पुत्र प्रेम में
अगाध करुणा उर में जगा रही ।
तथैव संतप्त कहीं कलापती
वियोग दावानल दग्ध राधिका ॥ इत्यादि ॥

संक्षेप में मैं ने आप के सम्मुख यह भाव उपस्थित करने की चेष्टा की है कि इस खडी बोली के युग में भी व्रजभाषा मरी नहीं है । कृष्ण-प्रेम जब तक सजीव है तब तक उसको प्रकट करनेवाली बोली भी अमर है, और प्रतिकूल परिस्थिति में भी जिस बोली ने सत्यनारायण जैसा

कविरत्न उत्पन्न किया है वह बोली सदा अपनी सरसता से भावुक जनों को आकर्षित करती रहेगी। जिन्हें कविरत्न के सम्बन्ध में विशेष अध्ययन करने की इच्छा हो वह उनका 'हृदय तरंग' और हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलन द्वारा प्रकाशित जीवन चरित पढे, और आगरे की यात्रा में ताजमहल देखते समय उसी सड़क पर केवल दो फरलांग की दूरी पर सत्यनारायण के गाँव जाकर वहाँ इस कवि की उक्ति को चरितार्थ करें—

'जो यह पढ़ै कहानी, हम संवरै दुई बोल'

BEGINNINGS OF HINDUSTANI POETRY IN INDIA

By Dr. H. C. Ray., M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (London),

University Lecturer, Calcutta.

The *Ṭabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Nizām-ud-Dīn while describing Maḥmūd of Gazni's seige of Kāliñjar states that its ruler [1] Nandā presented some elephants to the Amīr. These elephants we are told were let loose from inside the fort without any drivers. Mahmūd ordered his Turkish soldiers to catch hold of them and mount them. When this was accomplished the Indian soldiers in the fort were much astonished and their king Nandā sent some verses which he had composed in the Hindu tongue[2] in praise of the Muslim prince. The latter showed them to the eloquent men of Hindustan and other poets[3] who were in attendance on him. This happened in the year 413 A.H. (1022 A.D.).

This is perhaps the earliest reference to Hindustani poetry. As Muslim writers like al-Bīrūnī or Amīr Khusrau refer to Sanskrit as Sanskrit, it is not likely that Hindī is here an adjective of the word Hind (India) meaning Sanskrit, the language *par excellence* of *Hind.* Another fact that makes it probable that Hindī here

1 Nandā of the Persian chronicles of India is a mistake for Bidā *i.e.*, Vidyādhara, the powerful Candrātreya (Candella) ruler and not for his father Ganda. For detailed discussion on the point see author's *Dynastic History of Northern India,* Vol. I, p. 604 ff. and *Ibid,* Vol. II, p. 688.

2. *Kitāb Zainul Akhbar* of Gardizi (Ed. by Nazim, Berlin 1928) has *Lughat-i-Hindui.*

3. Firista (Brigg's Trans., Vol. I, P. 67) has learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia.

means *Hindustani* is the date of the earliest of the Hindī poet so far known, *viz.*, Mas'ūd ibn Sa'd, who lived in the court of Ibrāhīm, the grandson of Maḥmūd, and died c. 515 or 525 A. H. (1121 or 1130 A. D.). Ma'sūd's family were immigrants from Hamdan in Persia and his *Diwans* in Arabic, Persian and Hindī verses are referred to by Amīr Khusrau. It is thus clear that at the beginning of the 12th century Hindī as a literature was so well known that even foreigners composed verses in it. It is not unlikely that a hundred years before this the beginnings of Hindustani may be traced to the courts of the Indian princes, who had to carry on intercourse with the Muslim rulers on the frontier.[1]

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[1] See on this point my chapter on the history of the Candrātreyas of Jejā-Bhukti (Chapter XI, P 692) in my Dynastic History of Northern India (Early Mediæval Period) Vol., II, 1935, Calcutta University.

POETS' CONGRESS

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY KAVIRATNA THAKUR GOPAL SARAN SINGH,

Naigarhi, Rewa State (C. P.)

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply sensible of the great honour which you have done me in asking me to preside over the Assembly of Indian Poets at this Conference. I feel, however, that I have little claim to the eminence which you have conferred upon me, for in this Great land of ours there are many who by virtue of their position would fill this Chair much more worthily and with greater distinction. In giving my consent to preside over this gathering, I assure you that I was under no delusion regarding the suitability of your choice, but I was compelled to obey your behest lest my refusal should place you in an awkward predicament. I hope I may count upon the generosity, which inspired the offer, to help me in conducting the deliberations of this Assemblage to a successful conclusion.

I know I need all your sympathy in this task. The conference of poets is a novel idea, for who can imagine the frenzied stargazer, the half-mad devotee of the goddess of beauty, the lonely wanderer in the lands of dream and fancy to sedately sit in a prosaic gathering for logical palaver and systematic debate?

Did not Plato, the ancient philosopher of Greece, refuse him admission into a well ordered state, "because he awakens and nourishes and strengthens the feelings and impairs the reason"? And does not the modern world

following the cult of the useful and the efficient hold in contempt the art which is born of the useless and lives in the unreal? They say the poet is a magician who juggles with words and produces with them an illusory world which is a fit dwelling place for the idler, the day dreamer and the builder of castles in the air. The poet is an imitator, three degrees removed from the Creator of the Truth that is eternal and everlasting. He holds the mirror up to the nature to show only the reflection of reality. He dwells among shadows and moves among ghosts which melt into nothingness in the presence of light. At best poetry is merely ornamental, an embroidery on the garment of life and is it not a mockery to lay many hued silk threads, glittering silver and burnished gold on the cloth which is old and worn and tattered. For, is not human life woven from the warp and woof of the suffering and misery of the poor and the humble and the injustice and tyranny of the mighty and the powerful? Is not human history the plaything of a stark and inexorable destiny of an incomprehensible and overwhelming force and poetry the gaily painted but fleeting rainbow which plays upon the foam, over the roaring waterfall engaged in its never ending task of destruction and ruin?

If poetry then is like sun-kissed dew hanging on the foliage on a winter morning, joy giving, but ephemeral, and the poet a forlorn weaver of gossamer that will not endure and is unavailing, why foregather in conferences like this and break in upon this strange, far away world?

My answer is that this conception of poetry is far from the truth. Poetry is not an artifical creation which man has made merely for the pleasure of the passing hour. It is inborn, co-eval with his nature. It is the vehicle of his deepest emotions, his fiercest passions, his most exalted moods; it provides the wings which enable the poet to soar in the pure empyrean above the humdrum partial and transient deliverances of his earthly existence. In the words of Carlyle, poetry is "A kind of inarticulate unfathomable speech which leads us to the edge of the infinite and lets us for moments gaze into that."

Man seeks for ever the fulfilment of his wants which are two-fold. Some of them make demands on him whose satisfaction gives only a momentary fulfilment which leaves behind an emptiness soliciting imperiously a repetition of the same. The others arise out of his self as a whole seeking a permanent satisfaction of his hunger for love, beauty and Truth. It is the function of poetry to satisfy this hunger. Patriotism, love and religion are visions which the poets' eye in a fine frenzy rolling bodies forth and the poet's pen turns to shape.

The poet is truly a maker and not an imitator. Poetry, according to Aristotle, 'is more philosophic and of graver import than history, since its statements are of the Nature rather of universals, whereas those of history are particular.' The world of phenomena whether recorded in science or history is transitory. It is born and it dies from moment to moment. Science and history are attempts of human minds to endow its glimpses with a durability which is never secure. Poetry, on the other hand, raises shrines in which reality lives for ever to gladden the hearts which long for its vision. Poets are like fishermen, who throw their nets into the wide and deep sea of reality. Some of them draw priceless gems and pearls of purest ray serene. others catch sea weed and rotten fish which are a heavy drag on the nets and a stinking nuisance to those who live by the shore. The poet is an adventurer of the spirit who voyages abroad in search of—

> Magic casements, opening on the foam
> Of perilous seas, in fairy lands forlorn.

Real poetry is in truth divine. It delivers man from the bondage of sense. "It withdraws life's dark veil from before the scene of things." "It makes us the inhabitants of a world to which the familiar world is a Chaos" (Shelley). It continuously reminds us that our journey through life is a pilgrimage whose goal is the realisation of perfection, the attainment of the glory which was never seen over land and sea, the return of the exile to his eternal home.

If poetry is a Gift of God, the port is His Prophet. Poets are not only the authors "of language and music, of the dance and architecture and statuary and painting, they are the institutors of Laws and the founders of Civil Society and the inventors of the art of life and the teachers who draw into a certain propinquity with the beautiful and the True, that partial apprehension of the agencies of the invisible world which is called Religion" (Shelley).

Our Country stands in need to-day, of the poet such as Shelley indicated. Our whole tradition points to the tremendous debt which our Civilization owes to him. Our Vedas and Upanishads contain the records of the sublime flights of imagination and spirit of our poet seers and they have shaped and regulated for thousands of years the conduct of man. The Bhagavadgīta whose luminous wisdom and mystic faith have combined to formulate a Unique Philosophy of action is the Song Divine. Again song, poetry and dance constituted the media of expression for the intoxicated builders of the religion of Bhakti in the middle ages, *viz.*, of the Aḷvārs of the Tamil land and of the Saints of the North like Kabir, Nanak, Chaitanya and Tukaram. Modern India waits with a wistful eye the appearance of a poet whose magic power will reconcile the parted, weld into unity the scattered groups of life, help us to bury into oblivion the memory of the unhappy past and call us to climb steadily to the crest of the hill where we shall lay securely the foundations of the City which will be the dwelling place of Happiness for ever.

PANDITA PARISHAD

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDYAVACHASPATI

PROF. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S., (*Rtd.*)

अयि मान्या अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासभापतयः, मान्याः सोदर्यः, महामान्या बहुमानितविपश्चिद्विशेषाः, अस्मिन्नष्टमेऽखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलने संस्कृतशाखाध्यक्ष्यं मयाङ्गीकर्तव्यमिति यदाज्ञापितमध्यक्षैस्तच्छिरसि निधीयते मयेदानीम् । अस्मिन्प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलने विशेषतः संस्कृतशाखायां यदाध्यक्ष्यं मयि स्थापितम् तन्महत्सुकृतफलमिति भावयामि । अयं तु समयः संस्कृतभाषासेवां कर्तुं सुकृतवशात् संपन्न इति यथाशक्ति तत्सेवां कर्तुं प्रयते ॥

यत्पूर्वतनसांवत्सरिकसंस्कृतशाखाध्यक्षैर्मयि महत्त्वं प्रकटितं तदर्थवादरीत्या प्रस्तुतमिति वक्तुमुत्सहे । किञ्च यद्यपि तादृशं महत्त्वं मयि नास्त्येव तथापि—

सिद्ध्यन्ति कर्मसु महत्स्वपि यन्नियोज्याः
  सम्भावना गुणमवेहि तमीश्वराणाम् ।
किं वा भविष्यदरुणस्तमसां विभेत्ता
  तं चेत्सहस्रकिरणो धुरि नाकरिष्यत् ॥

इत्युक्त्यनुरोधेन यथारुणोऽन्धकारनिष्कासने स्वयमशक्तोऽपि भगवत उष्णरश्मेः प्रभावात् प्रोत्साहाद्गाढान्धकारमपि निर्मूलयितुं शक्तो भवति तथैवाहमपि अत्रभवतां विद्वद्वराणां प्रोत्साहनेन यथाशक्ति संस्कृतभाषासेवां कर्तुं प्रभवेयमिति सुदृढं विश्वसिमि ॥

संस्कृतभाषाया महिमा न केनापि वर्णयितुं शक्यते । महामान्वीमनितरसाधारणप्रभाववतीं संस्कृतभाषां तदभिज्ञान्पण्डितवरांश्च सभाजयितुं प्रवृत्ता भवन्त एव—

नैवात्मनः प्रभुरयं निजलाभपूर्णो
मानं जनादविदुषः करुणो वृणीते ।
यद्यज्जनो भगवते विदधीत मानं
तच्चात्मने प्रतिमुखस्य यथा मुखश्रीः ॥

इति प्रह्लादकृतस्तोत्राभिप्रायानुसारेण मान्याः पूज्याश्च भविष्यन्तीति सप्रमोदं वदामि ॥

कस्मिंश्चिद्वत्सरे इदमखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्यासंमेलनं प्रयागक्षेत्रे प्रचलितमभूत् । अहमपि तत्रासम् । वारणसीविद्वांसश्चासन् । एकस्मिन्दिने सन्ध्याकाले तत्रत्यैः कैश्चित्पण्डितैर्मां दृष्ट्वा साकूतमेवमुपक्षिप्तम् । अखिलभारतयिप्राच्याविद्यासंमेलनस्यास्य कस्मिंश्चित्कोणे पण्डितशाखेति काचन शाखा स्थापिता दृश्यते । किमितराः शाखा अपण्डितानाम्? इयमेकैव शाखा पण्डितानाम्?—इति व्यञ्जनया बोधयितुमियं रीतिः समाद्रियत? किम् वयमेव पण्डिताः? नान्ये? वयं सोष्णीषा अतो वयमेव पण्डिताः किम्? किमर्थमयं विभागः? 'समबुद्धिर्विशिष्यते' 'यस्य साम्यम् व्यवस्थितम्'—इति हि खलु भगवदुद्घोषः एवं स्थिते किमर्थमयं विभागः? इति । ब्र॥ श्री॥ काशीराजेश्वरशास्त्रिणश्च तत्रासन् । तस्योपक्षेपस्योत्तरदाने प्रवृत्तोऽहम् विमर्शकशाखेति काचन शाखा पण्डितशाखेति काचन शाखा, इत्येवंप्रकारेण बहुधा शाखा वर्तन्त इत्यादिकं प्रवक्तुं यदोद्युक्तोऽभूवम् तदा कश्चन तार्किकः "किं नाम पाण्डित्यम्? किं नाम विमर्शकत्वम्?" इत्येवमन्वयुङ्क्त । तदानीम् मयोक्तम् ।

यद्यपि सर्वदेशकालानुगुण्येन पण्डितस्य लक्षणं प्रतिपादयितुमसाध्यमेव तथापि पण्डितप्रकाण्डैः पाण्डित्यस्य लक्षणं यथाप्रतिपादितं तथा वर्णयितुं [illegible] एव ॥ कालविशेषेण वा देशविशेषेण वा विपर्यासमलब्ध्वा, [illegible]मनवलम्ब्य, परमार्थज्ञानमात्रमवलंब्य पण्डितैः पाण्डित्यस्य स्वरूपं

प्रकाशितमभूत् । जातिकुलवयोधनादिकमनपेक्ष्यैव परमार्थज्ञानमात्रेण पण्डिता अभवन् । भागवतैरपि—

न शूद्रा भगवद्भक्ता विप्रा भागवताः स्मृताः ॥

इत्यादिना जात्यादिकमनवलम्ब्य भगवद्भक्ता विप्रा इत्युच्यन्ते। ते च पण्डितवीराः वैराग्यप्रधानाः प्रज्ञाघना धीराश्चाभवन् । पाणिनिपतञ्जलिव्यासकालिदासप्रभृतिभिः पण्डितवर्यैर्ये विषया उल्लिखितास्तानेव विषयान्विमर्शका अपीदानीमवलम्ब्य विचारार्थे प्रवर्तन्ते । तेषां पण्डितवर्याणां ज्ञानमेव बलमभूत् । नैव तेषां गृहारामादिकं वा, धनकनकादिकं वा, पुत्रमित्रादिकं वा बलमभूत्—

'किं तेन न कृतं पापं चोरेणात्मापहारिणा ।
योऽन्यथा सन्तमात्मानमन्यथा प्रतिपद्यते ॥'

इति वदता भगवता व्यासमहर्षिणाऽध्यात्मज्ञानाभाववतः पापात्मत्वं ज्ञानिनस्त्वर्थात्पुण्यात्मकत्वं च प्रतिपादितम् । तथा च परमार्थज्ञानमेव निरूपचारितम् पाण्डित्यस्य लक्षणमिति सिद्धम् । ब्रह्मचर्यं, नैरपेक्ष्यम्, धैर्यं, ज्ञानैकशरणतेत्यादयो येन पुरुषेणावलम्ब्यन्ते स एव श्रेयोभागी, मान्यो नान्य इति सिद्धम् ॥

कस्मिंश्चित्समये कविसार्वभौमो दौत्ये नियोजितः कुन्तलेश्वरं जगाम । तदानीं स कविसार्वभौमो महाराजेन न सभाजितो यथार्हम्। तदा राजसभायां महान्कोलाहलः समजनि । विद्वद्भिः प्रतिबोधितो महाराजः स्वन्यूनतां ज्ञात्वा तस्मै कविसार्वभौमाय देशकालानुगुणं समादरं प्रदर्शयामास यथोचितमासनं च तस्मै प्रायच्छत् । तदानीं स कविसार्वभौमो महाराजसत्कारमप्यविगणय्य पण्डितानां धरणिरेव योग्यमासनमित्युक्त्वा भूमितल एवोपविवेशेति ज्ञायते । एवमेव विजयनगराधिपतेः प्रधानामात्यैर्विद्यारण्यैस्तत्रागमनार्थं प्रार्थिता वेदान्तदेशिकाचार्या अपि अनितरसाधारणं धैर्यमवलम्ब्य शास्त्रार्थोपदेश एव यत्रकुत्रापि स्थित्वा कर्तव्य इति ज्ञात्वा 'वयमत्रैव स्थित्वा भगवन्तमेव सेवितुं निश्चिनुमह' इत्यवदन्निति श्रुणुमः ॥

अस्मद्दौर्भाग्यवशादिदानीं तादृशधीरा विरक्ता ज्ञानिनः पण्डितप्रवरा विरलाः, प्रायेणाकिञ्चनाश्चाभवन् ॥

इदानीं पण्डितशब्दस्तदर्थश्चाकुलीकृतौ दृश्येते । भ्रान्तं तान्त्रीकृत्य पण्डितशब्दं पण्डित् इति विकृत्य प्रयुञ्जते जनाः । अर्थोऽप्यस्य शब्दस्य बहुधा ह्रस्वीकृत्य व्यवह्रियते । न केवलमस्मत्संस्कृतपण्डितानामेवेदृशं लघुत्वं दृश्यते किन्त्वाक्स्थोलजीत्यादिविषयकपण्डितानामप्येवमेव लघुत्वं दृश्यते ॥

वस्तुत इदानीमपि बहुश्रुता गुणज्ञा यशस्विनो ज्ञानिनः पण्डिता वर्तन्त एवेत्यत्र न कोऽपि संशयः ॥

विमर्शकत्वं कीदृशमित्यस्योत्तरं देयमिदानीम् । स्वसमानाधिकरण-संस्कृताद्यनिष्णाततताकत्वम् तदिति केषाञ्चिदभिप्रायः । परममी विमर्शका विषयान्विचार्य सम्यक् शोधयित्वा वस्तुस्वरूपपरिज्ञानाय प्रयतन्ते । अमी विमर्शका नोद्धताः । निर्णीतान्विषयान्सर्वानप्यन्येभ्यः प्रकाशयन्ति । शब्द-मर्थञ्च सम्यग्विचार्य निर्णयं कुर्वते । प्रपञ्चस्य स्वरूपं तत्त्वं च विचार्य निर्णयार्थं प्रवर्तन्ते ॥

इयं विचारपद्धतिरस्मत्पूर्वजैरप्याद्दतासीत् । प्रमाणप्रमेयादिव्यवस्था-विषये विचारः कर्तव्य इत्यक्षपादेनाप्युक्तम् । पाश्चात्यो डेकार्ट् महाशयश्च सर्वत्र संशयः कर्तव्यः, यद्यपि स संशयोऽधिष्ठानावशेषो भवतीत्यभ्यधत्त ॥

एतावता विचारेण विमर्शनस्य कर्तव्यत्वं प्राप्तम् । तच्च विमर्शनं संशयमात्रपर्यवसितं निष्फलं भवति । निर्णयपर्यवसितं च स्वप्रयोजनं भवति । व्यायामेन शरीरदार्ढ्यं यथा संपाद्यते तथा विमर्शनेन मानसिकदार्ढ्यं संपादयितुं शक्यते । तस्माद्विमर्शनाख्यसंस्कारसंस्कृतं मनः परमार्थवस्तु-स्वरूपपरिज्ञाने समर्थं भवति । तच्च परिज्ञानम् पाण्डित्येन विना नैव कर्तुं शक्यत इत्यतः पाण्डितसरणेर्विचारसरणिः सहायभूता भवेत् । पण्डितसरणिश्च विमर्शनसरणिप्रधाना भवेत् । एवं सति परस्परं भावयन्तो विमर्शकाः पण्डित-श्रेष्ठाः परं श्रेयः साधयेयुरिति दृढं विश्वसिमि ॥

PARAMARTHAMADVAITAM DARSANAM.

BY

VIDVAN S. VITTHALA SASTRY.

परमार्थमद्वैतं दर्शनम्.

१. अद्वैतदर्शनमधिकृत्य किञ्चिदुपन्यसितुकामोऽस्म्यद्य भवत्सन्निधौ। न मयेदानीं प्रतिपाद्यन्तेऽद्वैतदर्शनगता महावादाः, नापि खण्ड्यन्ते दर्शनान्तरेषु दरीदृश्यमाणा प्रतिवादाः। किन्तु अद्वैतदर्शनमहिमा कीदृशः, अस्य च समादरणेन कियान्भवेदाधुनिकलोकस्योपकारः—इत्येतदेवोपहारीकर्तुमभिलषाम्येतत्सम्मेलनसदस्यमहोदयानाम्। यथैतद्दर्शनप्रतिपाद्यं परमार्थं तत्त्वं निरुपचरितमद्वितीयमेवेति निश्चप्रचम् तथैतद्दर्शनमपि अर्थतोऽप्यद्वितीयमेव दर्शनेषु प्राच्येषु पाश्चात्येषु वा। एतदेवैकं दर्शनं सर्वप्रकारेणापि दर्शनशब्दार्हमिति मे मतिः, यत्कारणमन्यानि दर्शनानि कानिचित्तर्कशरणानि, कानिचिच्छब्दप्रमाणमात्रशरणानि, अद्वैतं तु केवलं शास्त्रतर्कसङ्गमनेन सार्वत्रिकानुभववेद्यं वस्तु प्रतिपादयतीति ॥

२. अस्मिन्दर्शनेऽयमेको महान्विशेषो यदत्राधुनिकविज्ञानशास्त्रविचारसरणिमनुसृत्यैव विषयपरिशीलनं क्रियते। यथा विज्ञानशास्त्रे वस्तुनिरीक्षणपरीक्षणसंवादीकरणलक्षणः क्रम आद्रियते, यथा च तत्र प्रकृतविचारविषयान्सर्वानपि निरीक्षणादिगोचरतामापाद्यैव तद्विषये यः कश्चन सामान्यनियमः सिद्धान्ततया प्राप्यते तथैवात्रापि विज्ञेयतया सकलाभ्युपगतं स्वान्तर्भावितसकलवादिकल्पितनानापदार्थमवस्थात्रिकं परीक्ष्य तदनुभवं समरसीकृत्यैव स्थाप्यते सिद्धान्ततया परमार्थमद्वितीयं तत्त्वमिति महदिदं विलक्षणत्वं तत्त्वजिज्ञासूनामिति ॥

३. द्वितीयोऽयं विशेषो मनसि क्रियतां महाद्भिः यदत्राद्वैतदर्शने शैववैष्णवशाक्तेयक्रैस्तमहम्मदादिमतावलम्बनमनावलम्बनं वा तेषां नैव प्रतिबन्धकं भवेदत्रप्रतिपादितानां तत्त्वानां निर्धारण इति । शैवाः शिव इति, वैष्णवा विष्णुरिति, शाक्तेयाः शक्तिरिति, क्रिस्तियाः परलोकस्थः पितेति, महम्मदीयाः अल्लाह इति च यमेव परमेश्वरं सर्वजगत्कारणं सर्वस्व-तन्त्रं चाभिप्रयन्ति तस्य परमार्थं तत्त्वमेवास्मिन्दर्शने सर्वात्मतया प्रतिपाद्यत इति नैवापेक्षितमत्र मतपरिवर्तनं तत्त्वपरीक्षकाणाम् । नकेवलमेवम्, किन्तु योऽयं सर्वेषामीश्वरवादिनां साधारणोऽभ्युपगमः—परमेश्वरः सर्वस्वतन्त्रः, सर्वज्ञः, सदानन्दघन इति, सर्वे च जीवाः परमेश्वरांशाश्चिन्मात्रस्वरूपाः, परमेश्वरभक्त्या तत्सन्निधिं गन्तारः परमानन्दमयीं परमगतिं प्राप्तारश्चेति, सकलमिदं ब्रह्माण्डं परमेश्वरायत्तसृष्टिस्थितिलयमिति च तस्यास्याभ्युपगमस्य वीर्यवत्तानेनैव दर्शनेनाभिधीयते ब्रह्मैवेदं विश्वम्, एतमानन्दमयमात्मानमुप-संक्रामतीति चोपदिशतीति सुप्रसिद्धमेतत् । अपरं च न केवलमास्तिकाः किन्तु नास्तिका अपि स्वात्मानं प्रत्याख्यातुमसमर्थाः प्रक्रियायामस्यां प्रवेशि-तमनसो यावद्विचारयन्ति तावत्संपादितदैवसंपदो सर्वात्मानं परमात्मानं साक्षा-त्कर्तुमलमित्यहो वैभवमस्य दर्शनस्य ॥

४. अथ तृतीयो विशेषो दर्शनस्यास्य सावधानं श्रूयताम् । अखि-लभूमण्डलेतिहासमुपश्रुतवतां विदितमेवेदं यद्दर्शनानि परःशतं तत्तत्काले प्रादुर्भूतानि, तदानीन्तनैः श्रेयःसाधनतया समालिङ्गितानि च विस्तृतस्वयशः-पताकान्यपीदानीं नामावशेषतया इतिहासमात्रगम्यानि संजातानीति । नापि चित्रमेतत् यत् करालकालवदने पतितानां तेषां मृत्युदर्शनमशक्यनिवारणं इति । अपि च येषां दर्शनानां युक्तयस्तत्तत्काले सर्वप्रबलतया प्रतिभासन्ते स्म तेषामेव युक्तय इदानीं बालिशत्वेन परिगण्यन्त इत्येतदपि सदृशमेवा परिमिततर्कमात्रशरणानां दर्शनाभासानाम् । न तु तादृशमिदमद्वैतदर्शनम्, सर्वदेशकालनिमित्तातीतं, देशकालानामपि स्वात्मलाभमूलं परमद्वितीयात्म-स्वरूपमानन्दघनं प्रतिपादयतीदं दर्शनम् ॥

५. अथ चतुर्थं विशेषमस्य दर्शनस्याविष्करोमि: यदिदमेव , दर्शनं

अद्यतनीं संप्रतितनीं विश्वव्यापिनीमशान्तिं निरवशेषं निवारयितुं क्षमं शाश्वत-सुखसाधनं चोपदेष्टुमिति । सर्वे वयं नित्यं शान्तिं सुखं च निरुपप्लवं काङ्क्षमाणाः प्रवर्तामहे । सर्वोऽप्यस्माकं व्यवहारः शान्तिसुखार्थ एवेति तु निर्विवादम् । अथापि लोके शान्तिः परमदुर्लभेति भाति, सुखं च यावद्यावत्तदर्थे प्रयत्नः संचलति तावत्तावद्दूरत एवापसरतीव दृश्यत इति च सर्वेषां नः प्रत्यक्षमेतत् । नापि तिरोहितमेतद्यदहंकाराश्रयणमेव निदानं सर्वेषामशान्ति-दुःखमूलानाम् दोषाणामिति । न कोऽप्यस्ति तादृशो धर्मो वैदिकोऽवैदिको वा यत्र सोऽयमहङ्कारो न निन्दितः, सर्वानर्थमूलतया हेयतया च न निर्दिष्टः । अहङ्कारमाश्रित्य खलु जनाः कामवशाः सन्तो धर्माधर्मविवेक-मप्यनादृत्य भोग्यवस्तु सञ्चयैकपरायणा भवन्ति । प्रतिहतकामाश्च क्रोधा-विष्टा दम्भदर्पादिदूषिताः शान्तिसुखस्थानाद्वञ्चिताः सञ्चरन्तीति सुप्रसिद्धमे-तत् । न केवलमिदानीं भूमण्डले दरीदृश्यमाणा बान्धवद्वेष–जातिद्वेष–मतद्वेष–राष्ट्रद्वेषादयः पापीयसोऽहंकारस्यैव विलासाः, किन्तु यत्र निरपराधिनो कोटिशो जनाः पशुमारं मार्यन्ते, यदर्थं दीनानां कष्टार्जितं वित्तमपरिमितं निर्दयं व्ययीक्रियते, यत्फलं चिरकालस्थायि क्षामडामरादिकं विद्याविनयाद्युप-घातश्च, तादृशानि विश्वभीकराणि घोराणि युद्धान्यपि तस्यैव रक्षसो भीभत्स-नर्तनानीत्यपि न स्मारणमपेक्षितं विवेकिनाम् । सर्वेष्वपि दर्शनेषु यद्यप्यय-महङ्कारः परित्याज्यतया निर्दिष्ट एव तथापि तस्य निर्वीर्यकरणे न कुत्रापि तादृ-शविजयप्रदो मार्गः प्रादर्शि यथास्मिन्नद्वैतदर्शने । अत्र सिद्धान्ते अहङ्कारस्य मूलमज्ञानमेव सर्वस्यात्मभूतस्य परमात्मन इत्यनुभवारूढं कृतम् । सर्वहृदि सन्निविष्टं परमात्मानमविज्ञायान्तःकरणप्रतिफलितं चिदाभासमेवाविवेकिनः स्वात्मत्वेन प्रतिपन्नाः, यत्फलकमिदमहङ्कारबलदर्पकामक्रोधाद्यासुरसंपदाश्रयणं तेषाम् । अस्य चाज्ञानस्य मूलोत्पाटनार्थमेवोद्योगः सर्वस्याप्यद्वैतदर्शनस्य, तद्विजयदुन्दुभिघोषश्च, परमानन्दघनसर्वसाक्षिसर्वात्मसाक्षात्कारसम्पादनङ्करोति । नन्विदं न सम्मोदस्थानं सर्वेषां शान्तिसुखापेक्षिणामस्माकम् !

६. अन्यच्च—न केवलं मनुष्येष्वेव परस्परप्रेमाभिवृद्धिर्जीवेतद्वैत-वर्धमानिष्ठानां, किन्तु सर्वभूतदयापि स्वरसत एव प्रादुःष्यात् ; [illegible]-

एतद्दर्शनरीत्या न केवलं मनुष्याणामेवात्मा परमानन्दघनः परमेश्वरः अपितु स एव सर्वेषु भूतेषु स्थावरेषु जङ्गमेषु चात्मत्वेन गूढः। आब्रह्मस्तम्बपर्यन्तं स्थितेषु भूतेषु एक एव परमात्मात्मतया स्थितः स एव च ममात्मेति यस्य महात्मनो मतिः, स खलु कथमात्मानमेव स्वयं हिंस्यादिति?

७. अत एव च विविधेषु मतेषु केवलं प्रभुसम्मिततयोपदिष्टाः कर्मयोगभक्त्यादयोऽपि दर्शनेऽस्मिन् शास्त्रीयामर्थवत्तां भजन्त इत्यपरोऽयं विशेषोऽत्र दर्शने चकास्ति। यतः साधितेषु योगमार्गेषु, देहादिष्वनात्मबुद्धिः, तत्साक्षिणि चात्मबुद्धिर्निराबाधं संजायेते इत्युपपादयितुं शक्यते। अन्यथा हि तटस्थे परमेश्वरेऽङ्गीक्रियमाणे विना कारणं निर्दयया आयासबहुलं साधनभारं जीवानां मस्तकेषु निक्षिप्य तदनु दीर्घेण कालेन यथाकथंचित् संप्रपन्नांस्ताननुगृह्णातीति नैर्घृण्यादिकमपीश्वरे शक्यशंकं स्यात्। परमेश्वरानुग्रहश्च शरीरोत्सर्गात्परं लोकान्तरे कालान्तर एवेति श्रद्धामात्रगम्यः पर्यवस्येत्। एवं चेदमत्रावधेयं देहादिष्वहंममाभिमानं निरसितुमेव येयं विवेकिनां मानवानां सर्वसाधारणी प्रवृत्तिः तामिमां प्रवृत्तिं तत्तद्देशेषु पूर्वाचार्याः कर्मयोग–भक्त्यादिसाधनरूपतामापाद्य, तत्तत्साधनस्वरूपप्रयोजनादिकं विभज्य निर्दिदिशुः। वैदिकधर्मेष्वेतेषामेव कर्मप्रधानतया, भक्तिप्रधानतया, विवेकज्ञानप्रधानतया वा साधनानामङ्गाङ्गिभाव आस्थितः। अद्वैतदर्शने पुनः सर्वेषां साधनानामात्मैकत्वदर्शनपर्यवसायितयानुभवारूढत्वेन सामरस्यं क्रियत इति महानयं विशेषः॥

८. इत्थं महाभावमिदं दर्शनं यस्य फलमुपवर्णितविधया यद्यपि प्रत्यक्षावगमं धर्म्यञ्च, तथापि न सर्वेषां सुलभं स्यादिति नैव केनचिदाशङ्कनीयम्। यत्सत्यमस्मिन्दर्शने ग्रन्थेषु प्रतिपाद्यमाना बहवः सूक्ष्मविचाराः शास्त्राभ्यासजनितसंस्कारवतामेव वशंवदा भवेयुरिति, तथाप्यस्य केन्द्रस्थानीयो योऽसौ शुद्धचैतन्यस्वरूपानुभवः स तु सामान्यलौकिकज्ञानवताम-[illegible]नां, बालानां, स्त्रीणामन्येषामपि सुसम्पाद एवेत्ययमपि महान्विशे-[illegible] यतो [illegible]नुभवे जातिकुलसम्पद्विद्यावयःप्रभृतयः समपेक्ष्यन्ते [illegible] किन्तु देहेन्द्रियमनोबुद्ध्यहङ्कारेष्वभिमानं परित्यज्य

तत्साक्षिणि यदवस्थानं तादृशमन्तर्मुखत्वसम्पादनमेवासाधारणं कारणं भवति । यस्य खल्विह जन्मनि जन्मान्तरे वा स्वकर्माभ्यर्चित परमेश्वरप्रसादादीदृशी दृष्टिरुत्पन्ना, स योवा कोवा भवतु प्रभवत्येवानुभवितुं करतलामलकवदेतदद्वैतं तत्त्वं, स एव च धन्यो मान्यश्च भवति सर्वेषां शिवं करतयेति सर्वं शिवम् ॥

वेदान्तविशारद, वेदान्तशिरोमणि यस्. विठ्ठलशास्त्रिणः.

|| श्रीशः प्रसीदतु ||

BHEDABHEDA VICHARAH.

BY

VIDVAN S. NARASIMHACHARYA.

भेदाभेदविचारः.

पुमर्थान् स्वखार्हान् अधिगमयितुम् धर्मनियतान्
अनर्घां लोकनामुपशमितवैरस्यरुचिराम् ।
मतिं शक्त्युत्साहौ धृतिमविकलां च प्रदिशतु
प्रजानां राज्ञश्चानिशमपि स देवो हयमुखः ॥ १ ॥

आवापोद्वापभेदैः विदधति विबुधाः युक्तिवादप्रबन्धान्
आर्षे प्रज्ञानिदाने विमतिविभवतो दर्शनानानां प्रवाहे ।
तेऽमी वैशद्यहृद्यां धियमुपजनयन्त्येव चेत् दर्शनत्वम्
सार्थं कार्तज्ञ्यसाक्षीभवितुमलमिदं चेतसां सुप्रसादात् ॥ २ ॥

नानारूपा दृढास्ताः शिथिलयति तरां शृङ्खलाबन्धयुक्तीः
छिन्दानः स्वस्वभावप्रभवबलमदप्रोद्धुरः तर्कहस्ती ।
न स्थैर्यं प्राप्नुयान्न क्वचिदपि सुखयेद्वापि कं चित्कथञ्चित्
पराशर्यस्तमेनं स्थिरयति निगमक्ष्माधरालानयन्त्रे ॥ ३ ॥

तर्कानादाय हृद्यान् सकलमपि बुधश्चिन्तयेत्तत्त्ववर्गम्
नो चेत् तत्त्वं न वेदेत्यसकृदपि जगौ मानमार्षं यदेवम् ।
नैतत्सर्वस्य कर्तुं सुघटमिति विचिन्त्यागमान्तार्यसूरिः
श्राव्यस्तर्कान् हि सर्वान् समुचितकथनैः सुव्यवास्थिपत्तान् ॥ ४ ॥

दार्शनिकतर्कपातैः परिकथनैः सुमुदितं बहोः कालात् ।
भेदाभेदविचारं स्वधीविशुद्ध्यै विचिन्तयेयं मनाक् ॥ ५ ॥

भट्टोक्तयुक्तिसंदोह दृढानुभवनिर्भराः ।
भेदाभेदाविरोधं हि मन्यन्ते भास्करादयः ॥ ६ ॥
एकत्वमिव नानात्वं प्रमाणेनैव गम्यते ।
यद्यथावगतं मानैः तत्तथैवोपपद्यते ॥ ७ ॥
ज्ञेयत्वसत्ताद्रव्यत्वमुखसामान्यरूपतः ।
अभिन्न हि गवाश्वादि भिन्नं तु व्यक्तिरूपतः ॥ ८ ॥
प्रतीयमानमेतत्तु विरुद्धं नैव मन्महे ।
विरोधश्चाविरोधश्च मानात् न स्वमनीषया ॥ ९ ॥
एकरूपं न नानात्मेत्येवं नेश्वरशासनम् ।
एकत्वं चेत्प्रतीतत्वात् तत एव द्विरूपता ॥ १० ॥
विरोधो वस्तुनोरत्र न च्छायातपयोरिव ।
न भिन्नदेशवर्तित्वरूपः शीतोष्णयोरिव ॥ ११ ॥
तदुत्पत्तिः तत्र संस्थालयौ चैक्यस्य हेतवः ।
विरुद्धेषु च दृष्टेषु न सिद्धा स्थितिरीदृशी ॥ १२ ॥
कारणे मृत्सुवर्णादौ पूर्वसिद्धे यदाश्रितम् ।
जायते कटकादीति ह्यविरोधस्तयोर्मतः ॥ १३ ॥
भेदाभेदमतिर्नैव प्रमा यत् संशयात्मिका ।
इत्युक्तिर्न च युक्ता स्यात् निर्युक्तिकसमीरणात् ॥ १४ ॥
भेदेनैकाधिकरणोऽभेदस्तादात्म्यमिष्यते
न भेदाभेदयुगलं अन्योऽन्यं धीविरोधतः ॥ १५ ॥
तदभावधियं रुन्ध्यात् तत्संसर्गकधीरपि ।
अविरुद्धानुभवतः तत्प्रकारकधीर्यथा ॥ १६ ॥
संयोगेन च तद्वत्ताधीदशायां हि न क्वचित् ।
तत्संयोगाभावधीस्स्यात् न तादात्म्यमतो युगम् ॥ १७ ॥
एवंच गुणगुण्यंशांशिनोः कारणकार्ययोः ।
भेदाभेदाभ्युपगमो निर्विवादः प्रवर्तते ॥ १८ ॥

न तादात्म्यमिदं भ्रमात् नीलो घट इतीदृशे ।
विषयं नीलभेदस्य विना भेदाश्रयाश्रितः ॥ १९ ॥
अभेदो हि न नीलादेः निर्वक्तुमिह पार्यते ।
भेदैकाधिकरण्यं हि स्यात्तस्मादुपलक्षणम् ॥ २० ॥
तद्घटस्य हि संयोगधीः प्रमा न हि तद्घटे ।
इति व्यवस्थासिद्ध्यर्थं विशेष्ये भेदकस्य हि ॥ २१ ॥
संबन्ध एषणीयस्स्यात् भेदाधिकरणाश्रितः ।
विशिष्टधिषणामात्रे तद्भेदेनोपलक्षिते ॥ २२ ॥
आश्रये वृत्तिवैशिष्ट्यवान् संयोगस्तथाविधः ।
न नीलो घट इत्येषा धीः प्रमा भवितेति चेत् ॥ २३ ॥
नञ्भेदादिपदालभ्ये ज्ञाने या भासते भिदा
सा तादात्म्यविरोधित्वविशिष्टैवावभासते ॥ २४ ॥
वृक्षे हि कपिसंयोगाभावधीर्न प्रमान्यथा ।
पदानुपस्थिताप्यत्र संसर्गो हि विरोधिता ॥ २५ ॥
जातिव्यक्त्याद्यात्मना हि भेदाभेदपरिग्रहात् ।
खण्डमुण्डाभेदधीस्स्यात् व्यवहारस्तथेतिचेत् ॥ २६ ॥
स्वीयतद्व्यक्तित्वरूपोऽभेदोऽत्र विषयो यतः ।
नातो धीव्यवहारौ स्तां पूर्वोक्तौ खण्डमुण्डयोः ॥ २७ ॥
इति भेदाभेदवादफक्किकासंग्रहो मतः ।
प्रतीतिमात्रान्निर्णेयो भेदोऽभेदश्च न क्वचित् ॥ २८ ॥
सतोऽसतश्च भेदादेः दूरात्प्रत्ययसम्भवात् ।
बाधान्यथासिद्धिशून्यः प्रत्ययोऽर्थस्य साधकः ॥ २९ ॥
प्रतीत्यमवलम्ब्ये हि जातमौनं जगद्भवेत् ।
प्रतीति[illegible]मर्यादानामविरोधाय चेद्भवेत् ॥ ३० ॥
[illegible] [illegible]कौ स्तां प्रतीतौ देहजीवयोः ।
[illegible] विशिष्टमत्यबाधतः ॥ ३१ ॥

गृहीत एव भेदश्चेत् तदभेदः क गृह्यताम् ।
अप्रसिद्धेरयुक्तेश्च प्रथमाक्षभवा मतिः ॥ ३२ ॥
नानुवृत्तिमगृह्णन्त्यप्यभेदग्रहकारणम् ।
सामानाधिकरण्येन नाविरोधस्तयोर्भवेत् ॥ ३३ ॥
भेदाभेदानादरेण प्रतीतेरुपपादनात् ।
अविरोधे हि साहित्यं नाभेदे तस्य संभवः ॥ ३४ ॥
शुक्लं रूपं रसस्पर्शा वेकस्थौ रूपवत्त्विदम् ।
इह शुक्लोऽस्य शुक्लोऽस्मिन् शुक्ल इत्येवमादयः ॥ ३५ ॥
अभेदगन्धविधुराः धर्मधर्मिप्रतीतयः ।
सत्येवं हि तयोरेव सामानाधिकरण्यतः ॥ ३६ ॥
अभेदसिद्धिरित्येतत् कथं युक्तिसहं भवेत् ।
भिन्नाभिन्नं विरुद्धत्वान्नैकमानस्य गोचरः ॥ ३७ ॥
एकं चेत् भिन्नता नास्ति भिन्नं चेत् एकता कुतः ।
चित्रेऽप्यनुगमाभावात् न सामान्यविशेषता ॥ ३८ ॥
अभावयोगं भावश्चेत् सहते नीलयोगवत् ।
अविरोधादभावेन भावानाद्यन्तता भवेत् ॥ ३९ ॥
योगस्तु वस्तुनोर्दृष्टः पृथक्सिद्धौ परस्परम् ।
गुणाद्यभेदो भेदश्च व्यक्तौ न पृथगीक्षितः ॥ ४० ॥
तद्भावाभावयोर्योगो विरोधान्नोपपद्यते ।
भिन्नमेवाभिन्नमिति ह्यर्थस्त्वव्याहतस्सदा ॥ ४१ ॥
ये सामान्यविशेषात्म वस्त्वेकमिति मन्वते ।
तेषां मते कुतो भेदः वस्त्वैक्याद्धर्म्यभेदतः ॥ ४२ ॥
पृथक्सिद्धेश्च वैधुर्यात् नियमेन सहेक्षणात् ।
मत्वर्थीयानपेक्षाच्च सामानाधिकरण्यतः ॥ ४३ ॥
इति हेतुत्रयं चोक्तं गुणगुण्यैक्यसाधकम् ।
स्वाभिमेन स्वनिष्ठान्यभेदस्संसाध्यते कथम् ? ॥ ४४ ॥

सहोपलम्भनियमो भेदस्यैव प्रसाधकः ।
भिन्नयोर्हि तदर्हत्वं नियमोप्यत्र दुर्लभः ॥ ४५ ॥
सहत्वं नियमश्चेति नाभेदे स्यात्कथंचन ।
न हि स्वस्मिन् स्वसाहित्यव्यवहारः प्रवर्तते ॥ ४६ ॥
तदेव भेदगर्भं चेत तन्नियत्या किमुच्यताम् ।
अविरुद्धौ मतौ व्याप्तिस्समा यदुपलम्भयोः ॥ ४७ ॥
इति व्याप्तिर्न घटते ह्यनैकान्तिकता यतः ।
पीतशङ्खादिबुद्धौ हि शुक्लं रूपं न भासते ॥ ४८ ॥
फलादिषु च रूपादिः पाकादन्योऽपि गृह्यते ।
अभिन्नौ तौ यत्प्रतीत्योर्व्याप्तिरित्येव चेन्मतम् ॥ ४९ ॥
न युक्तं तद्यतोऽन्योऽन्यं हित्वा गन्धादि भासते ।
घटादिगतरूपस्य प्रकाशसहभाविनः ॥ ५० ॥
न प्रकाशाभेदधीःस्यात् तस्माद्व्याप्तिर्हि दुर्घटा ।
सामानाधिकरण्यं च न भेदाभेदसाधकम् ॥ ५१ ॥
विशेष्यैकत्वमात्रेण चरितार्थं हि तद्भवेत् ।
देवोऽहमित्यादिबुद्धेर्विषयोऽतिचरत्यपि ॥ ५२ ॥
अबाधितानन्यसिद्धप्रत्यक्षं चैक्यगोचरम् ।
यत्र सम्प्रतिपन्नैक्यं तत्रोपाधिरपीष्यते ॥ ५३ ॥
एकशब्दानुवेधोऽपि विशेष्येणैव सङ्गतः ।
नाभेदग्रहणाय स्याद्विशेषणविशेष्ययोः ॥ ५४ ॥
यदि स्याद्गुणगुण्यैक्यं तदभिन्नादिनीतितः ।
एकस्थरूपगन्धादेर्मिथ ऐक्यं प्रसज्यते ॥ ५५ ॥
भ्रमाऽपि स्यात्प्रतीतिर्हि गुणो घट इतीदृशी ।
तदभिन्नं तद्धि शून्यं धर्मेण तदवृत्तिना ॥ ५६ ॥
एवं विचार्या मनुते व्यासो नैकत्र संभवम् ।
[illegible] त्वविरोधोपपादने ॥ ५७ ॥

एकावच्छिन्नरूपादेरैक्यं स्यादविरोधतः ।
भेदाभावातिरिक्तश्च नाभेद उपपद्यते ॥ ५८ ॥
पारिभाषिकतापत्त्या प्रतीत्यनुपपत्तितः ।
भिन्नाकारेणाविरोधो व्यक्तिजात्युभयाश्रितम् ॥ ५९ ॥
धर्ममादाय वक्तव्यो न ह्यत्रास्त्यस्य सम्भवः ।
विनाप्याकारभेदं चेदेनयोरभिदेष्यते ॥ ६० ॥
तद्धर्मातद्धर्मते च व्यावृत्त्यनुसृती अपि ।
एकस्यैवोदितास्स्युर्हि परस्परविरोधिनः ॥ ६१ ॥
अग्नौ पैङ्गल्यमौज्वल्यं चेत्याकारयुगं यदि ।
शीतत्वमुष्णतां चापि घटयेद्युज्यते ततः ॥ ६२ ॥
भेदाभेदाविरोधोऽयं न केनापि तदिष्यते ।
भिन्नत्वे सति चाभिन्ना सत्ता तादात्म्यमिष्यते ॥ ६३ ॥
इति पक्षेऽपि संशीतिस्सुदृढैवावशिष्यते ।
एकाश्रितस्य रूपादेस्सत्तैकैव यदिष्यते ॥ ६४ ॥
भवेद्रसादेरन्योन्यं सामानाधिकरण्यधीः ।
भवेच्च ज्ञानघटयोः व्यवहारोऽपि तादृशः ॥ ६५ ॥
विषयावच्छेद्यचिद्वृत्त्यवच्छिन्नचितोस्सदा ।
सत्ताया भेदविरहात् उपाध्योरेकवर्तिनोः ॥ ६६ ॥
सत्ताभेदकता नेति ग्राह्यतादात्म्यवाञ्छितः ।
साक्षात्कारात्मकत्वाच्च न चैतत्तैरिहेष्यते ॥ ६७ ॥
तादात्म्यमिष्यतेऽभेदो भेदाधिकरणाश्रितः ।
इति पक्षेऽपि संक्षोभ एष दुर्वारसंभवः ॥ ६८ ॥
भेदाभेदौ धिया सिद्धौ न बाधेते परस्परम् ।
सविशेषाभिन्न इष्टः तद्भेदस्तेन वस्तुना ॥ ६९ ॥
ततश्च नानवस्थादि भेददूषणसंभवः ।
न च पर्यायतादोषो भेदप्रतिविधेर्नकाद् ॥ ७० ॥

भेदाभेदाविरोधाय विशेषो [illegible]कल्पते ।
ईशतद्गुणभिन्नेषु गुणस्य गुणिनस्तथा ॥ ७१ ॥
भेदाभेदं मन्वते ये मन्यन्ते च प्रयोजनम् ।
नीलमुत्पलमित्येषा नीलं तस्येति धीरपि ॥ ७२ ।
इति ; तत्रापि विशयः उक्तदोषानिराकृतेः ।
अत्यन्ताभेद एवेह ब्रह्मतद्गुणयोरिति ॥ ७३ ॥
तेषामेव ह्यभिप्रायो विशयप्रद एव नः ।
विशेषनाम्ना धर्मेण भेदव्याहारसंभवम् ॥ ७४ ॥
व्यवहारोपपत्तिं च वदन्त्येते हि यद्यपि ।
विशेषा न हि षष्ठ्यर्थः यतो नास्त्यनुशासनम् ॥ ७५ ॥
आधाराधेयभावो हि भेदव्याप्यस्तु संमतः ।
नानन्दे ब्रह्मणोभेदः आधाराधेयता कथम् ॥ ७६ ॥
अतो ब्रह्मण आनन्द इत्यादिनिगमाश्रितः ।
व्यवहारो बाधितस्स्यादिति शङ्का प्रसज्यते ॥ ७७ ॥
आधाराधेयभावं तु विशेषा घटयेत्कथम् ? ।
घटयेदपि चेत्तर्हि भेद एव ततो न किम् ? ॥ ७८ ॥
भेदमेव हि पृच्छन्ति को विशेषोऽनयोरिति ! ।
गृहीतस्य च धर्मस्य मन्यन्ते च विशेषताम् ॥ ७९ ॥
आधाराधेयभावश्च यद्यभेदेऽपि संमतः ।
स्याद्विशेषोऽन्यथासिद्धः न त्विहास्य प्रयोजनम् ॥ ८० ॥
मतुप्सूत्रे वार्तिककृत् गुणवाचिपदानि हि ।
मतुबन्तानि साधूनि प्राह प्रत्ययलोपतः ॥ ८१ ॥
तद्विचारपरे भाष्ये त्वनुनीतस्तदाशयः ।
यदि शुक्लादिशब्दानां भेदाभेदनिबन्धनम् ॥ ८२ ॥
सामानाधिकरण्यं स्यात् मुधा कात्यायनश्रमः ।
[illegible] शुक्लादेर्धर्मिणोभिदाम् ॥ ८३ ॥

अन्यथासिद्धतां नेतुं भ्रमं मूलमुपाश्रयेत् ।
तदौपचारिकत्वं च न कदाप्यनुमन्यते ॥ ८४ ॥
मन्यते स्वरसत्वं च विचित्रा बुद्धिधोरणी ।
प्रत्याख्याने संग्रहे वा योगानां लोकसंमतिः ॥ ८५ ॥
नोपेक्ष्या कलयाऽपीति सर्वसंमतमेव हि ।
स्फुटं भेदोपलम्भं च मेने वार्तिककृन्मुनिः ॥ ८६ ॥
यदाह मत्वन्तेन समानाधिकृतिं स्वयम् ।
भेदःस्वाभाविको जातिव्यक्त्योरनुभवान्मतः ॥ ८७ ॥
अभेदोऽपि तयोरेव स्वरूपेणैव संमतः ।
न गौः केवलसामान्यं न विशेषोऽपि केवलः ॥ ८८ ॥
जातिः केवलसामान्यं विशेषो वापि नेष्यते ।
स्यात्सामान्यविशेषत्वमविरुद्धं तयोर्मतम् ॥ ८९ ॥
अनेकवृत्तिताऽनन्यवृत्तिभ्यां जातितद्वतोः ।
नैकवस्त्वात्मता कापि भिन्नवस्तुत्वमेव हि ॥ ९० ॥
परस्परात्मना चेष्टं तयोरेतद्द्वयं पुनः
व्यक्त्योश्च जातिव्यक्त्योश्च भेदाभेदौ हि सुस्थितौ ॥ ९१ ॥
उपलब्ध्यनुसारेण व्यवस्थासिद्धिमीदृशीम् ।
भट्टा आकृतिवादे हि साधयन्तु स्मयावहम् ॥ ९२ ॥
भेदाभेदप्रवादोऽयं तर्कैर्बहुविधैश्चिरात् ।
गतानुगतिकन्यायात्प्रथते वादिमण्डले ॥ ९३ ॥
तात्त्विकत्वं कथं तस्य युज्यतां कथमिष्यताम् ।
लोके व्युत्पत्तिमार्गो हि दर्शनानां तदातदा ॥ ९४ ॥
क्षोभैर्वैचित्र्यमायाति तदेवानुसरेज्जनः ।
एकस्याद्वयात्मकत्वेऽपि सामानाधिकरण्यधीः ॥ ९५ ॥
अपृथक्सिद्धिमात्रेण साध्वेव ह्युपपद्यते ।
बह्वीनां हि प्रतीतीनां संबन्धे धर्मधर्मिणोः ॥ ९६ ॥

अभेदगन्धशून्यानां साक्षिभावे कथं तयोः ।
क्वचिदेवाभेदभानं नापरत्रेति निर्णयः ॥ ९७ ॥
वस्तुस्वभाव एवं चेत् अनेकान्तं वदन् जयेत् ।
स्वभावमेव आलम्ब्य सर्वो वादः प्रवर्तते ॥ ९८ ॥
भेदाभेदाविरोधोऽपि विरुद्धो घटते यदि ।
सप्तभङ्ग्यादिकं चैवं न घटेत कथं नु वा ॥ ९९ ॥
किं तत्र दूषणैरुक्तैः न स्वात्मानं त्यजन्ति ये ।
भेदाभेदाविरोधं तु वक्तुं लज्जामहे वयम् ॥ १०० ॥
अपृथक्सिद्धिमाहात्म्यं कियद्वा वर्णयामहे ।
या सिद्धान्तान् नवनवान् सूते विविधयुक्तिभिः ॥ १०१ ॥
एवमाशेरते वेदचूडागुरुवरादयः ।
इत्येवं देशिकगिरां लेशचिन्तार्थसंग्रहः ॥ १०२ ॥

श्रीराममिश्रार्यकुलाप्तजन्मा
श्रीराममिश्रार्यसुतो नृसिंहः ।
समग्रहीत् कौतुककृष्टचेताः
भेदाभिदावादविचारमेवम् ॥ १०३ ॥

देवो वर्षतु संपदस्तु जगतां जागर्तु धर्मस्सदा
लोकास्सन्तु दृढं स्वधर्मनिरताः श्रीकृष्णराजे रताः ।
आस्तिक्यं प्रथतां चिरं नृपमणेः श्रीकृष्णराजस्य ताः
हृद्याः संप्रसरन्तु दिग्गजशिरोभूषायिताः कीर्तयः ॥ १०४ ॥

सो. नरसिंहाचार्यः,
महीशूरपुरी प्राच्यकोशागारे पण्डितः, मैसूरु.

TARUDOHA VAJRALEPADI PRADARSANAM.

BY

MAHAVIDVAN KARUR SHESHACHARYA.

तरुदोहदवज्रलेपादिप्रदर्शनम्.

विषयानुक्रमणिका.

तरुदोहदवज्रलेपादिनिरूपणम्.

यस्य कुले रघुवीरो निगमशिरोगीतशुभतमगुणौघः ।
उद्भूदवितुं जगतीं स जयति सुरततिपतिस्सहस्रकरः ॥

तारासन्ध्याम्बुवाहद्युचरसुरपतीष्वासकुम्भोद्भवाद्यै-
वर्णैरुल्काश्च शृङ्गोन्नतियुतिसमरैः केतुभिर्वैकृतैश्च ।
वृक्षादेर्वर्षनारीनरगजपरिघिश्वाशुगाश्वादिरूपै-
र्नृणामिन्थे ब्रुवाणस्सदसदपि फलं संहितास्कन्ध एषः ॥

सभ्याः, अतिरोहितमेवेदमत्रभवतां भवतां । यज्ज्योतिश्शास्त्रं गणित-जातकसंहिताभिधैस्त्रिभिः स्कन्धैरधिष्ठितं प्रथमद्वितीययोः स्कन्धयोः कृतपरिश्रमोऽपि संहितापारग एव दैवचिन्तको भवतीति चेति ॥

अतः फलकथनेन भृशं जगदुपकारकेऽत्र स्कन्धे प्रतिपादितेषु परस्सहस्रेषु विषयेषु केचन चमत्कृतिजनका विषया निर्दिश्यन्ते । ते च सभासद्भिरवहितमनसा सानुकम्पं श्रोतव्या इति सप्रश्रयमभ्यर्थये ॥

तरुदोहदेषु द्विधा पुष्पफलनाशचिकित्सितविधिः.

१. यदा वृक्षेषु पुष्पाणां फलानां च नाशो दृश्यते तदा कुलुत्थैर्माषैर्मुद्गैस्तिलैर्यवैश्च सार्धं दुग्धं क्वथयेत् । ततस्तदेव शीतं कृत्वा तेन पयसाऽऽलवाले वृक्षमूले मुहुः सेकः कार्यः । तेन कुसुमफलानां महीयसी वृद्धिर्जायते ॥

२. इदमादौ वेद्यम् । आढकश्चतुष्षष्टिपलानि । प्रस्थष्षोडशपलानि । द्रोणः पलशतद्वयं षट्पञ्चाशदधिकम् । तुला पलशतम् । पञ्चगुञ्जाभिरेको माषः । षोडशमाषैरेकं कर्षम् । चतुष्कर्षैरेकं पलं चेति । एकैकाढकमिते शुष्के [illegible] तिलाढकमस्थमितसक्तुतुलासंमितगवामिषैरेकीकृतैर्द्रोणपरिमित-[illegible] तरूणां वल्लीनां वाऽऽवाले सर्वदा सेके कृते पुष्पफलानां [illegible] ॥

सकुसुमबीजप्ररोहविधिः.

प्रथमदिने घृताभ्यक्तेन हस्तेन संघृष्टानि यस्य कस्यचिद्वृक्षस्य बीजानि क्षीरमध्ये निक्षेप्याणि । एकीभूतानि तानि पुनर्घृतसिक्तेन करेण गृहीत्वा छायायां पृथक्पृथक् शोषणीयानि । एवं द्वितीयतृतीयादिषु दिनेषु । इत्थं दश दिनानि यावत्कार्यम् । तदनु गोशकृता बहुशो मर्दितानि तानि भाण्डमध्ये निक्षिप्य वराहहरिणयोर्मांसाभ्यां धूपयेत् । ततो भाण्डस्थं ससूकर-मृगमांसं धूपितं वराहवसया युतं च बीजसमुदयं सीरकृष्टोपमृदितोप्तपुष्पित-तिलायां मृदुलायां भूमौ रोपयेत् । ततः सक्षीरजलैस्तत्रासकृत्सिञ्चेत् । एवं कृते सति बीजं सकुसुममेव प्ररोहति ॥

द्वेधा सफलबीजप्ररोहविधिः.

१. श्लेष्मातकस्य वृक्षस्य (ಚಳ್ಳೆಮರ) बीजानि निस्तुषाणि विरचय्य तानि साङ्कोलजलैः सिक्त्वा छायायां शोषणीयानि । तानि मुहुरङ्कोलोदकै-र्निषिच्य च्छायायां शोषयेत् । एवं सप्तकृत्वः कार्यम् । ततस्तानि बीजानि माहिषगोमयेन घृष्टानि कृत्वा भाण्डे महिषकरीषे स्थापनीयानि । तानि साशनि-पातजलमृद्युतायामवनौ वापितान्येकेनाह्ना सफलानि भवन्ति ॥

२. अङ्कोलस्य श्लेष्मातकस्य वा द्रुमस्य फलकल्केन तैलेन वा यस्य कस्यचिद्द्रुमस्य बीजं शतवारं सिक्तं कार्यम् । यदा तादृशं बीजमशनि-पातस्थलजमृदि वापितं तदैव फलभरानतलतारूपं प्ररोहति ॥

कपित्थबीजेन वल्लीकरणोपायः.

(1) आस्फोतः (ಪುನರ್ನವ-winter cherry tree).

(2) धात्री (ನೆಲ್ಲಿಮರ-Emblic myobala tree).

(3) वंशः (ಬಿದಿರು).

(4) वासिका (ಆಡುಸೋಗೆ-Malabar nut).

(5-6) सपर्णा वेतसवृक्षवल्ली सूर्यवल्ली च (ಹಬ್ಬನ, ಪುನಗಾಹ).

(7) श्यामा (ಪುನರ್ನವ).

(8) अतिमुक्तः (ಉರವಂತಿಗೆಗಿಡ).

एवमेषामष्टानां मूलान्यष्टमूलीति कथ्यते । अनया क्वथिते सजले क्षीरे कपित्थबीजं शतकृत्वस्ताड्यमानहस्तध्वनिपरिमितकालं यावत् संस्थाप्य ततो गृहीत्वा सूर्यरश्मिभिः शोषितं कार्यम् । एवं प्रत्यहमात्रिंशद्दिवसं तथैव कार्यम् । तदनु हस्तायतं वर्तुलं हस्तद्वितयगभीरं च कमपि गर्तं खात्वा पूर्वकथितक्षीरोदकेन पूरयेत् । तं शोषयेत् । शुष्कमग्निना दहेत् । शुष्कं प्रदग्धं चावटं घृतमधुसंसिक्तेन भस्मना लेपयेत् । ततो गर्तमङ्गुलचतुष्कमात्रं मृदा पूरयित्वा ततो माषतिलयवचूर्णैः पूरयेत् । अथाङ्गुलचतुष्टमितं मृत्तिकया संपूर्य पुनरपि कथितैर्माषादिचूर्णैः संपूरयेत् । तादृशं च मत्स्यामिषाम्भस्स-हितं खातं तथोपमर्दयेत् । यथा तत्र काठिन्यं स्यात् । अनन्तरं पूर्वं संस्कृतं कपित्थबीजं तत्रावटे समस्त्यजलैः समीनमांससलिलैश्च सिक्तं क्षिप्रमेव रम्यपल्लवा विस्मयनीया वल्ली भवति ॥

चतुर्था वज्रलेप विधिः.

१. (1) अपक्वं तिन्दुकफलम् (ತೊಬಂಕಾಯಿ–Diospyros glutinosa).

(2) अपक्वं कपित्थफलम् (ಬೇಲದಕಾಯಿ–Wood apple).

(3) शाल्मलीपुष्पम् (ಬೂರುಗದಹೂವು–Flowers of cotton tree).

(4) सल्लकीबीजानि (ಆನೆಬೇಲದಬೀಜ–Seeds of Elephant apple tree).

(5) धन्वनवृक्षस्य त्वक् (ದೇವದಾರುಮರದ ಚಕ್ಕೆ–Bark of the pinces Deodara).

(6) वचा (ಬಜೆ–Sweet flag).

चेति षड्भिर्द्रव्यैः सह सलिलद्रोणः (२५६ पलमितः) क्वाथयितव्यः । [illegible]मावशेषितः अर्थात् द्वात्रिंशत्पलशेषितः स्यात् । तेनावशेषितेन [illegible]केन—

[illegible] [illegible]सः (ದೇವದಾರು–The long leaved pine).

[illegible]) [illegible]: (ಬಿಳಿ[illegible]–Sali tree).

(3) भल्लातकः (ಗೇರುಮರ–The marking nut tree).

(4) कुन्दुरुकः (ಪೊಂದರಿಕಿ ಗಿಡ–The olibanum tree).

(5) सर्जः (ಬಿಳಿಮತ್ತಿ ಗಿಡ).

(6) अतसी (ಭಾಸೀ ಮರ–Ringworm shrub).

(7) बिल्व (ಬಿಲ್ವಪತ್ರೆ ಮರ–Bael fruit, Bengal quince).

चैत्येषां निर्यासाः (ಮೇಣ–wax) रसश्च समनुयोज्याः ।
अयमेवकल्को वज्रलेपाह्वः ।

२. (1) लाक्षा (ಅರಗು–lac).

(2) कुन्दुरुनिर्यासः (ಪೊಂದರಿಕಿ ಗಿಡದ ಮೇಣ).

(3) गुग्गुलुः (ಧೂಪದ ಮರದ ಮೇಣ–Wax of the sali tree).

(4) गृहधूमः (ಇಲ್ಲಣ).

(5) कपित्थफलम्.

(6) बिल्वमध्यम्.

(7) नागफलम्.

(8) निम्बनिर्यासः (ಬೇವಿನ ಮೇಣ–Margo's wax).

(9) तिन्दुकफलम् (ಮಗ್ಗಾರಿಯ ಹಣ್ಣು–Emetic nut).

(10) मदनफलम् (ಉಮ್ಮತ್ತದ ಹಣ್ಣು–Thorn apple).

(11) मञ्जिष्ठा (The Indian madder).

(12) मधूकफलम् (ಹಿಪ್ಪೇ ಹಣ್ಣು–Fruit of the Indian butter tree).

(13) सर्जवृक्षनिर्यासः (ಬಿಳಿಮತ್ತಿ ಮೇಣ).

(14) रसः.

(15) धात्रीफलम् (ನೆಲ್ಲಿಕಾಯಿ–Emblic myrobala nut).

चेति पञ्चदशभिर्द्रव्यैर्जलद्रोणः क्वाथयितव्यः । अयमपि कल्कोऽन्यो वज्रलेपः ॥

३. गोमहिषाजानां विषाणैः खररोमभिर्महिषचर्मणा गव्यैः गोर्दुग्धदधिघृतमूत्रपुरीषैः) निम्बनिर्यासेन कपित्थफलेन रसेन च संमिश्रैः

[illegible]ऽष्टभागशेषितश्च कल्कः । कल्कोऽप्ययं वज्रलेपः ॥

४. सीसकस्याष्टौ भागाः कांस्यस्य द्वौ भागौ रीतिकाया एको-भागः एतेषां संमिश्रं वह्निना द्रुतानां योगोऽपि वज्रलेपः ॥

चतुर्थी भूमौ जलपरीक्षणोपायः.

१. अम्बुरहिते यत्र प्रदेशे वेतसतरु (ಬೆತ್ತಮರ) दृश्यते तत्र तस्मात्तरोस्त्रिहस्तमितान्तरे पश्चिमायां दिशि सार्धपुरुषखातेऽधस्तोयं वक्तव्यम् । इदमत्र बोध्यम् । अत्रोर्ध्वबाहुः पुरुषो ज्ञेयः । स च विंशत्यधिकाङ्गुलशत-मितः । अर्धपुरुषखाते पाण्डुरो मण्डूकः । ततः पीतवर्णा मृत् । ततः खाते प्रस्तरः । तदधो जलमिति ॥

२. जम्बूवृक्षस्य (ನೇರಳೆಮರ) प्राच्यां दिशि यदि समीपस्थो वल्मी-कस्तदाऽस्माद्द्रुमाद्दक्षिणस्यां दिशि त्रिभिः करैः पुरुषद्वयखाते स्वादु जलं भवति । इदमत्र चिह्नम् । अर्धपुरुषमिते खाते पारावतवर्णः पाषाणो भवति । ततो नीला मृत् । ततस्तोयमिति ॥

३. तिलकवृक्षस्य दक्षिणे यदि स्निग्धः सकुशः सदूर्वो वा वल्मी-कस्तदा तत्तरोः पश्चिमदिशि पञ्चभ्यो हस्तेभ्यः परतः पञ्चभिः पुरुषै-रम्भो दृश्यते ॥

४. यत्र प्रदेशे ककुभकरीरा ([illegible]—Bamboo) ककुभबिल्वौ वा सहितौ लक्ष्येते तत्र प्रतीच्यां हस्तद्वयान्तरे पञ्चविंशत्या नरैरम्बु भवति ॥

द्विधा शिलाभेदनोपायः.

१. यदा विदार्यमाणापि शिला न भिद्यते तदा कुलुत्थबदरफलैः सह सप्तरात्रमुषितैस्तक्रसुरासौवीरैः ([illegible]) सिक्ता वह्नितप्ता यदि शिला विदीर्णा भवति ॥

२. निम्बपर्णं निम्बत्वक् तिलनालम् ([illegible]) अपामार्गः ([illegible]) गुडूची ([illegible]) चैतेषामेकीकृतानां भस्मना-[illegible] सेचिता वह्नितप्ताऽश्मा भिद्यते ॥

तिक्तकषायोदकस्य मधुरीकरणोपायाः.

(1) अञ्जनफलम् (ಕೊಳ್ದಿಹಣ್ಣು).

(2) मुस्ता (ಕೊರೆಗಡ್ಡೆ–Indian cyperus).

(3) उशीरः (ರಾಮಂಚ–Cus-cus grass).

(4) राजकोशातकम् (ಪಡವಲ–Snake nut).

(5) आमलकम् (ನೆಲ್ಲಿ–Emblic myrobala).

(6) कतकम् (ಚಿಲ್ಲದಬೀಜ–Indian clearing nut).

एवमेषां चूर्णीकृतानां यो योगः स कूपे दातव्यः । तेनाम्भः स्वादु सुगन्धि विमलं च जायते ॥

पञ्चधा वीर्याभिवर्धकयोगः.

१. (1) माक्षिकम् (ಹೇಮಮಾಕ್ಷಿಕ).

(2) क्षौद्रम् (ಜೇನು–Honey).

(3) पारदः (ಪಾದರಸ–Mercury).

(4) लोहचूर्णम्.

(5) हरितकी (ಅಳಲೆಕಾಯಿ–Ink nut, chebulic myrobalan).

(6) शिलाजतु.

(7) घृतम्.

इत्येतानि सममानानि ग्राह्याणि । घृतमाक्षीक मिश्रैरेतैर्गुलिकाः कार्याः । एकविंशतिदिनानि योऽश्यात् स जरन्नपि युवेव वनितया रमते ॥

२. आत्मगुप्तामूलैः (ನಸುಗುನ್ನಿಯ ಬೇರು) क्वथितं क्षीरं यः पिबति स वीर्योद्रिक्तो भवति ॥

३. क्षीरमेव निर्मथ्य यद्घृतमुत्पाद्यते तत्पयोघृतम् । तस्मिन् पक्वान् यवासमात्रान् माषान् भुक्त्वा पश्चाद्यः क्षीरं पिबति सोऽपि तथाविध एव स्यात् ॥

४. गोक्षुरकस्य (ನೆಗ್ಗಿಲು ಗಿಡ–Small caltrops) विदारिकाया (ನೆಲಗುಂಬಳ–Paniculata) वा मूलेन क्वथितं दुग्धं यः प्रपिबति सोऽप्यति वीर्य[illegible]

५. माषसूपसर्पिस्सहितं षाष्टिकौदनं (षष्टिरात्रपच्यमानशाल्यन्नं) भुक्त्वा दुग्धं पिबन्नरोऽपि शुक्राधिको भवति ॥

पलितकेशस्य कृष्णीकरणक्रमः.

कोद्रवाणां ([illegible]) तण्डुलानायसभाजन आरनाले ([illegible]) पक्त्वा ततो लोहचूर्णेन साकं पिष्टैस्तैश्शिर आलिप्य तदनु तदार्द्रपर्णैः संवेष्ट्य यामद्वयं नरस्तिष्ठेत् । द्वितीयेऽतिक्रान्ते प्रहरे तं लेपं विहाय पिष्टैरामलकैर्मूर्धानं संलिप्य सरसैः पत्रैः परिवेष्ट्य प्रहरद्वितयं च स्थित्वा शीर्षं संक्षालयेत् । एवं कृते शुक्लाः केशा नीलाः स्युः ॥

सुगन्धितैलाहरणक्रम.

१. मञ्जिष्ठा, २. समुद्रफेन, ३. नख, ४. लवङ्ग, ५. कुष्ट, ६. रसै–ष्षड्भिः समभागैश्चूर्णः कार्यः । स च तिलतैलेन संमिश्रितः सूर्यरश्मि संतप्तश्च कर्तव्यः । एवं कृते चम्पकगन्धि तैलं जायते ॥

तामसकीलकाविर्भावः.

रविमण्डले तामसकीलकाख्यास्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्केतवः सन्ति । तेषामाविर्भावे फलमशुभमुच्यते । तदुदयो निमित्तैरेतैरवगम्य । यदा निर्मलं जलं व्योम च सहसा कलुषं रजोवृत्तं च दृश्यते यदा गिरितरुशिखरभञ्जकस्य सशर्करस्य चण्डवायोरुद्गमो, द्रुमेष्वाकालिका कुसुमफलोत्पत्ती, रविसंमुखीनानां मृगपक्षिणामाक्रन्दो, दिग्दाहनिर्घातभूकम्पादीनां सम्भवो वा, लक्ष्यते तदा अर्कबिम्बे तेषामुद्गमो ज्ञेयः । निर्घातलक्षणमुक्तम् । "पवनः पवनाभिहतो गगनादवनौ यदा समापतति । भवति तदा निर्घातः" इति ॥

त्रिविधकेतुविचारः

[illegible] बहिर्दृश्यते स एव केतुः । स च सैकशतमित इति [illegible] इति गर्गादयः । एक एव बहुरूपो भवतीति नारदः । [illegible] त्रिविधः । दिव्य आन्तरिक्षः भौमश्चेति ॥

१. नभसि नक्षत्राणां मध्ये योऽनलरूपो दृश्यते स दिव्यः ॥

२. ध्वजशस्त्रभवनतरुषु तुरगकुञ्जरखरवृषादिषु चतुष्पदेषु च यस्तादृशो लक्ष्यते स आन्तरिक्षः ॥

३. भूमौ तादृग्यो विलोक्यते स भौमः ॥

केतुरयं यावन्ति दिनानि यावतो मासांश्च दृश्यः क्रमशस्तावद्भिर्मासै-रब्दैश्च फलं भवति । किन्त्वत्रविशेषः । केतुदर्शनादितः सार्धमासे व्यतीते सति ततः फलपक्तिर्भवतीति ॥

अगस्त्योदयार्घविषयः.

यस्मिन् दिवसे सूर्यो मेषराशौ चतुर्विंशत्यंशान् भुनक्ति तस्मिन् दिनेऽस्तमेति कुम्भसंभवः । यथा भ्रध्नः सिंहं प्रविशेत् तदोदेति याम्याशावनिता-मुखतिलकोऽगस्त्यः । एवमस्यास्तोदयावुज्जयिन्यां दृक्सिद्धगणितविधिना सिध्यतः । तदीयावस्तमयोदयौ स्वदेशे दृक्कर्मणा साधनीयौ । स चोदयः प्रायोऽर्कोदयात्पूर्वं घटीद्वयान्तरे भवति । तदात्वे कुम्भजन्मनः प्रतिवत्सरं सप्तवर्षाणि यावत् सभक्तिमर्कसमर्घं प्रयत्नो यो नृपो दद्यात् स नीरोगो जित्वरो वसुधां शास्तीति ब्रुवते सांहितिकाः ॥

मेघगर्भतल्लावयोर्लक्षणम्.

मार्गशीर्षशुक्लप्रतिपदादित आवैशाखान्तं मेघगर्भपरीक्षणं कार्यम् । तल्लक्षणान्येवम्—

१. उदीच्यामैशान्यां प्राच्यां वा मृदुलह्लादकपवनोद्गमः ॥

२. नभसि नैर्मल्यम् ॥

३. शशिरव्योः स्निग्धशुक्लबहुलपरिवेषेण परिवेष्टनम् ॥

४. वियतो विशाल बहुल मसृणजलदैरावरणम् ॥

५. विहायसि सूचीक्षुरिकासदृशानां लोहितवर्णानामभ्राणां दर्शनम् ॥

६. पूर्वापरायाः सन्ध्यायाः सुरचापमधुरमेघगर्जित विद्युत्परिवेषैः संवलनम् । एवमादीनीति । एतैर्गर्भपुष्टिर्वक्तव्या ॥

इमानि गर्भोपघातलक्षणानि.

(1) उल्कापातः.

(2) विद्युदुन्मेषः.

(3) पांसुवर्षणम्.

(4) दिग्दाहः.

(5) भूकम्पः.

(6) गन्धर्वनगरम्.

(7) तामसकीलकाः.

(8) केतुः.

(9) ग्रहयुद्धम्.

(10) चन्द्रार्कग्रहणे.

(11) रक्तमांसवसाघृततैलादिवर्षणम्.

(12) परिघः.

(13) अन्ये त्रिविधा दिव्यान्तरिक्षभौमा उत्पाताश्चेति.

दृष्टे मेघगर्भे कथितानामेषामन्यतमो यदि दृश्यते तदा गर्भोपघातो वक्तव्यः। भास्करोदयास्तसमये तिर्यग्गामिनी मेघरेखैव परिघ इति तल्लक्षणम्। आमार्गशीर्षादावैशाखं यस्मिन् नक्षत्रे स्थिते चन्द्रमसि गर्भोदृष्टस्तद्दिनप्रभृति सावनमानेन सार्धे मासषट्के व्यतीते मेघानां प्रसवो जायते। अषाढयुगभद्रपदाद्वयरोहिणीषु शतभिषगाश्लेषार्द्रास्वातिमघासु च सम्भूतोऽनाहतो गर्भः क्रमाद्बहुतोयदो बहुदिवस प्रवर्षणश्च भवति ॥

चन्द्रमसो रोहिणीयोगविचारः.

सलिलसमायामवनौ चतुर्विंशत्यङ्गुलमितकर्कटेन वृत्तमालिख्य तस्य मध्ये द्वादशाङ्गुलशङ्कुर्निवेश्यः। तस्य च्छाया पूर्वकपालस्थे सवितरि वृत्तपरिधौ यत्र प्रविशति तत्र बिन्दुः कार्यः। सैव प्रतीची। ततोऽपरकपालस्थे [illegible] यथा वृत्तपरिधौ यस्मान्निर्गच्छति तत्रापि बिन्दुर्देयः। सैव प्राची। [illegible] बिन्दुद्वयगामिनी रेखा कार्या। सा प्राच्यपरा रेखा। तया याम्योत्तरा

रेखा साध्या । एवं दिक्चतुष्टयसिद्धिः । ताभिरेव विदिशश्च साध्याः । सर्वदिङ्मध्यगे केन्द्रे द्वादशहस्तोच्छ्रितकाष्ठनिबद्धां चतुर्हस्तां सूक्ष्मतमांशुकमयीं पताकां दृढं विन्यस्येत् । अनन्तरमाषाढकृष्णदले दिवा निशि वा यदा रोहिणीं समायाति शशाङ्कस्तदा दिने प्रथमे यामे यदि पताका शुभेन वातेन चलिता तदा श्रावणशुक्लच्छदे वारिदो वर्षति । यदि द्वितीये प्रहरे सा कम्पिता तदा श्रावणकृष्णपक्षे वर्षति । तृतीये भाद्रप्रथमदले । तुरीये भाद्रद्वितीयपक्षे । तथा रात्रावेकादिचतुर्यामेषु शोभनवाते क्रमादाश्विनशुक्लदलादिकार्तिककृष्णच्छदान्तं वृष्टिरूह्या । सर्वत्राशुभवातागमेऽनावृष्टिर्मण्या ॥

तुलया धान्यतोलनेन तद्वृद्ध्यादिः.

प्रथमं तुलालक्षणमेवं ज्ञेयम् । हैमी राजती खादिरी वा तुलायष्टिः कार्या । क्षौमं शिक्यद्वयमेकैकं षडङ्गुलविस्तारं कार्यम् । तच्च प्रत्येकं दशाङ्गुलैश्चतुर्भिः सूत्रैर्निबन्धनीयम् । शिक्यद्वयमध्यवर्ति कक्ष्या सूत्रं (ग्रहणसूत्रं) षडङ्गुलं करणीयम् । एवं कृत्वाऽऽषाढपौर्णमास्यां तुलया शिक्यद्वये समप्रमाणं धान्यबीजं विन्यस्य तोलनीयम् । अन्येद्युस्तुलितं बीजमधिकं भवति यदि तस्मिन् वर्षे तस्य धान्यस्य वृद्धिः स्यात् । समं यदि तत् समं भवति । तदूनं यदि तद्धान्यमल्पं जायते ॥

वातचक्रम्.

आषाढपौर्णमास्यामस्तमयकाले वायव्यामुदीच्यामैशान्यां वा दिशि यदि वातो वाति सम्यग्वृष्ट्या सस्यसमृद्धिर्भवति ॥

एकादशधा निधिस्थलपरीक्षणम्.

(1) यत्र स्थले वर्षासु शीतकाले वा गोधा (ಉಡ) वृश्चिकः पञ्चगोधास्ते तत्र निधिः.

(2) यत्र खञ्जरीटीनां (ಗಿಡುಕಗಳ) संभोगः.

(3) गिरिम्भनस्य वह्न्युज्ज्वलनम्.

(4) अप्ररोहस्य वृक्षस्य प्ररोहः (ಚಿಗುರು.)

(5) कण्टकिनी कदली.

(6) द्विशिखस्तालः.

(7) पुष्पस्योपरिपुष्पं वा दृश्यते तत्र खनिः.

(8) यत्र वृषभो दृष्टार्के भुवमाघ्राय वारं वारं प्रहृष्टोनर्दति.

(9) अनिमित्तको हस्तद्वयोच्छ्रितो बाष्पो वा जायते तत्रावश्यं निधिर्भवेत्.

(10) यत्र जलाशये विना हेतुमावर्तः --

(11) द्विशीर्षं पङ्कजं वा लक्ष्यते तत्रापि शेवधिः ॥

चतुर्धा निध्यञ्जनकरणक्रमः.

१. उलूकवसया वराहतैलेन कमलतन्तुभिश्च कृतां वर्तिं दग्ध्वाऽञ्जनं कुर्यात् । तदक्तनयनः पश्यति निधिम् ॥

२. सितार्कतूलजं सूत्रवलयं वराहवसया सप्तकृत्वः सिक्त्वा कपिलवर्णाया गोः सर्पिषा दीपयेत् । तदुत्थकज्जलाक्तलोचनोऽपि निधिं विलोकते ॥

३. कृष्णकाकस्य हृदयं जिह्वां च मधुना पेषयेत् । तत्कज्जलमपि निधिमापकम् ॥

४. रात्रौ कृष्णचतुर्दश्यामुलूकवसासेचितां पद्मतन्तुजां वर्तिकां दीपयेत् । तदुद्भूतमप्यञ्जनमासादयति शेवधिम् ॥

निध्युद्धरणक्रमः.

अथ राजा लक्षणैरञ्जनेन च निधिं समवगम्य श्रीधरं श्रियं महेश्वरमुमां विधिं वाणीं गणेशं भैरवं धनदं वरुणं च विधिवत् संपूज्य कृतनिजाङ्गरक्षणैः शवकैर्विभ्यैस्त्रिभिः पञ्चभिः सप्तभिर्नवभिर्वा खनकैस्तं समुद्धरेत् । एवं प्रसङ्गावहाः केचन विषयाः प्रतिपादिताः । तान् परीक्ष्य परिगृह्णन्तु सुधिय इति विरम्यते ॥

इति दोहदादिविषयान् कांश्चन वैज्ञानिक प्रमोदाय ।
समग्रहीत् कृष्णनृपास्थान महापण्डितः कविशेखरः ॥

जयेत्सा प्राच्यविद्याश्रीः.

VEDANTANAM EKA VAKYATA.

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वेदान्तानामेकवाक्यता.

वेदान्तानां एकवाक्यता सम्भवति न वा इति विचारे प्रकारान्तरेण सम्भवति प्रकारान्तरेण नेत्येव साधूत्तरमिति भाति । एकवाक्यतायां असम्भावनाबुद्धिरेव प्राय सर्वत्रदृश्यते । अत एव तत्तद्वेदान्तानुयायिषु परस्परदूषणं तत्तदाचार्यपर्यन्तमपि अनुभवसिद्धं । पर्यवसानेतु स्वभावतः मानुषनिरतिशयैश्वर्यरूप शमदमादिशुभगुण प्रतिष्ठापकत्वेन तथा परमपुरुषार्थसाधकत्वेन प्रवृत्तानां वेदांतानां उपयोग· अशेषलौकिकवैदिकश्रेयःप्रतिबन्धकरागद्वेषवृद्धावेव दृश्यते । (इयमुक्तिः प्रायिकाभिप्रायेणैव) प्रसिद्धेषु वेदान्तेषु तावत् कक्ष्या द्वयं दृश्यते । एकाऽभेदपरा अपरा भेदपरा । अद्वैतमभेदपरं विशिष्टाद्वैतद्वैते भेदपरे । अभेदावलम्बिनः भेद· तत्त्वविरोधीति मत्वा भेदावलम्बिनः अतत्त्वावेदकान् वदन्ति । भेदावलम्बिनस्तु सर्वथा तत्वाद्वैतं निर्गुणपरं सत्शून्यप्राय माहुः । तत्तदृष्ट्या उभयमपि साध्वेवेति अभिमानोऽपि दृश्यते ॥

दृष्टिविशेषेण तत्वमपि तथैव । तथाहि । तत्वमेकमेव निर्गुणमित्यद्वैतं । सर्वधर्मरहितं अत एव सर्वधर्म विरोधि निर्गुणं सत्ताधर्मरहितं तद्विरोधि च स्पष्टं । अत एव तत् शून्यपदमाप्नोति । तथाऽव्यवह्रियते चान्यैः । तत्वं सर्वथा सगुणं गुणाश्चानेके, केषाञ्चिद्धर्माणां तत्त्वाभिन्नत्वेऽपि तेषां न तत्त्वधर्मत्वहानिः इति विशिष्टाद्वैतं । (धर्मभूतं ज्ञानं ईश्वरभिन्नं तथापि तद्धर्मभूतमिति हि तत्र प्रक्रिया) तत्वं सगुणमेव । गुणाश्चानंताः । तथापि ते गुणिनो अभिन्ना एवेति द्वैतं । "अत्रोभयत्रापि तत्वं भेदपरिच्छिन्नमेव

इष्यते । एतच्च तत्त्वासंहत्व विरोधि" इत्यद्वैतिनां प्रक्रिया । प्रत्येक विरोधमाश्रित्य सर्वेऽपि वैदिकलौकिकव्यवहाराः वैदुष्यरूपेण रागद्वेषरूपेण वा प्रवृत्ताः । पर्यवसाने तु वेदांतशास्त्रेषु तेषामत्यंतानभिमत प्रमेयस्या मारोपः तन्निमित्तकदूषणादिकं च श्रूयते । इदं तु शास्त्रदृष्टिं प्रतिबध्य अनेकानर्थमूलमिति स्पष्टं । अत एव शास्त्रदृष्ट्या लौकिकदृष्ट्या च शास्त्रद्वयं सम्यङ्निर्धार्यं । तादृशं च निर्धारणं भारतीयानामस्माकमत्यंतं विहितं । समन्वय दृष्टिर्हि अस्माकमसाधारणो धर्मः । समन्वयो हि "तत्तु समन्वया-दिति" सूत्रकारेणोपदिष्टः । तेनात्र न केवलं विरुद्धार्थकतया प्रतीयमानानां वेदवाक्यानां एकवाक्यतारूपः समन्वयः कृतः । किंतु सिद्धांतितप्रमेये सर्वो-गमयुक्तिसमथाविरोधः उपपादितः । अविरोधोपपादनंतु प्रसक्तेषु विषयेषु युक्तस्य स्वीकरणं अयुक्तस्य त्यागः । एवं च सूत्रकारः स्वाभिमते ब्रह्मणः सर्वमूलत्वे विषये प्रसक्तं अशेषलौकिकवैदिकविषयविरोधं परिहृत्य सर्वेषां विचाराणामर्थं विशेषे ब्रह्मविषयकत्वरूपं समन्वयं सूत्रेषूपदिशति ॥

अद्वैतादि शास्त्राणि वेदमुख्यार्थ निर्णायकानि सन्ति वेदान्तसंज्ञां लभन्ते । वेदानामापा ततः परस्पर विरुद्धार्थ बोधकत्वेऽपि तत्वतस्तेषां एक-वाक्यतैवेति बादरायणीयं मतं । अयमेवार्थ समन्वयविषयः । सूत्रेषु "यतोवा" इत्यादि प्रमाणेन ब्रह्मैव सर्वस्यापि विश्वस्य मूलं इति व्यवस्था-प्यते । इदमेव अद्वैतादिशास्त्राणां परमंप्रमेयं । तथापि अस्यतत्वस्य निरू-पणं प्रतिवेदान्तशास्त्रं भिद्यते । तत्र तत्र शास्त्रे निरूपितांशदृष्ट्या शास्त्राणा-मद्वैतादिनाम च श्रूयते । एभिरद्वैतादिनामभिः ब्रह्मतत्त्वस्वरूपं, तस्य जगन्मूल त्वप्रकारः, ब्रह्मजगतोः संबन्धः, जगत्तत्वस्वरूपं चेति विविधानि प्रमेयानि-बोध्यन्ते । एषांप्रमेयानां दृष्ट्याशास्त्राणामात्यन्तिक विरोध एव साक्षादवग-म्यते । तथाहि ॥

इयं तावदद्वैत प्रक्रिया । वेदोक्तं ब्रह्मसच्चिदानंद रूपं । तस्य [illegible]विरोधित्वं । चित्वंजडविरोधित्वं । आनंदत्वमनन्तत्वं वा देशकाल-[illegible] त्रितयरहित्वं । एवं च ब्रह्म अखंडं । तादृशं च तद् निरू-[illegible] [illegible]रहितत्वात् तस्य निरूपण विषयत्वमपि न संभवति ।

तस्य कर्मत्वे स्वनिष्ठधर्मधर्मिभागयोः परस्परं भिन्नत्वात् परिच्छेदं प्रसज्जेत । सर्वथा परिच्छेद हीनं ब्रह्मनिर्गुणमेव । अतएव तन्न विधेयम् । इदमित्थमिति विधीयमाने तस्मिन् इत्थंत्वप्रकार एव अवधिर्भवति । अवधिश्च तस्मिन् "नेतिनेति" इत्यादि श्रुतिबाध्यः । तस्मात् निरवधिकं निर्गुणंब्रह्मैव परमं तत्वं ॥

ब्रह्मणो निर्गुणत्वं च निर्धर्मत्वं । अत एव तस्य परमार्थतः जगत्कारणत्वं च न सम्भवति । तथापि तत् जगन्मूलत्वेन प्रतिपादितं । अनेन सिध्यति तत्र आरोपितमेव कारणत्वमिति । जगन्मूलं तत् जगदारोपाधिष्ठानं भवति । यथारजतारोपं प्रति शुक्तिः । जगच्चब्रह्मणि आरोपितं सत् प्रकाशते। तथा च ब्रह्मजगतोः संबन्धः आरोपित एव । अयमेव आध्यासिकः इति गीयते । ब्रह्मण्यारोपितं जगज्जीवजडात्मकं । जगच्च अविद्योपादानकं अविद्यात्मकं च । तस्य निर्विशेष परतत्त्वाच्छादकत्वात् । तत्र जीवः अविद्यात्मकान्तःकरणोपाधिग्रस्तं ब्रह्मचैतन्यं । चैतन्यस्योपाधिग्रस्तत्वमपि आरोपितमेव । जडत्वं तु अविद्यारूपत्वमेव । तथाच प्रकाशरूपं ब्रह्म अप्रकाशरूपाविद्याच अन्योन्याध्यस्तमेव अनुभूयमान जगद्रूपतया भाति । तत्रानुभूयमाताः अंशाः पंच, अस्ति, भाति, प्रियं, नाम, रूपंचेति । आद्यं त्रयं ब्रह्मस्वरूपं अन्त्यद्वयं जगद्रूपं (अविद्यारूपं) । जीवस्य अविद्यातिरोहित ब्रह्मरूपत्वादेव चैतन्यांशेब्रह्माभेद एव । अविद्यायास्तु ब्रह्मविरोधित्वं स्पष्टमेव । अखंडं ब्रह्मैवतत्त्वमिति सिद्धेइतरस्य मिथ्यात्वं स्वतएवसिध्यति । अयमेवार्थ अद्वैतमित्यस्य ॥

विशिष्टाद्वैतप्रक्रियात्वियं । सदेवत्यादि श्रुत्युक्तं ब्रह्म सत्यजगत्कारणत्वेन प्रतिपाद्यते । श्रुत्यन्तरेषु तदेवसर्वांतर्यामि सर्वनियामकं चेति ज्ञायते । अतएव तत् अखिलशुभगुणपूर्णमिति सिद्धति । किं च ब्रह्मनिर्गुणमिति व्याहतंभाषणं । ब्रह्मणि निर्गुणत्व रूप विशेष विधायकं हितत् । विद्यमानं सर्वमपि सविशेषमेव । निर्विशेषे न किं चिदपिप्रमाणं । प्रत्यक्षानुमानागमैः प्रमाणविशेषैः इदमित्थमिति हिवस्तुनिरूप्यते । ब्रह्मणो निर्विशेषत्वे तस्य जगत्कारणत्वमपि नोपपद्यते । कारणत्वस्यैव विशेषरूपत्वात् । एवं च ब्रह्मणि कारणत्वं नारोपितं । स्वत एव सविशेषत्व तस्य श्रुतिषु कारणत्वविशेषस्य विधान संभवात् ।

परिच्छेद रहितं निर्विशेषमित्यपि व्याहतं। परिच्छेदराहित्यस्यैव विशेषत्वात्। एवं च स्वरूपतः सच्छिदानन्दरूपं ब्रह्म स्वधर्मभूतज्ञानद्वारा निखिलकल्याणविभत्। तत्तु अन्तर्नियामकं सत् जगत्कारणं भवति। जगच्चचिदचिदात्मकं तस्य कार्यरूपत्वात् ऊपादानं किंचिदावश्यकं उपादानोपादेययोश्च अभेद एव। अन्यथा उपादानोपादेय भावायोगात्। चिदचिदात्मकस्य जगतः चिदचिदात्मकेन उपादानेन भवितव्यं। कार्यरूपं जगत् स्थूलं। कारणं चसत् सूक्ष्मं। तथा च कारणं सूक्ष्मचिदचिदात्मकं। कार्यं स्थूल चिदचिदात्मकं। कारणात्मके कार्यात्मके च जगति ब्रह्म अन्तर्यामि। अत एव जगद्विशिष्टं तत्। सूक्ष्म चिदचिद्विशिष्टं तत् कारणं स्थूल चिदचिद्विशिष्टं कार्यं। अनेनैव निमित्तेन स्थूलं जगत्प्रतितदपि उपादानमिति व्यवहारः संगच्छते। तथापि सूक्ष्मं जगत् यथोपादानं न तथा ब्रह्म उपादानं। सूक्ष्मं जगत् परिणामितया उपादानं। परिणामश्च विकारः। ब्रह्म तु अन्तर्यामितया उपादान नतु परिणामितया। सर्वेश्वरस्य तस्य विकारासम्भवात्। सङ्कल्पादि विशिष्टं तदेव जगन्निमित्तं। सृष्ट्युपयुक्तकालाद्यन्तर्यामि सत् तदेव सहकारि कारणं च। त्रिविधं कारणं ब्रह्म सर्वथा सर्वनियामकं। इतरस्य सर्वस्य तन्नियम्यत्वमेव। अत तस्य ब्रह्मविनाभावित्वमपि सिद्धयति। अनयैव विवक्षया तयोः संबधः अपृथुक् सिद्धिरिति कथ्यते। अयं संबन्धः जगति शरीरिशरीर भाववतोः वस्तुनोः दृष्टः। अनया दृष्ट्या ब्रह्मशरीरि-जगच्च शरीरमित्यपि व्यवह्रियते। चिदचिदात्मकं जगच्च सत्यं। तथापि सर्वथा ब्रह्माधीनं। तस्य असत्वे मिथ्यात्वेवातदारोपोऽपि अशक्यः। असतः आरोपासम्भवात्। शुक्तौरजतारोपोऽपि तत्र रजतसत्वमेव साधयति। अन्यथा तयोः सादृस्या सम्भवात्। सादृश्याभावे आरोपासम्भवः स्पष्टः। सादृश्यं च तयोः सत्यमेव। एवं च शुक्तौ रजतांशः वर्तत एव। अत एव तस्याः रजतसादृस्यं सङ्गच्छते। एवं ब्रह्मणि जगदारोपः जगतस्सत्वमपेक्षते। [illegible] सत्वे च आरोपवादो अप्रकृत एव। तथा च ब्रह्मसगुणं। तस्य जगत्का-[illegible] [illegible]। [illegible] जगतो संबन्धः अपृथुक् सिद्धिरूपः। चिदचिदात्मकं [illegible]। [illegible]मेवार्थं सूचयितुं इदं शास्त्रं विशिष्टाद्वैतमिति [illegible]

लभ्यते । अत्र सूक्ष्मचिदचिद्विशिष्टस्य स्थूलचिदचिद्विशिष्टस्य च ब्रह्मणः अभेदः विधीयते । अनेन ब्रह्मणः सर्व नियंतृत्वं उक्तं । विशिष्टमित्यनेन जगतः विशेषणत्वकथनेन तस्य ब्रह्माधीनत्वमुक्तम् ॥

द्वैतवेदांतप्रक्रियात्त्वियं । श्रुत्युक्तं ब्रह्म सर्वकर्तृ । तस्य स्वरूपसत्ता-प्रमिति प्रवृत्तयः स्वाधीना एव । अत एव तत् सर्वथा स्वतंत्रं । सर्वकर्तृ तत् गुणपूर्णम् । गुणपूर्त्यभावे तस्य सर्वकर्तृत्वासंभवात् । स्वतंत्रस्य तस्य जगत्सृष्टिः आनंदोद्रेकादेव । तस्य प्रवर्तकनिमित्तांतराभावात् । निमित्तांतरस्य सत्वे तु तस्य । पूर्णत्वासिद्धेः । तस्य तद्गुणानां च अभेद एव । भेदे तस्य निर्गुणत्व प्रसंगात् । अत एव तस्य गुणाः धर्मभूत-ज्ञानमूलकाः इति न संगच्छते । तस्य सर्वथा एकत्वमेव । तद्गुणानां तद्भि-न्नधर्मभूतज्ञानरूपत्वे गुणविशिष्टत्वरूपेण तस्य एकत्वासंभवात् । एकत्वाभावे स्वातन्त्र्यस्यापिलोप एव । तस्य गुणाः अनंताः । एकैकोपि गुणः अनंत एव । अत एव ते गुणाः न लौकिकाः । अयमेव तस्य विशेषः । तत्तु सर्वोत्तमं तत्वं । इतरत् सर्वमपि स्वरूपसत्ताप्रमितिप्रवृत्तिषु तदधीनमेव । तस्य कर्तृत्वं स्वरूपादिप्रदानरूपं । अनेनैव तेन विना न किंचिदपि भवतीति स्पष्टं । सर्वथास्वतंत्रस्य तस्य विकारलेशोपि नशङ्कनीयः । अतएव तत् जगत्प्रति निमित्तमेव नोपादानं । अनंतस्य तस्य सर्वांतर्यामित्वं स्वाभाविकं । तत एव तत् सर्वोपादानमिति न सिध्यति । उपादानं हि परिणामि । परिणामश्च विकारः । निर्विकारं तत् नोपादानं तद्भिन्नैव सर्वकर्त्री । तस्य जगत्कर्तृत्वं सत्यमेवत्युक्तं । तस्य जगतश्च स्वाभाविकः सत्यएव संबंधः । सतु नियम्यनियामक भावरूपः । जगच्च चेतना-चेतनात्मकं । चेतनो जीवः । अचेतनो जडः । चैतन्यं अचैतन्यं वा स्वाभाविकं । ना विद्या निमित्तकं । पूर्णे स्वप्रकाशे ब्रह्मणि नाविद्यारोपः शक्यः । ब्रह्माविद्ययोः सादृश्याभावे आरोपो न संभवति । तयोः सादृश्येतु ब्रह्मणः पूर्णत्वं अशक्यनिर्वाहं । किंच अविद्यारोपः अविद्या सत्वमपेक्षते । अविद्यायाः कल्पितत्वे अन्यत्रारोपः शक्यः । सर्वथासत्यः तस्याः आरोप संभावनापि नास्त्येव । पूर्वारोपः उत्तरारोपकारणमिति वक्तुं न शक्यते । सर्वथाऽसत्यः

रोपकत्वसंभवे च पूर्वोत्तर विभागः कर्तुं न शक्यते । एकस्मिन्नारोपस्य कर्ता केनचित् भवितव्यं । सर्वस्याप्यारोपितत्वे कोऽयमारोपकर्ता । न जीवः । तस्याप्यारोपितत्वात् । न ब्रह्म । निर्गुणत्वमते तस्य कर्तृत्वासंभवात् । ज्ञानस्वरूपस्य तस्य अज्ञानासंभवात् । अज्ञानाभावेनारोपः । तत्त्वाज्ञानं च आरोपकारणं । एवं च जगत्सत्यं ब्रह्मपरतन्त्रं च । ब्रह्मस्वतन्त्रं । एतत्तत्त्वबोधनार्थमेव अस्य शास्त्रस्य द्वैतमिति नाम । द्वैतमिति भेदः विवेकोवा । अयं च स्वतन्त्रपरतन्त्र तत्त्वयोः । अयं तु विवेकः ब्रह्मणः सर्वथास्वातंत्र्य निरूपकः ॥

एवं च अद्वैते ब्रह्मसत्यं जगन्मिथ्या उभयोः संबंधः आध्यासिकः । विशिष्टाद्वैते ब्रह्मविशिष्टं जगत्सत्यं ब्रह्मणः शरीररूपं । द्वैते ब्रह्म पूर्णं स्वतन्त्रं जगदपूर्णं परतन्त्रं, उभयोः संबंधः स्वाभाविकः । इति स्पष्टमेतेषां विरोधः । एवं स्थितेषु प्रमेयेषु तेषां एकवाक्यतासंभावनापि न शक्यते । निर्गुण-सगुणयोर्विरोधः स्पष्टः तथा प्रक्रिया दृष्ट्या विशिष्टस्वतन्त्रयोश्च विरोध एव । विशिष्टाद्वैते धर्मभूतं ज्ञानं ब्रह्मभिन्नमेव । तथापि ब्रह्मशेषत्वमेव तस्य । तत् सहितं ब्रह्मविशिष्टं । द्वैते तु स्वतन्त्रं ब्रह्म सर्वथा अभिन्नं । तत्र गुणगुणि व्यवहारः औपचारिकः विशेषमहिम्नावा ॥

तथापि विचार्यमाणे परस्परविरुद्धानामपि वेदान्तानां समन्वयोऽपि शक्यत एव । समन्वयो हि एकवाक्यता । समन्वयदृष्टिस्तु द्विधा संभवति विशेषतः सामान्यतश्चेति । एकैक शास्त्रदृष्ट्या समन्वयः विशेषतः समन्वयः । सर्वशास्त्रदृष्ट्या समन्वयः सामान्यतः समन्वयः ॥

विशेषतः समन्वयस्त्वित्थं । निर्गुणब्रह्मणिहि अद्वैतस्य तात्पर्यं । ब्रह्म तु गुणानां सर्वथा शून्य भिन्नमिति तत्प्रक्रिया । अनेन सूच्यतेतदलौकिक गुण-पूर्णमिति । अनयैव दृष्ट्या ब्रह्म सगुणत्व वादोऽपि व्याख्येयः । ब्रह्म सगुणत्व-वादिनः लौकिकान् गुणान् ब्रह्मणि नविजानंति किं तु अलौकिकानेव । एवं च लौकिकगुणसहितत्वदृष्ट्या ब्रह्म निर्गुणमिति वक्तुं शक्यते । तथैवजगत्-मिथ्येति च अद्वैत प्रक्रिया । अस्य प्रपंचस्य सत्त्वं ब्रह्मणः सत्त्वमिव मुख्यं [illegible] कल्पयितुंशक्यते । इदं तु मिथ्येति असत्त्व किं तु सत्ताद्वित्व-[illegible] लौकिकत्वेन सूच्यते । सद्विलक्षणत्वं नाम ब्रह्म विलक्षणत्वं हि सत्

प्रतिपाद्यते । एवं च प्रपंचस्य सत्यत्वेऽपि [illegible]
व्यवहारो युज्यते । इत्थं च ब्रह्मनिर्गुणं जगन्मिथ्येति वादः ब्रह्म सगुणं जगत्
सत्यं इति वादेन सम एव ॥

एवमेव सगुणं ब्रह्मेति विशिष्टाद्वैतद्वैतप्रक्रिया । अत्र ब्रह्मणि
लौकिक गुणा न विधीयंते । एतद्दृष्ट्या ब्रह्मनिर्गुणत्ववादो व्याख्येयः ।
उभयवेदांतयोः जगत्सत्यत्वांगीकारेऽपि तस्य जगतः ब्रह्मशेषत्वं परतंत्रत्वं
वा अभ्युपगम्यते । एतद्विवक्षया प्रपंचमिथ्यात्ववादोऽपि व्याख्येयः । अयंतु
प्रमेयः तत्र तत्र ग्रंथेषु अद्वैताभिमत मिथ्यात्वखंडन प्रकरणे मिथ्यात्वं
नाम ब्रह्मभिन्नत्वं वा अनित्यत्वं वा तथात्वे सिद्धसाधनता इत्यादि वाक्येषु
सूचितः ॥

विविधशास्त्रहृदय समन्वय स्त्विरथं । अद्वैते ब्रह्मैव सत्यमिति
विशिष्टाद्वैते ब्रह्मैव प्रपंचात्मेति द्वैते च ब्रह्मैव स्वतंत्रमिति यदुच्यते तस्य एक
एवार्थः ब्रह्मैव मुख्यं तत्वमिति । तथा च एतेषां प्रमेयानां अर्थतो अविरोध
एव । एवमेव अद्वैते जगन्मिथ्येति, विशिष्टाद्वैते जगत् ब्रह्मशरीरमिति द्वैते च
जगत् परतंत्रमिति एषां प्रपंचस्य अप्रधानं सत्वमिति एकएवार्थः तथा च
एषां प्रमेयानामपि अर्थतो अविरोध एव ॥

किं च अद्वैतविशिष्टाद्वैतद्वैतसंज्ञानां अपाततः विरुद्धार्थकत्वेऽपि तेषां
एकार्थ एव तात्पर्यमिति वक्तुं शक्यते । अद्वैतं ब्रह्मणः अद्वितीयत्वं कथयत्
सर्वस्याऽपि ब्रह्ममूलत्वंवक्ति । विशिष्टाद्वैतं सर्वशरीरिणः ब्रह्मणः अभेदं कथयत्
ब्रह्म एव सर्वस्यापि मूलमिति उपपादयति । द्वैतं स्वतंत्रस्य ब्रह्मणः परतंत्र
प्रपंचभेदं कथयत् सर्वस्यापि परतंत्रस्य स्वतंत्रमेव मूलमिति प्रतिपादयति । एवं
च सर्वत्र ब्रह्मैव प्रपंचमूलमिति वेदांतशास्त्राणि ब्रह्मविना प्रपंचासंभवमेव
ख्यापयंति । ब्रह्म च सर्वत्रापि एकमेव । अनयात्वदृष्ट्या सर्वं शास्त्रं ब्रह्माद्वैत-
रूपं । एवमेव अद्वैतेऽपि सत्यब्रह्मणः मिथ्याप्रपंचस्य च भेद एवोच्यते ।
विशिष्टाद्वैते सर्वात्मनः ब्रह्मणः तच्छेषभूत प्रपञ्चस्य भेदः स्पष्टएव । द्वैते
साक्षात् स्वतंत्रब्रह्मणः परतंत्र प्रपञ्चस्य च भेदः साक्षादेव प्रतिपाद्यते ।
अनयादृष्ट्या सर्वमपि शास्त्रं द्वैतमेव ॥

एवं च ब्रह्मद्वयात्मकं अद्वैतं प्रपञ्चरूप्यं अद्वैतमिति अखिलवेदांत-वाक्यैकवाक्यता ॥

एकवाक्यता निर्धारणप्रयोजनं तु सर्वाणि वेदांतशास्त्राणि ब्रह्माद्वैतपराणि ब्रह्मणः प्रपञ्चवैलक्षण्यमुपपादयंतीति ज्ञानं । तादृशेन ज्ञानेन समीचीना ब्रह्मतत्त्वविषयक चिंता जायते । इदं वैदिकं प्रयोजनं । तथा अनेननिर्धारणेन सर्वेषु शास्त्रेषु तदनुयायिषु च गौरवबुद्धिरेव संभवति । सातु लौकिकश्रेयस्साधनमिति स्पष्टमेव ॥

APPENDIX

Urdu Papers

المرقش الأصغر	3	أمن رسم دار ماء عينيك يسفح	15	148 r
		الا يا اسلمي لا صرم لي اليوم فاطما	22	148 v
		لابنة عجلان بالجو رسوم	19	149 r
المرقش الأكبر	3	أمن آل اسماء الطلول الدوارس	18	146 v
		ألا بان جيراني ولست بعائف	17	147 r
		هل بالديار أن تجيب صمم	35	147 v
مزرد بن ضرار	2	ألا يا لقوم والسفاهة كاسمها.. (د)	32	89 v
		صحا القلب عن سلمى وملّ العواذل	74	90 r
معاوية بن مالك	1	أجدّ القلب من سلمى اجتنابا	25	145 v
معن بن أوس		عفا وخلا ممن عهدت به خمّ	50	132 r
النمر بن تولب	5	صرمتك جمرة واستبدّ بدارها	26	25 v
		تأبّد من أطلال جمرة مأسل	41	26 r
		ألمّ بصحبتي وهم مجود .. (ن)	22	27 r
		شطّت بجمرة دار بعد العام	18	27 v
		سلا عن تذكّره تكتسعا	24	28 r

The proofs of the Urdu and Arabic portions have been kindly correct

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كعب بن زهير	5	بانت سعادُ فقلبي اليومَ متبولُ	[illegible]	[illegible]
		من سرَّهُ كرمُ الحياةِ فلا يزل .. (ر)	31	7 ٧
		لمن دمنةُ الدارِ اقوت سنينا	41	8 ٢
		أمن امِّ شدّادٍ رسومُ المنازلِ	30	9 ٢
		هل حبلُ رملةَ قبل البين مبتورُ	28	9 ٧
كعب بن سعد الغنوي	1	تقولُ سُليمى ما لجسمِك شاحبًا (بُ)	45	101 ٢
ليلى الاخيلية	3	طربت وما هذا بساعةِ مطربِ	35	22 ٢
		نظرت ودوني من عماية منكبُ .. (ر)	45	23 ٢
		يا عينُ بكّي توبةَ ابن الحميّرِ	17	24 ٢
المتوكل الليثي	7	للغانيةِ بذي المجازِ رسومُ	72	108 ٢
		قفي قبل التفرّقِ يا أُماما	62	110 ٢
	5	أجدَّ اليومَ جيرانُك احتمالا	61	"
		صرمتك ربطةُ بعد طولِ وصالِ	71	112 ٧
		خليليَّ عوجا اليومَ وانتظراني	47	114 ٢
		نام الخليُّ فنومُ العينِ تسهيدُ	44	115 ٢
		يا ربطَ هل لي عندكم نائلُ	56	116 ٢
المثقب العبدي	3	ألا إنّ هندًا أمسِ رثَّ جديدُها	29	132 ٢
		أفاطمُ قبل بينِك متّعيني	45	133 ٢
		لا تقولنّ اذا ما لم تُرِد	16	134 ٢
المخبّل	3	ذكر الرّبابَ وذكرُها سُقمُ	45	[illegible]
		أعرفت من سلمى رسومَ ديارِ	[illegible]	[illegible]

		يحنبة ربع بالكميين دارس		23	128 r
		طعنت قطاة تبا تقرلك سابعا		25	128 v
قيس بن الخطيم	5	تذكر ليلى حسنها وصفاءها		18	99 r
		أجد بعمرة غنيا نهما		19	99 v
		أتعرف رسماً كاطراد المذاهب		36	100 r
		ردّ الخليط الجمال فانصرفوا	(ب)	7	101 r
		اذا المرء لم يشنوا اباه وجدّه	(د)	12	"
كثير بن عبد الرحمن الخزاعي	16	خليلي ان أم الحكيم تحملت ..	(لها)	78	150 r
		ألا يا لقومي للنوى وانتقالها		23	150 v
		ألا حييا ليلى أجد رحيلي		46	152 v
		خليلي هذا ربع عزة فاعقلا ..	(ت)	38	153 v
		الم تربع فتخبرك الطلول		55	154 v
		لعزة من أيام ذي الغصن هاجني ..	(م)	29	155 v
		لعزة أطلال أبت ان تكلما		53	156 v
		عفت غيقة من أهلها فحريمها		53	157 v
		أشاقك برق آخر الليل واصب		31	158 v
		عفا السفح من أم الوليد فكبكب		30	159 r
		ألا طرقت بعد العشاء جنوب		46	160 r
		أبائنة سعدى نعم ستبين		26	161 r
		لقد كنت للمظلوم عزاً وناصراً	(نهاً)	30	161 v
		لعزة هاج الشوق فالدمع سافح		46	162 r
		ألم يحزنك يوم غدت حدوج		21	163 r
		ألا انتساب تبكي فانت عميد		30	163 v

	حلفت برب مكة والمصلى ..	(ت)	39	67 r
	ان بنت كلباً من كليب قابتني ..	(ق)	15	68 r
	الا استهزأت مني هنيدة ان رأت ..	(ل)	26	68 v
	الم تر اني يوم جو سويقة ..	(يا)	28	69 r
	ان الذي سما السماء بنى لنا ..	(ل)	99	69 v
	اقول لصاحبي من التعزي ..	(لا)	23	72 r
	جر المخزيات على كليب ..	(را)	37	72 v
	عفا المنازل آخر الايام		24	73 v
	عرفت المنازل من مهرد		42	74 r
	تقول كليب حين مثت سبالها ..	(ب)	19	75 r
	عجبت لتادينا المقحم سيره	(عا)	17	76 r
	اعرفت بين رويتين وحنبل ..	(م)	86	"
	يا ابن المراغة والهجاء اذا التقت ..	(ن)	25	68 r
	محت الديار فاذ هبت عرصاتها ..	(ر)	86	79 r
	بني نهشل ابقوا عليكم ولا تردوا ..	(ر)	43	80 v
	بني اذا نزلت عليك جاشع ..	(ع)	12	81 v
	ألا من لعناء ومن الهم عائد		22	"
	ألستم عائجين بنا لعنا	(م)	85	82 v
	اخال الباهلي يظن اني ..	(ب)	17	83 r
	هذا الذي تعرف البطحاء وطأته	(م)	27	83 v
القتال الكلابي	4 نظرت وتبعلى التي علم ...	(ل)	[illegible]	[illegible]

صحيح ... [illegible]

		هلا يعتبع شرقت القلال		19	14 r
		تأنك أمامة الاسؤالا		28	14 v
		تأنك أمامة الاسؤالا		29	15 r
عمرو بن كلثوم التغلبي	١	ألا هبي بصحنك فاصبحينا		91	57 v
عنترة بن عمرو بن شداد العبسي	٥	هل غادر الشعراء من متردم		75	52 v
		طال الوقوف على رسوم المنزل		17	54 r
		تأنك رقاش الاعن لمام		25	54 v
		عفا الرسوم وباقي الاطلال		43	55 r
		يا عبل ابن من المنية مهربي ..	(ها)	18	56 r
عوف بن الأحوص		هديت الحياض فلم يغادر ..	(آ/)	20	129 v
		ومستنبح يخشى القواء ودونه ..	(رها)	17	130 r
عوف بن عطية	١	أمن آل ليلى عرفت الديارا		40	40 "
الفرزدق	30	لاقوم أكرم من تميم اذ غدت	(ا)	95	48 v
		تحن بزوراء المدينة ناقتي ...		39	51 r
		يا ابن المراغة إنما جاريتني	(ر)	147	52 r
		انا ابن العاصمين بني تميم		69	55 v
		عرفت بأعلى الرس إلفا بعدما	(رها)	97	57 r
		عرفت بأعشاش وما كدت تعرف		80	62 r
		سمونا لنجران اليماني واهله		45	64 r
		ومنا الذي اختير الرجال سماحة ..	(ع)	28	65 r
		أمسى بنو سعد جدود التي بها ..	(ل)	40	66 r
		لقد حرم القوم لو كان عانيا ..	(م)	39	67 r

		لنعم ابن اخت القوم ... (ل)	[illegible]	[illegible]
عروة بن اذينة	11	أعرصة الدار ام نوقفها	45	[illegible]
		ياد يار الحيّ بالأجمه	35	96 v
		أفى رسوم محلّ غير مسكون	37	97 v
		أما قلت ديار الحيّ عرفانا	40	99 v
		صرمت سعيدة ودّها وخلالها	86	99 r
		بخلت رقاش بودّها ونوالها .. (ش)	42	101 r
		ياحبّذا الدار بالروحاء من دار	51	102 r
		أمن حبّ سعدى وتذكارها	41	103 r
		سرى لك طيف زار من ام عاصم	69	104 r
		أهاجك دار الحيّ وجناجنابها	76	105 v
		صرمت سعيدة صرما هانا	38	107 r
عروة بن الورد	5	أرقت وصحبتي بمضيق عمق .. (م)	16	107 v
		أقلّي عليّ اللوم يا ابنة منذر	29	118 r
		أفي ناب منحناها فقيرا ... (ت)	15	118 v
		أليس ورائي ان ادبّ على العصا .. (ل)	11	119 r
		الم تعرف منازل ام عمرو ... (ن)	11	[illegible]
علقمة بن عبدة	4	هل ما علمت وما استودعت مكتوم	96	[illegible] v
		طحا بك قلب في الحسان طروب	36	[illegible]
		ذهبت من الهجران في غير مذهب	43	[illegible]
عمرو بن قميئة	5	ارى جارتي خفّت وخفّ ضميرها	[illegible]	[illegible]
		إنّ ابنتي قد اقسمت ... [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

		أبني [illegible] كبرت [illegible] .. (ع)	20	33 v
[illegible] الأوس	13	أمن منزل عافٍ ومن رسم أطلالِ	17	61 v
		تغيرتِ الديار بذي الدفينِ	18	62 r
		باذ المحزننا بقتل ابيه إن لا لأوجننا	25	"
		ياخليليَّ قفا واستخبرا . . . (ل)	18	63 r
		لمن الديار بساحةٍ فحَرَسِ	23	63 v
		يا دار هند عفاها كل هَطّالِ	18	64 r
		تحاولُ رسمًا من سُليمى دكادِكا	20	"
		أمن آلِ سلمى تلك لا تستريعُ	14	64 v
		أمن رسومٍ آيُها ناحِلُ	22	65 r
		أقفرَ من أهله ملحوبُ	24	65 v
		أمن دمنةٍ أقوت بجوّةِ سَرغَدِ	36	66 v
		لمن جمالٌ قُبيل الصبح مزمومه	14	67 r
		سقى الربابَ مُجلجِلُ الاكنافِ .. بروقَه	7	67 v
عبيد بن أيوب العنبري	4	لقد خِفتُ حتى لو تمرُّ حمامةٌ .. (ر)	3	119 v
		أراني وذئب القفر خِدنين بعدما .. (ر)	24	"
		كأن لم أقُد سبحانك الله فتية .. (له)	32	120 r
		ليت الذي سخرت مني ومن جملي (ر)	24	121 r
عبد الله بن الحر	4	الم تعلمي يا أمَّ توبة انني .. (د)	20	129 r
		الم تعلمي يا أمَّ توبة انني .. (ج)	20	128 r
		من مُبلغ الفتيانَ أنّ أخاهُمُ .. (نه)	19	"

الرحّال بن مجدوح الفهيري	1	اقول لاصحابي الرّواحَ تقرَّبُوا .. (ر)	32	61 r
زهير بن جناب	1	أمن آل سلمى ذا الخيالُ المؤرِّقُ	23	52 v
سلامة بن جندل	2	اودى الشبابُ حميدًا ذو التعاجيبِ	33	16 r
		لمن طلل مثل الكتاب المنمّقِ	38	16 v
سلمة بن الخرشب الانماري	2	اذا غدوتم عامدين لأرضنا .. (ر)	16	88 r
		تأوّبهُ خيال من سُليمى .. (مُ)	16	〃
السمهري بن بشر العكلي	1	ألا حيِّ ليلى قد ألمّ لمامُها	19	124 v
شبيب بن البرصاء المري	1	ألم ترَ أن الحيَّ تَرَّقَ بينهم .. (جُ)	21	129 r
الشمردل	6	بان الخليطُ فأدلجُوا بسوادِ	32	123 v
		طربتُ وذو الحِلم قد يطرَبُ	68	124 r
		لعمرى لئن غالت اخى دارُ فُرْقة .. (لهُ)	42	125 v
		إنّ الخليطَ أجدّ منك بكسورا	29	126 v
		بان الخليطُ بحبل الوُدّ فانطلقُوا	47	127 v
		أ أنكرتَ أطلالَ الرّسومِ وقد تُرى ..(قُ)	21	128 v
الشنفرى	1	أرى أُمّ عمرو أزمعت فاستقلّتِ	33	103 r
طهمان بن عمرو الكلابي	1	سقى دار ليلى بالرُّقاشين مُسبِلٌ ..(قُ)	32	126 r
عامر الخصفي	1	من مبلغ سعد بن ذبيان مالكا .. (ما)	29	[illegible] v
عبد الله بن الحصين	1	تأوّبنى بعارمة الهمومُ	19	[illegible] r
عبد الله بن سليمة	1	ألا صرمت حبائلنا جنوبُ	17	[illegible] v
عبد يغوث بن وقاص	1	ألا لا تلوماني كفى اللّومُ ما بيا	[illegible]	[illegible]
عبدة بن الطبيب	2	هل حبلُ خولة بعد الهجر موصولُ	[illegible]	[illegible]

		وغرّ الصبا من ربيقة أعرضت ..	(ن)	31	55 v
		أمن ليلى تبتكرى ام تروّح		39	57 v
الحارث بن حلزة	2	اذنتنا ببينها أسماءُ		83	56 v
		لمن الدّيار عفون بالحبس		14	57 r
الحارث بن ظالم المرى	1	نات سلمى واست فى عدو . .	(با)	23	144 r
الحصين بن الحمام	1	جزى الله أفناء العشيرة كلّها .	(ما)	39	61 v
المنخل الحرزى	3	ابت لى سعد أن اضام ومالكٌ	(ر)	63	121 r
		وقائلة يوما وقد جمت زائرا	(را)	60	122 v
		نزلنا بشعثى الرّدى اجن الصرى	(ل)	26	124 r
خفاف بن عمير	5	ألا طرقت اسماءُ من غير مطرق		38	10 v
		ألا تلك عرسى ام أمعرت		28	11 r
		اوحش النخل من نعامل فالروضاتُ	(د)	18	11 v
		ملهاجك اليوم من رسم والطلال		25	12 r
		الاصرمت من سلمى الزمامَا		18	12 v
دريد بن الصمة	5	أرثّ جديد الحبل من ام معبد		30	12 r
		هل مثل قلبك فى الهواء معذور		24	122 r
		ان بشراسي كالثغامة نسلهُ ..	(د)	15	122 v
		وقال الله يا ابنة آل عمرو ..	(س)	18	"
		غشيت برابغ طللا محيلا		16	123 r
[illegible] الأصبع	2	إنكما صاحبىّ لن تدعا		32	95 r
		أمن القلب شديد الم محزون		30	95 v

		الاحبذا الديار بسُعدى إني .. (رَا)	82	[illegible]v
		سرت الهموم فبتن غير نيام	26	30v
		زار الفرزدق أهل الحجاز .. (وِ)	35	31r
		لست بمعطي الحكم من شف منصب	19	32r
		أقمنا وربّتنا الديار ولا أرى ..(مَا)	82	32v
		لولا الحياءُ جرى لنا استعبار	115	34v
		لمن الديار ببرقة الرّوحان	92	37r
		فإن أمير المؤمنين حباكم .. (د)	37	39v
		أمن ربع دارهمّ ان يتغيّرا	106	40v
		عرفت الدار بعد بلى الخيام	54	43r
		ألاحيّ المنازل بالجناب	53	44r
		ألا زارت وأهل منى هجود	69	45v
		أهاج أراك برامتين وقسودا	57	47r
جميل	15	ألم تسأل الرّبع القواء فينطق	39	[illegible]0v
		ألا ليت أيام الصفاء جديد	56	[illegible]1r
		لقد لامني فيها أخ ذو قرابة .. (دُ)	17	[illegible]
		خلت بثينةُ من قلبي بمنزلة .. (دُ)	17	
		طربت وهاج الشوق منه بُريقا .. (ف)	28	
		عفا بردٌ من أم عمرو فتلتلك	[illegible]	
		عاودت من جمل [illegible] .. (دَ)	[illegible]	

	طربنا حين راجعنا الادكارا	32	50 v
جرير بن عطيه 33	حي الهدملة من ذات المواعيس	39	1 v
	لمن الديار رسومهن بوالي	63	2 v
	ماهاج شوقاً من رسوم ديار	42	4 r
	الاحيّ ربع المنزل المتقادم	79	5 r
	اقلّي اللوم عاذل والعتابا	105	7 r
	اجدّ رواح البين ام لا تروح	65	9 r
	أُنست ديار الحيّ ام لا تزورها	69	11 r
	الا ايها القلب الطّروف الكلف	74	12 v
	الم تر ان الجهل اقصر باطله	95	14 v
	ذكرتُ وصال البيض والشيبُ شائعُ	69	16 v
	امن ذي عهد تفيض مدامعي ... (رل)	29	18 v
	لاخير في مستعجلات الملاوم	64	19 r
	تعلّلنا امامة بالعدات	34	20 v
	الا بكرت سلمى فجر بكورها	36	21 v
	لمن طللٌ هاج الفواد لمتيّماً	53	22 v
	الاحيّ بالبردين داراً لا ارى .. (مها)	41	23 v
	عُوجي علينا واربعي ربّة البغل	65	24 v
	الاحيّ رهي ثم حيّي المطاليا	55	26 r
	لمن الديار كانّها لم تحلل	62	27 v
	سرت لي لطرفة فرايت برقاً ... (م)	25	28 r

الشاعر	عدد	المطلع	الأبيات	الورقة
	4	دعتنا بكهف من كنابين دعوة .. (ح)	23	29v
		أنا لخرا الوصل ام غاع لصروم	46	30r
		دعتنا عتيبة من عالج .. (لا)	41	31r
		هل انت محيي الربع ام انت سائله	53	32r
		شطت نوى من يحل السر فالقرنا	28	33r
		هل القلب عن دهماء سال فمجمع	32	33v
		لمازنية مصطاف ومرتبع	39	34v
		يا صاحبي انظرا لي لا عدمتكما .. (ر)	22	36r
		طاف الخيال بنا ركبا يمانينا	35	[illegible]
		تأمل خليلي هل ترى ضوء بارق .. (ل)	30	38v
توبة بن الحمير	3	نأتك بليلى دارها لا تزورها	44	20v
		الا هل فؤادي من صبا اليوم صانع	13	21r
		رما بليلى الاخيلية قومها .... (ما)	19	21v
ثعلبة بن صعير	1	هل عند عمرة بن بتات مسافر	24	34r
جابر بن حني التغلبي	1	الا بالقوم للجديد المصرم	25	[illegible]
جعدة بن معاوية بن جعدة العكلي	2	تأوبني نبت لها ... (ن)	21	[illegible]
		اني ارقت لبرق خافق ساري	26	[illegible]
جران العود	55	بان الخليط فما لنا التهلويل	27	[illegible]
		الا لا يغرن امرأ نوفلية .. (ح)	[illegible]	[illegible]
		ذكرت الصبا فانهلت العين تذرف	[illegible]	[illegible]
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

		عفت لا بد من شكب وتصالِ	26	68 r
		ايتها النفس اجملي جزعا	13	69 r
		هل عاجلٌ من متاع الحيّ منظور	26	〃
		حلت تماضرُ بعدنا رَبَبا	24	70 r
		سلا قلبه عن سكرة فتأمّلا	52	70 v
		تنكّر بعدي من اُميمة صائفُ	57	71 v
		تنكّرت منا بعد معرفة لمى	41	73 r
اوس بن غلفاء الجهيمي	ا	جلبنا الخيل من جنبى اريكٍ . (م)	21	149 v
بشامة بن عمرو	ا	هجرت أمامة هجراً جميلا	37	88 v
بشامة بن الغدير	ا	لمن الديار عفون بالجزعِ	17	41 v
بشر بن ابي خازم	و	احقٌّ ما رأيتَ ام احتلامُ	38	74 r
		لمن الديارُ غشيتَها بالانعُمِ	27	74 v
		هل انت على أطلال مَيّةَ رابعُ	17	75 v
		هل لعَيشٍ اذا مضى لزوالِ	16	75 v
		تغيرت المنازل بالكثيبِ	20	76 r
		الا بأن الخليط ولم يزاروا	50	76 v
		عفت من سليمى رامة فكثيبُها	21	77 v
		أسائلة عميرةُ عن ابيها .. (با)	20	78 r
		كفى بالنأي من اسماءَ كافِ	24	78 v
تأبط شرا	ا	يا عيد مالك من شوقٍ وايراقِ	26	104 r
[illegible]	ا	[illegible] الدار من جنبي حبتر فواهبِ .. (خ)	42	28 v

Folio	No. of Verses	First Hemistich	No. of Poems	Name of Poet
104v	48	أقوت رواوة من اصناء فالسند	3	الاحوص (محمد بن عاصم بن ثابت) الانصاري
105v	42	يا بيت عاتكة الذى اتغزّل		
106v	53	أفى كل يوم حبة القلب تقرع		
87v	38	ياسلمى يا امّ بشر على الهجر	9	الاخطل
88v	67	عفا واسط من ال رضوى فنبتل		
90r	47	كذبتك عينك امر رايت بواسط.. (لا)		
91r	45	لمن الديار بحائل فوعال		
92v	54	هل تعرف اليوم من ماويّة الطللا		
93v	47	تغيّر الرسم من سلمى باجفار		
95r	49	عفا الجوف من سلمى فبادت رسومها		
96r	47	الا يا سلمى يا هند هند بنى بدر		
97r	84	خفّ القطين فراحوا منك او بكروا		
150v	27	لابنة حطّان بن عوف منازل	1	الاخنس بن شهاب التغلبى
42r	36	نام الخلىّ وما احسّ رقادى	6	الاسود بن يعفر
43v	34	هل بالمنازل ان كلمتها خرس		
[illegible]	30	ابينت رسم الدار لم تتبين		
[illegible]	28	الاحىّ سلمى فى الخليط المفارق		
	23	هل الشيب نامت من مطلب		
	[illegible]	اجارتنا غضّى من السير او قفى		
		تودّع لبيتى وداع الصارم ...	5	اوس بن حجر التميمى

[illegible] عدل و انصاف کیا جائے۔ کیونکہ بغیر عدل و انصاف رعیت شاد اور ملک آباد نہیں ہو سکتا۔

قضاۃ کے طریق تقرر وغیرہ کے متعلق جو تفاصیل "احکام السلطانیہ" اور "عقد الفرید" میں ملتی ہیں۔ ان کا "سیاست نامہ" میں کوئی ذکر نہیں۔ لیکن ایک جگہ اس نے چند سطروں میں اپنے اصول کو اس خوبی سے جمع کر دیا ہے کہ وہ آج بھی بالکل صحیح ہیں۔ اس کے الفاظ یہ ہیں۔ قاضی کو ہمیشہ قانون دان اور متدین ہونا چاہیئے۔ ہر ایک قاضی کی تنخواہ بلحاظ قابلیت اور بہ اندازہ مصارف مقرر ہونی چاہیئے۔ تاکہ رشوت کی حاجت نہ ہو۔ جب قاضی غلط فہمی یا لالچ سے فیصلہ کریں تو دوسرے حکام کو اس کی سماعت کرنی چاہیئے۔ عمال کے فرائض میں یہ بھی داخل ہے۔ کہ وہ قاضیوں کو مدد دیتا رہے۔ تاکہ ان کے ظاہری اعزاز کی کساد بازاری نہ ہو۔ اگر کوئی شیخی یا دولتمندی کی وجہ سے حاضر عدالت نہ ہو تو عمال ان کو بجبر و سختی حاضر عدالت کریں۔ یہ عہدہ اس قدر معزز ہے کہ خلفائے راشدین نے بنفس نفیس خدمت قضا کو انجام دیا ہے۔ اس لئے بادشاہ کو چاہیئے کہ انفصال مقدمات کے لئے خود اجلاس کیا کرے۔ اور کام زیادہ ہو جائے تو قاضی مقرر کرے جو بادشاہ کے نائب تصور کئے جائیں اس لئے قاضی کا ادب و احترام بھی اتنا ہی ہونا چاہیئے۔ جتنا کہ بادشاہ کا "[illegible]

ان چند سطروں میں نظام الملک نے کم و بیش وہ تمام اہم اصول بتا دئے ہیں جن پر اسلامی مملکت کا انحصار ہے

زمانے میں چونکہ ذرائع مواصلات اور اسباب حمل ونقل بالکل ابتدائی حالت میں تھے۔ اس وجہ سے اس محکمہ کی ضرورت بہت زیادہ تھی۔ آج بھی باوجود گوناگوں سہولتوں کے اس محکمہ کی ضرورت سے کسی کو انکار نہیں۔ نظام الملک نے لکھا ہے۔ کہ علاوہ مستقل ملازموں کے تمام سلطنت میں سوداگروں، صوفیوں، اور دوافروشوں کو جاسوسی کے لئے مقرر کیا جائے۔ تاکہ سلطنت کا کوئی واقعہ پوشیدہ نہ رہے۔ اور عمال کوئی دراز دستی نہ کر سکیں۔ لیکن جاسوس بعض مرتبہ ذاتی اغراض کی تحت کسی عامل کی بلا وجہ شکایت کر دیتے ہیں اس لئے کامل تحقیقات کے بعد سزادی جائے۔

۴۔ خزانہ کے متعلق بھی نظام الملک کا خیال حد درجہ قابل اعتنا ہے وہ کہتا ہے کہ حکومت کے پاس دو خزانہ ہونی چاہئے۔ ایک خزانہ اصلی یا سرمایہ دوامی۔ دوسرے خزانہ خرچ۔ جس سے حسب معمول سلطنت کے اخراجات برداشت کئے جائیں۔

۵۔ سب سے آخر لیکن اہمیت میں سب کے برابر حکومت کا شعبہ عدلیہ ہے۔ اسلام میں عدل کی حمایت اور ظلم کی مذمت اس شدت سے کی گئی ہے۔ کہ اسلامی سیاسی قیام مملکت کے لئے انصاف کو شرط لازمی قرار دیتے ہیں۔ انہیں روایات کا اثر ہے کہ نظام الملک نے عدل و انصاف پر اتنا زور دیا ہے۔ کہ "سیاست نامہ" کے قریبا ہر صفحہ پر اس کا ذکر موجود ہے۔ پہلی فصل جو بطور مقدمہ ہے [illegible] ابتدا ہی وہ لکھتا ہے کہ ہر بادشاہ پر لازم ہے کہ [illegible]

[illegible] اور واضح کر دیتا ہے۔ وہ لکھتا ہے کہ حکومت میں ادنیٰ۔ اوسط اعلیٰ درجہ کے کام ہوتے ہیں۔ اس لئے ہر عامل کو بلحاظ اس کی اہلیت اور لیاقت عہدہ سپرد کرنا چاہیے۔ ایسا ہرگز نہ ہونا چاہیئے کہ ایک ہی شخص قاضی بھی ہو اور محتسب بھی ہو۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ نظام الملک کو اس اصول کی اہمیت پر کافی زور دینا مقصود ہے۔ اس لئے وہ کئی جگہ اس کے متعلق اشارات کرتا گیا ہے۔ ایک جگہ لکھتا ہے کہ وزیر کی نااہلیت کی ایک بڑی شناخت یہ بھی ہے کہ دفتر وزارت سے ایک شخص کو دو قسم کے کام سپرد کئے جائیں۔ اس انتظام سے علاوہ دیگر خرابیوں کے ایک دقت یہ بھی پیش آتی ہے۔ کہ بہت سے کام والے بیکار بیٹھے رہتے ہیں۔ ملک کا سب سے بڑھکر وہ شخص دشمن ہے۔ جو دس آدمیوں کو بے کار رکھکر ان کا کام تنہا ایک شخص سے لے۔

عمال کی نگرانی - تقرر کے بعد اہم سوال ان کی نگرانی کا ہے۔ کیونکہ اکثر عہدہ دار اختیار ملنے پر بے راہ ہو جاتے ہیں۔ اس لئے ان پر ہمیشہ نگرانی رکھنی چاہیئے۔ اگر وہ قانون کے پابند رہیں اور ضابطہ کے حدود سے تجاوز نہ کریں تو خدمت پر علی حالہ برقرار رکھا جائے۔ ورنہ برطرف کرکے ایسی سزا دی جائے کہ دوسروں کو عبرت ہو۔ اس طرح امن و امان اور خوش حالی برقرار رکھنے کے لئے بادشاہ اور وزیر کے لئے لازمی ہے۔ کہ ہمیشہ عہدہ داروں کے چال چلن کی ٹوہ میں لگے رہیں۔ یہ اور اسی قسم کے دوسرے اغراض کے لئے نظام الملک نے محکمہ جاسوسی پر خاص توجہ کی ہے۔ علاوہ مستقل فصل کے دوسرے عنوانوں کے سلسلے میں بھی اس پر زور دیتا رہتا ہے۔ [illegible]

عاملہ کا اثر رعایا پر راست پڑتا ہے۔ اور وہ ان سے مرعوب رہتی ہے۔ شاید اسی وجہ سے "سیاست نامہ" کا کم از کم نصف حصہ اسی پر مشتمل ہے۔

عاملانہ عہدہ داروں کے سلسلہ میں سب سے پہلے ان کی اہلیت کا سوال ہے۔ اس سلسلہ میں نظام الملک کے نزدیک اخلاقی اہلیت سب سے زیادہ اہم ہے۔ اس کے خیال میں کسی شہر یا ملک کے عامل کے لیے ایسا دیندار خدا ترس آدمی تلاش کرنا چاہیے۔ جو خود غرض نہ ہو اور اسی علاقہ کی رعایا اور گرد و پیش کے حالات سے بخوبی واقف ہو۔ ورنہ اجنبی حاکم رعایا کے لیے مضر ثابت ہوتے ہیں۔ عاملانہ عہدہ داروں کی مذکورۂ بالا صفات کا ذکر کرکے نظام الملک لکھتا ہے کہ "اگر ایسے بزرگ جو دیندار خدا ترس ہوں۔ عہدہ قبول کرنے سے انکار کریں۔ تو ان کو خدمت قبول کرنے پر مجبور کیا جائے۔" اس سلسلہ میں اصول تقسیم اختیارات پر ایک خاص نقطہ سے روشنی ڈالی گئی ہے۔ سب سے پہلے تو وہ ایک شخص کو دو خدمتیں خواہ ان کا تعلق ایک ہی شعبہ سے کیوں نہ ہو سپرد کرنے کا مخالف ہے۔ کیونکہ ایسی صورت میں دو کاموں میں سے حسن و خوبی سے صرف ایک ہی کام ہوگا۔ اور دوسرا کام کلیتہً خراب ہوگا یا اس میں کوتاہی ہوگی۔ کوئی شخص جب ایک شعبہ کے دو کام اچھی طرح انجام نہیں دے سکتا۔ تو [illegible] شعبوں کے کام ایک شخص کس طرح [illegible]

[illegible] اور قیاس مجتہد کو قانون سازی میں جو رتبہ ملتا ہے۔ اس سے
قانون میں مناسب لچک پیدا ہو گئی۔ اور مختلف اسلامی قوانین میں
فروعی تبدیلیاں ہوتی رہیں۔ ان وجوہات کے پیش نظر اسلامی سیاسیون
نے اس بات پر زیادہ توجہ مبذول کی کہ استنباط مسائل میں
حتی الامکان غلطی سے بچنے کی کوشش کی جائے۔ انصاف طلبی کا آخری
ذریعہ خلیفہ یا بادشاہ کی ذات ہوتی ہے۔ اس لئے نظام الملک نے
بادشاہ کے لئے قرآن فہمی لازمی قرار دی ہے۔ وہ لکھتا ہے کہ بادشاہ
کو چاہئے کہ مختلف فیہ مسائل کے لئے علما کو جمع کر کے ہفتہ میں کم از کم
دو مرتبہ جلسے منعقد کرے۔ اور علماء کو مناظرہ کا حکم دے۔ تاکہ زیر بحث
مسئلہ صاف ہو جائے۔ اور بادشاہ کو قرآن کی تفسیر اور تعبیر پر قابو
ہو جائے۔ لیکن شخصی اجتہاد کی روک تھام بھی ضروری ہے۔ ورنہ
لوگ اپنے منشا کے مطابق قانون کی تعبیر شروع کر دیں گے۔ اس لئے
اجتہاد کے ساتھ اجماع کی حمایت بھی ضروری ہے۔ اس غرض کیلئے
مشورہ نہایت ضروری ہے۔ کیونکہ بحث و مباحثہ کے بعد مسئلہ زیادہ
منقح ہو جائے گا۔ اور قیاس کو اجماع کی حمایت بھی حاصل رہے گی۔
مشیروں کے اوصاف کے متعلق نظام الملک کا خیال یہ ہے کہ مشیر کے
لئے مال و جاہ کی اہلیت نقصان دہ ہوتی ہے۔ بلکہ جو شخص تجربہ کار
اور اپنی رائے کا مستحکم ہو۔ اس سے مشورہ کرنا چاہئے۔ عاقل نا تجربہ کار
سے عاقل آزمودہ کار بہت بہتر ہے۔ اس لئے بادشاہ پر لازم ہے کہ
جب کوئی قانون نافذ کرنا مقصود ہو تو پہلے لائق اور قابل مشیروں سے
[illegible] مباحثہ کرنے تاکہ قانون میں کسی [illegible]

وہ ایک نہایت اہم اصول یہ پیش کرتا ہے کہ جس قوم یا قبیلے سے فوج مرتب ہو۔ ان کے سرداروں کو حکم دینا چاہیئے کہ وہ اپنے بیٹوں یا بھائیوں کو بطور ضمانت حاضر دربار رکھیں۔ اور کچھ وظائف مقرر کر دئے جائیں۔ لیکن جب تک اپنے قائم مقام کو حاضر نہ کریں۔ ہرگز جانے نہ پائیں۔ اس اصول کی پابندی کا بڑا فائدہ یہ ہے کہ ضرورت کے وقت ہر قوم وقبیلہ کے سردار موجود ہوں گے۔ اور بغاوت کا اندیشہ بھی نہیں رہیگا۔ یہ اصول ممکن ہے یورپ میں کارآمد نہ ہو جہاں کے طریق بھرتی کو ایشیائی گوارہ نہیں کر سکتے۔ لیکن اسلامی ممالک میں آج بھی یہ اصول نہایت کارآمد ثابت ہوسکتا ہے۔

ایشیائی بادشاہوں نے انصاف رسانی میں کسی ذریعہ اور واسطہ کو ضروری خیال نہیں کیا اور خود نظام الملک بھی اس اصول کا حامی ہے۔ لیکن مساوات کے بعض اوقات غلط انطباق سے جو مضر نتائج پیدا ہونے کا اندیشہ لگا رہتا ہے۔ اس کا سدباب ضروری ہے خصوصاً فوجی نظم ونسق میں۔ اس سلسلہ میں نظام الملک کا یہ خیال ہے کہ تمام سپاہیوں کی عرضداشتیں اوران کی خواہشات کی اطلاع افسروں کے ذریعہ بادشاہ تک پہنچنا چاہیئے۔ اگر کوئی سپاہی توسط ترک کرے یا اپنے کسی افسر سے گستاخی کرے تو اس کو فوراً سزا دی جائے۔ تاکہ فوجی ضبط وتنظیم میں کوئی خرابی پیدا ہونے نہ پائے۔

قانون سازی۔ اسلامی حکومت میں مقننہ کا کوئی علیحدہ وجود نہیں ہے۔ اسلامی قانون کے مصدر و ماخذ قرآن [illegible]

[illegible]

نظام حکومت کے عسکری اور فوجی دو شعبہ ہیں۔ اور شعبہ کشوری کے تین حصے ہیں مقننہ، عاملہ اور عدلیہ ہیں۔ قوت محافظ امن ہے۔ اس لئے فوج سے متعلق نظریات پر پہلے توجہ کرنا لازمی ہے

نظام الملک فوج کے دو حصہ کرتا ہے۔ ایک مرکزی۔ دوسرے صوبہ جاتی۔ صوبہ جاتی فوج کا قیام اور انتظام جاگیرداروں کے ذمہ ہونا چاہیئے۔ لیکن ان فوجوں کو خزانہ شاہی سے نقد تنخواہ دینی چاہیئے۔ چنانچہ اس کے الفاظ یہ ہیں:-

"تمام فوج کی تنخواہ نقد ادا کر دی جائے۔ اور جو جاگیردار ہیں ان کو بھی فوج کے اندازے پر حساب کرکے نقد دیدیا جائے" [1]

لیکن فوجوں کے متعلق اتنی احتیاط کرنی چاہیئے کہ اگر کسی جاگیردار کی فوج کا ایک گھوڑا بھی کم ہو جائے تو اس کی اطلاع مرکز کو ہونی چاہیئے اور اگر کوئی اطلاع سے گریز کرے یا نیا گھوڑا بھرتی نہ کرے تو اس سے تاوان وصول کیا جائے۔ [2] صوبجاتی فوج کے علاوہ مرکزی فوج کی صرف ایک شاخ کے متعلق نظام الملک لکھتا ہے۔ کہ "فوج خاصہ میں علاوہ سواروں کے کم از کم چار ہزار پیدل کا ہونا ضروری ہے۔

بھرتی — فوجوں کی بھرتی کے متعلق نظام الملک کا نظریہ نہایت دلچسپ ہے۔ اس کے خیال میں فوجوں کی قومی یکسانیت نقصان دہ ہوتی ہے۔ بلکہ ان کا مختلف قومیتوں پر مشتمل ہونا بہترین نتائج پیدا کرتا ہے۔ کیونکہ فوج میں اگر سب ایک ہی قوم کے سپاہی ہوں تو ان میں جذبۂ مسابقت پیدا نہیں ہوتا۔ بلکہ یہ بھی ممکن ہے کہ خطرات جنگ سے گھبرا کر ایکا کر لیں اور خود اپنے سپہ سالار سے بغاوت کر بیٹھیں۔ اسی سلسلہ میں

جو مشرق میں ایک عرصہ قیام کے بعد اسلامی تہذیب و تمدن سے آشنا ہو چکے تھے۔ اس طرح یورپ کی "نشاۃ جدیدہ" انہی جنگوں کا نتیجہ تھی۔

بہرحال خاندان سلاجقہ کے خاتمہ سے اس خلافت الٰہیہ کا قریباً خاتمہ ہو گیا۔ جس کی بنیاد عرب کے ریگ زاروں میں رکھی گئی تھی۔ یہ صحیح ہے کہ سلاجقہ کے بعد بھی خلافت الٰہیہ کے مطمح نظر کو بعض مملکتوں نے حاصل بھی کر لیا۔ لیکن آج تک کوئی اسلامی حکومت سلجوقی سلطنت کے برابر وسعت اور عظمت حاصل نہ کر سکی۔ سلاجقہ کے ان حیرت انگیز کارناموں سے اگر نظام الملک کو علیحدہ کر لیا جائے۔ تو پھر ان کی عظمت میں ایک معتدبہ کمی ہو جاتی ہے۔ یہی ایک معیار نظام الملک کی عظمت کو جانچنے کے لئے کافی ہے۔

(۳) نظام الملک بحیثیت سیاسی مفکر:-

تاریخ۔ فلسفہ سیاسیات میں نظام الملک کا سب سے بڑا کارنامہ "سیاست نامہ" کی تصنیف و تدوین ہے۔ اس سلسلے میں آگے بڑھنے سے پہلے یہ بات ذہن نشین کر لینی چاہئے۔ کہ نظام الملک بخلاف اکثر و بیشتر یورپی سیاسی مفکروں کی طرح صرف سوچتا ہی نہ تھا بلکہ عملاً وہ خود ایک بہت بڑا مدبر بھی تھا۔ اس لئے سیاست نامہ "روح قوانین" یا "معاہدہ" معاشری کی طرح کوئی سیاسی فلسفہ کتاب نہیں ہے۔ بلکہ وہ مجموعہ ہے۔ ہدایات سو خیالات کا جس کی رہنمائی سے کوئی حکمران ان اصول پر عمل کر سکتا ہے

کی ترقی ہونے کیلئے مستعد ہو گئی۔ ایسے پُرآشوب زمانے میں درحقیقت کسی نہایت زبردست ہاتھ کی ضرورت تھی۔ سلاجقہ کے اسلام لانے سے یہ ضرورت پوری ہو گئی۔ جس کی وجہ سے اسلامی ممالک میں ایک تازہ جان پڑ گئی۔ سلجوقیوں کا یہ ٹڈی دل وسط ایشیا سے نکل کر ایران۔ عراق۔ الجزیرہ۔ شام۔ فلسطین وغیرہ، الغرض تمام اسلامی ممالک پر چھا گیا۔ اور ترکوں کے اس سیلاب عظیم کے آگے ہر مقابل خس وخاشاک کی طرح بہہ گیا۔ ان عظیم الشان فتوحات کی وجہ سے غزنی و کاشغر سے بحیرہ روم تک اور بحر خزر۔ بحر اسود سے لیکر خلیج فارس تک کا تمام علاقہ ایک فرماں روا کے ماتحت ہو گیا روز روز کی خانہ جنگیاں بند ہوئیں۔ بہت سے مذہبی رخنے بند ہوئے زراعت اور تجارت کو عروج ہوا۔ اور علم و فن ایک نئی شان سے جلوہ گر ہو گئے۔

یہ حیرت ناک حربی و علمی فتوحات صرف ایشیا تک ہی محدود نہیں رہے۔ بلکہ علاوہ قسطنطنیہ کی فتح کا رستہ صاف ہونے کے بازنطینی سلطنت کے تعلق سے اہل یورپ کے سامنے ایک بالکل نئی دنیا آگئی۔ جس کی تابناکی نے ان کی آنکھوں کو چکا چوند کر دیا۔ ملک شاہ اور نظام الملک کی شہادت کے پانچ سال بعد ہی مشرق و مغرب کی ان خون ریز جنگوں کا سلسلہ شروع ہوا جو "حروب صلیبیہ" کہلاتی [illegible] یورپ کے وحشیوں کا مقابلہ کرنے والے یہی سلاجقہ تھے۔ جو [illegible] شام، فلسطین، ارض روم وغیرہ پر پھیل گئے تھے۔ یورپ [illegible] نشان کرانے والی یہ صلیبی [illegible] تھے

معلوم آتی ہے۔ الپ ارسلان اور ملک شاہ دونوں نہایت
جبروت حکمراں تھے۔ اور کسی دوسرے کو ان کے حق میں مداخلت
کرنیکا اختیار نہ تھا۔ لیکن باین ہمہ عظمت وشان باوجود تلاش
کوئی ایک واقعہ بھی ایسا نہیں ہے۔ جس سے یہ معلوم ہوتا ہو کہ ان
دونوں بادشاہوں نے سوائے میدان جنگ کے کبھی اور بھی اپنے ہاتھ
کسی بے گناہ کے خون سے رنگے ہوں۔ برخلاف اس کے ان دونوں
حکمرانوں کی دینداری، خداترسی، انصاف رسانی معن متعدی
وغیرہ کے بہت سے واقعات موجود ہیں۔ ظاہر ہے کہ یہ صفات
مطلق العنان بادشاہوں میں عقلمند مشیروں کے بغیر نہیں پیدا
ہوسکتے۔

تاریخ اسلام میں سلاجقہ کی اہمیت ۔ سلاجقہ کی حکومت سے قبل دنیائے اسلام کی یہ حالت تھی کہ خلافت
بغداد کا صرف نام ہی نام باقی رہگیا تھا۔ وہ عظیم الشان سلطنت
جس پر کسی زمانے میں عباسی خلفا کا سیاہ پھریرا لہراتا تھا
اب چھوٹی چھوٹی حکومتوں میں بٹ گئی تھی۔ سیاسی شیرازہ
اس درجہ پراگندہ ہوگیا تھا کہ سو سال کے اندر اندر کئی خاندان
بنے اور بگڑے۔ جس میں صفاریہ۔ سامانیہ۔ دیالمہ۔ غزنویہ
اور زیاریہ زیادہ مشہور ہوے۔ علوی۔ زیدی اور فاطمی
خاندانوں کے جھگڑوں نے الگ شورش برپا کر رکھی تھی
کے علاوہ خارجیہ۔ باطنیہ۔ قرامطہ جیسے ...
کی ذہنی یک جہتی اور مرکزیت کو ...

تھا۔ لیکن پھر بھی ملک شاہ کو اس کی جرأت نہیں ہوئی۔ کہ خود خلیفہ بن بیٹھے۔

ملک۔ الپ ارسلان کی وفات کے بعد قاورد بن چغری بک نے علم بغاوت بلند کیا۔ ملک شاہ کی فوجوں کے اکثر سردار بھی اس سے مل گئے تھے لیکن جنگ میں ملک شاہ کو کامل فتح ہوئی اور قاورد قید ہوا۔ ملک شاہ اس کو قتل کرنا چاہتا تھا۔ لیکن قاورد نے منت و سماجت کی اور آخرکار اپنی صفائی میں ایک خریطہ پیش کیا۔ جس میں ارکان فوج کے خطوط بھرے ہوئے تھے۔ ملک شاہ یہ دیکھ کر سخت برافروختہ ہوا۔ اور نظام الملک کو حکم دیا کہ ایک ایک خط پڑھ کر سنایا جائے۔ نظام الملک نے وہ خریطہ خیمۂ شاہی کی دہکتی انگیٹھی میں ڈال دیا۔ اس کارروائی سے امرائے فوج اور اعیان حکومت کو تسکین ہوئی۔ کیونکہ اگر سازشوں کا راز فاش ہو جاتا تو شاید ایک عظیم الشان کشت و خون کی نوبت پہنچتی۔ نظام الملک کی اس دانشمندانہ کارروائی کا یہ اثر ہوا کہ تمام امرائے فوج ملک شاہ اور نظام الملک کے وفادار اور جاں نثار بن گئے۔ اور بعد کو دلی جوش سے سلطنت کی خدمت میں لگ گئے۔ تاکہ آئندہ شبہ کی کوئی گنجائش باقی نہ رہے۔

نظام الملک نے ملک شاہ جیسے خود مختار اور نوجوان بادشاہ کو جس خوبی سے قابو میں رکھا اور اس کو بے راہ ہونے نہیں دیا۔ وہ اس کا ایک پر فخر کارنامہ ہے۔ تاریخ میں ایسے خود مختار اور جبار بادشاہوں کی کمی نہیں جنہوں نے صرف اپنے ناعاقبت اندیش مشیروں کی وجہ سے [illegible]

ابو شجاع محمد حسین کے سپرد کی۔ یہ شخص سلاجقہ کا مخالف تھا۔ اس نے نظام الملک نے عمید الدولہ کا نام پیش کیا۔ اور خلیفہ کو نظام الملک کی بات ماننی پڑی۔[^] آخر عمر میں ملک شاہ نے خلیفہ مقتدر کو خلافت سے علیحدہ کرنا چاہا۔ لیکن نظام الملک نے سلطان کی بیٹی کا نکاح خلیفہ سے کروا دیا۔[^]

مذکورہ بالا واقعات سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ نظام الملک خلیفہ کو کبھی اتنا با اقتدار ہونے کا موقع نہیں دیتا تھا۔ کہ اس کی قوت سے خود سلاجقہ کو کوئی اندیشہ پیدا ہو جائے۔ ساتھ ہی اس کا یہی خاص خیال رہتا تھا کہ کہیں اس کی مذہبی اور قانونی حیثیت عوام کی نظروں سے نہ گر جائے۔ کیونکہ اس زمانے میں جو کچھ رہی سہی مرکزیت خلیفہ بغداد کی وجہ سے دنیاء اسلام میں موجود تھی۔ وہ بھی جاتی رہتی۔ اور امت اسلامیہ کا شیرازہ بکھر جاتا۔ ان حالات میں نظام الملک اگر خلافت عباسیہ کا خاتمہ کر کے سلاجقہ کی خلافت تسلیم کرانے کی کوشش کرتا۔ تو اس کو یقیناً ناکامی کا منہ دیکھنا پڑتا۔ کیونکہ خاندان عباسیہ کے ساتھ جو تقدس برسوں سے وابستہ چلا آرہا تھا۔ وہ کسی جنگ و جدل سے مٹنے والا نہ تھا اور سلاجقہ جیسے ترک اس تقدس سے بالکل محروم تھے۔ اس معاملہ میں نظام الملک کی دور اندیشی کا صحیح اندازہ اس واقعہ سے ہوتا ہے کہ [illegible] بعد مصر ہی ایک ایسا مقام رہ گیا تھا۔ جہاں [illegible] سے قائم تھی۔ تاہم ملک ظاہر ہے [illegible]

میں درج ہوا کرتے تھے۔ کہ ۴۴۳ھ میں ۴۴۲ھ کا خراج وصول ہوا۔ اور ۴۴۲ھ میں ۴۳۱ھ کا۔ سلطنت سلاجقہ کا باقاعدہ حساب ۴۲۰ھ ہجری سے شروع ہوا اور ۴۲ سال بعد یعنے ۴۶۲ھ ہجری میں ایک سال کی کمی محسوس ہوئی۔ لیکن تین چار سال تک نظام الملک کو دوسری مصروفیات کی وجہ سے اس طرف توجہ کرنے موقع نہیں ملا۔ اس لئے ۴۶۶ھ ہجری میں اصلاح تقویم کا کام مشہور مہندس حکیم عمر خیام کے سپرد ہوا۔ جس نے اپنے ساتھیوں کے ساتھ اس کام کی تکمیل کی۔ چنانچہ اس تقویم میں ایسی اصلاح کی گئی تھی۔ جو چھ سو برس کی گری گورین اصلاح سے بہتر تھی

خلفائے عباسیہ سے سلاجقہ کے تعلقات

پیش نظر زمانہ میں خلفائے عباسیہ کی شان و شوکت صرف برائے نام رہ گئی تھی۔ البتہ ان کے نام کے ساتھ مذہبی تقدیس برابر وابستہ رہا۔ دنیائے اسلام کا قانونی اقتدار اعلیٰ اس گئی گذری حالت میں بھی خلیفۂ عباسیہ ہی کی ذات تھی۔ جس کسی نے خلیفہ کے اس اقتدار سے انحراف کرنے کی کوشش کی۔ اس کو سخت نقصان برداشت کرنا پڑا۔ چنانچہ صفاریہ اور آل بویہ کی تباہی کا ایک بڑا سبب یہی تھا۔ خلفائے بغداد اور سلاجقہ کے تعلقات کو سمجھنے کے لئے دو ایک واقعات کا ذکر ضروری ہے۔

۴۶۴ھ ہجری میں الپ ارسلان نے بغداد کی کوتوالی پر سلیمان نامی ایک امیر کو نامزد کیا۔ لیکن خلیفہ اپنے ایک اور امیر گوہر آئین کو یہ خدمت سپرد کرنا چاہتا تھا۔ اس لئے اس قضیہ نے طول کھینچا۔ آخر الامر نظام الملک نے مصالحت کرادی اور گوہر آئین کا تقرر ہو گیا۔ ۴۷۱ھ میں خلیفہ نے اپنے وزیر فخر الدولہ کو معزول کرکے اس کی خدمت

[illegible] تھیں۔ روز ہائے دن کے جھگڑوں سے کسان اور تاجر دونوں تنگ زدہ ہو گئے تھے۔ نظام الملک نے ملک کو جاگیرداروں پر تقسیم کر کے تمام بدنظمی دور کر دی۔ کیونکہ اب اکثر امراء نے اپنی اپنی جاگیروں میں تندہی سے کام کرنا شروع کیا۔ کیونکہ اب وہ صرف ایک مدتِ معینہ کے لئے مقرر نہیں کئے جاتے تھے۔

لیکن یاد رہے کہ نظام الملک کا جاری کردہ طریقہ یورپ کا فیوڈل سسٹم نہیں تھا۔ جو دراصل ایک قسم کا فوجی نظام ہے۔ نظام الملک نے جو نظام جاگیری رائج کیا تھا۔ اس میں جاگیرداروں کو ان کی فوج کے اندازے پر حساب کر کے نقد تنخواہ دی جاتی تھی۔ جاگیرداروں کو جو فوج رکھنی پڑتی تھی۔ وہ صرف مقامی ضروریات کے لئے تھی۔ اصلی فوج دارالسلطنت میں رہتی تھی۔ جس کی تعداد چار لاکھ تھی۔ دراصل نظام الملک کا یہ کارنامہ تاریخ سیاسیات میں نہایت عظیم الشان ہے۔ کہ اس نے دو مختلف اصولوں کو ایک نہایت عمدہ امتزاجی اصول میں تبدیل کر دیا۔ جس سے فوجی نظام اور ملکی خوشحالی دونوں کی ضمانت ہو گئی۔

سنہ جلالی۔ اس سلسلہ میں نظام الملک نے ایک اور اہم اصلاح کی۔ پہلے سنہ جلالی کا اجرا [illegible] حضرت فاروق اعظم نے سنہ ہلالی جاری کیا تھا۔ اور اسی قمری سنہ سے سلطنت کے حسابات ہوتے تھے۔ لیکن دقت یہ تھی کہ آمدنی شمسی حساب سے ہوتی تھی۔ قمری اور شمسی سال میں ہر برس میں گیارہ دن چھ گھنٹے کا فرق ہے۔ اس طرح ۳۲ برس میں ایک سال سے زائد کا فرق [illegible] اس کی اصلاح وقتاً بعد وقت اس طرح کی جاتی [illegible] [illegible] ہر ۳۲ سال کے بعد ایک سال [illegible]

نظام الملک سے پیشرو عمید الملک کندری نے اپنے ذاتی تعصب اور بعض وقتی سیاسی مصلحتوں کی بنا پر تمام ممالک محروسہ میں یہ حکم جاری کر دیا تھا کہ خطبہ میں روافض پر لعن کی جائے۔ اور بعد میں اس حکم کو اشاعرہ تک وسیع کر دیا گیا تھا۔ جس سے خراسان میں ایک عظیم الشان فتنہ برپا ہونا شروع ہوا۔ نظام الملک نے عنان وزارت ہاتھ میں لیتے ہی حکم دیا۔ کہ خطبوں میں روافض پر جو لعن کی جاتی ہے وہ بند کر دی جائے۔ صرف اسی پر اکتفا نہیں کی گئی۔ بلکہ خود بھی اپنے دربار میں مختلف نقطۂ خیال کے علماء کو جمع کر کے ان کی سرپرستی کی اور ہر ایک کو اپنے اپنے اجتہادات کے پیش کرنے کا موقع دیا۔ اس مذہبی رواداری کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ خراسانی فتنہ فوراً دب گیا۔ حالانکہ اس فتنہ کی وسعت بہت بڑھ گئی تھی۔ کیونکہ اکثر شورہ پشت مذہب کی آڑ میں اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھانے کی کوشش کر رہے تھے۔

دورِ ملک شاہی۔ دور ملک شاہی میں نظام الملک نے سب سے پہلا کام یہ کیا کہ تمام ممالک محروسہ کو بڑے بڑے امراء پر بطور جاگیر تقسیم کر دیا۔ اور ان امرا کے ذمہ فوج کی ایک مقررہ تعداد اور رقم مالگذاری مقرر کر دی۔ بدلے حضرت فاروق اعظم نے فوجوں کو نقد تنخواہ دینے کا طریقہ رائج کیا تھا۔

نظامِ جاگیری یہی طریقہ ایک زمانے تک اسلامی ممالک میں جاری رہا۔ خلفائے عباسیہ کے زمانے میں نقد تنخواہ اور نظام جاگیری دونوں رائج ہو گئے تھے۔ خلفائے عباسیہ کا کوئی ایک طریقہ جاری نہ رکھنے کی وجہ سے بے ترتیبی پھیل گئی تھی۔ اور جاگیردار خود مختار ہوتے گئے۔ اسی لیے سلاجقہ کی سلطنت [illegible] عباسیہ کے زوال کے بعد [illegible]

کو جب اس طرح ناکامی ہوئی تو انہوں نے اپنے عقاید کی ترویج کے
مجلس الحکمۃ کے فارغ التحصیل دعاۃ کو عراق و ایران میں پھیلا دیا۔
سلاجقہ کے پاس اس کا کوئی رد عمل نہ تھا۔ کہ یہ سپاہی منش ترک
ان بظاہر پرامن طریقوں سے واقف نہ تھے۔

آخرکار نظام الملک نے اس علمی مقاومت کیلئے ۴۵۷ ہجری
میں ابوسعید صوفی نیشاپوری کی تحریک سے اس عظیم الشان مدرسہ
کا سنگ بنیاد بغداد جیسے مرکزی شہر میں رکھا۔ راقم الحروف کے
خیال میں نظامیہ کی تاسیس کا محرک اصلی یہی سیاسی مقصد تھا اور
علم و فن کی اشاعت و قدردانی ثانوی حیثیت رکھتی تھی۔ چنانچہ
سلاجقہ سے پہلے بنی عباس نے علم و فن کو اتنا عام کیا کہ قصبات بھی
علمی و فنی فیضان سے معمور ہوگئے۔ لیکن اس وقت بھی علم و فن کی
اشاعت کے لئے کسی ایسے مرکز کی ضرورت محسوس نہیں ہوی۔ کیونکہ
اسلامی روایات کے مطابق ہر مسجد کے ساتھ ایک مکتب لازمی قرار دیا
گیا تھا۔ اور تبلیغ مذہب کے ساتھ علم و فن کی اشاعت بھی ہوا
کرتی تھی۔ بہرکیف نظام الملک نے ۶۰ ہزار دینار کی رقم خطیر سے
یہ عمارت تیار کروائی۔ جس کے ایک ایک تدریسی کمرے کا طول ۰۰
گز اور عرض ۱۲۰ گز تھا۔

سیاسی رواداری نظامیہ کے موسیس اول نے جو توقعات اس سے قائم کی تھیں
وہ بدرجہ اتم پوری ہوئیں۔ اور یہاں سے [illegible]
محدث کیل اور ابن جوزی وغیرہ [illegible]
[illegible]

سالار بنا دیا گیا۔ تاکہ فوج پر رعب قایم رہے۔ اور کوئی بے ترتیبی نہ ہونے پائے۔ ان فوج کشیوں سے علاوہ عسکری تجربات کے آئندہ فتوحات کا رستہ بھی صاف ہوگیا۔ چنانچہ ۴۶۳ھ ہجری میں بمقام ملازکرد جو فیصلہ کن جنگ ہوئی۔ اس میں اس تجربہ سے پورا فائدہ اٹھایا گیا۔

مصر کے دارالسلطنت قاہرہ میں ۳۶۹ھ ہجری میں خلیفہ العزیز الدین اللہ ابو منصور بن نیزار ایک شاندار عمارت تیار کروائی۔ جس کا نام "ایوان الکبیر" رکھا گیا۔ اسی ایوان کے ایک بڑے حصہ میں فاطمی عقاید کی تعلیم کا انتظام کیا گیا تھا۔ اس حصہ کو مجلس الحکمۃ کہتے تھے۔ صرف اسی پر اکتفا نہیں کی گئی۔ بلکہ جامعہ ازہر میں عورتوں کی تعلیم کا بھی انتظام کیا گیا۔ تاکہ وہ مشرق میں فاطمی عقاید کی تبلیغ کی خدمت انجام دیں۔ ان ہر دو مقامات پر خود ابو منصور کے زمانے میں قریباً دولاکھ کتابیں جمع ہو چکی تھیں۔ مستنصر کے زمانے میں جس نے ۴۲۷ھ ہجری سے ۴۸۷ ہجری تک حکومت کی مصر سے متعدد داعیوں نے مشرق میں اپنے عجیب و غریب خیالات پھیلانے شروع کئے۔ جن میں سب سے زیادہ اہم خلفائے عباسیہ کا تباہ و برباد کردینا شامل تھا۔

شاہان سلجوقیہ اور نظام الملک نے متعدد مرتبہ خلفاء عباسیہ کو اپنی وفاداری کا عملی ثبوت دیدیا تھا۔ اور جب کبھی کوئی مسلح شورش ہوئی تو اس کو بزور شمشیر کچل دیا گیا۔ چنانچہ بساسیری کی تحت ۴۵۰ھ ہجری میں جو سب سے بڑی شورش ہوئی۔ اسکو طغرل بک نے فرو کرکے خاندان بویہ کا ہمیشہ کیلئے خاتمہ کردیا [illegible]

... مذہب اختیار نہیں کیا ... باتیں ... تعصب اور روادار تھا۔

(۲) نظام الملک بحیثیت مدبر:۔

دور الپ ارسلان ۔ الپ ارسلان نے ابھی اپنی تخت نشینی کی رسم ادا کرنے نہیں پائی تھی کہ قتلمش بن ارسلان سلجوقی نے بغاوت کر دی۔ اس بغاوت سے پہلے سلیمان بن چغری بک سے معرکہ آرائی ہو چکی تھی۔ جس میں بہت سے سلجوقی سپاہی مارے جا چکے تھے۔ اب مزید کشت و خون ملکی تباہی کا باعث تھا۔ اس لئے نظام الملک کے حسب مشورہ قتلمش کو صلح کا پیام دیا گیا۔ فریق مخالف صلح پر راضی نہیں ہوا۔ اور جنگ الپ ارسلان کی فتحمندی پر ختم ہوئی۔ قتلمش معہ امرائے رکاب گرفتار ہوا اور نظام الملک کی تدبیر سے ان سب کی جاں بخشی ہوئی۔ اس عفو عام کا فوری نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ تمام سلجوقی امراء اور فوجی سردار الپ ارسلان کے وفادار ہو گئے۔ جس سے بغاوتوں کا خاتمہ ہو گیا۔

آرمینیہ پر فوج کشی کے مقاصد ۔ امن و امان قایم ہوتے ہی نظام الملک نے فوجوں کو آرمینیہ کی طرف روانہ ہونے کا حکم دیا۔ کیونکہ اس زمانے میں بازنطینی حکومت نے سلاجقہ کی خانہ جنگیوں سے فائدہ اٹھا کر سرحدی مقامات پر ... مچا دی تھیں۔ فوجوں کی روانگی میں یہ مصلحت ... فوجی عنصر کو بیرونی جنگوں میں مصروف کر ... کا اندیشہ ... اس موقع پر نظام الملک ... ملک ... کر ...

میں کو حکومت نشین کرا دیا۔ مگر الپ ارسلان نے بعد تسخیر
ہی ادائیگی بت منتاق۔ اور ۴۵۶ھ ہجری میں عبدالملک کندری
قتل کیا گیا۔ بعدازاں خواجہ حسن کو جاگیر اور خطاب نظام الملک عطا کر کے الپ
ارسلان کی خدمت وزارت سپرد کر دی۔[۲] چنانچہ الپ ارسلان کی وفات تک
نظام الملک اپنی خدمت انجام دیتا رہا۔ اور اسکے انتقال کے بعد بھی حسب وصیت اس
کے بیٹے ملک شاہ کا وفادار وزیر رہا۔ ملک شاہ نے اپنی تخت نشینی
کے چند ہی دن بعد نظام الملک کے اختیارات یہاں تک بڑھا دیئے
کہ ملک کے تمام چھوٹے بڑے کام وزارت ہی سے متعلق ہو گئے۔[۳]

ذلی۔ افسوس ہے کہ نظام الملک جیسا مدبر بھی محلات شاہی اور امراء
دربار کی سازشوں سے نہ بچ سکا۔ اور آخر کار ملک شاہ نے اس
کو وزارت سے معزول کر کے اپنی بیوی ترکان خاتون کی سفارش سے
وزارت تاج الملک کے تفویض کر دی۔[۴] یہ واقعہ شعبان ۴۸۵ھ
کا ہے۔

ت ۔ اسی سال ملک شاہ معہ نظام الملک بغداد جا رہا تھا۔ کہ بمقام
نہاوند ایک باطنی نے نظام الملک کو چھری گھونپ دی۔ جس سے
وہ جانبر نہ ہو سکا۔[۱]

ں ۔ نظام الملک کی عام زندگی کی طرح اس کی گھریلو زندگی بھی
نہایت شاندار ہے۔ تمام عمر میں اس نے صرف دو نکاح کئے۔ اور
لڑکوں کو اس نے اعلیٰ تعلیم دلائی۔ اور نہایت اچھی تربیت
کی۔ وہ خود نہایت محنتی، جفاکش، حلیم اور فیاض تھا۔[۲]
مذہباً شافعی تھا۔ اور الپ ارسلان کی خواہش کے

اصابت المدارس" کی فہرست میں داخل ہوا۔ لیکن خواجہ حسن نے
امام قشیری سے فقہ شافعین کی تکمیل کرکے ۔۔۔ کم و بیش ۔۔۔
۔۔۔ میں وطن واپس ہوا۔

دور کارگزاری ۔ قرآن سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس زمانہ میں خواجہ حسن کو
طوس میں اپنی قابلیت کے اظہار کا موقع نہیں ملا۔ اس لئے وہ غزنی
کی طرف روانہ ہوگیا۔ جہاں اس زمانے میں عبدالرشید بن محمود
غزنوی کی حکومت تھی۔ ۔۔۔ خواجہ حسن کو یہاں ملازمت بھی مل گئی
اور بروایت ابن اثیر اس نے غزنی کے طبقہ حکام میں بھی خاصہ
رسوخ پیدا کر لیا تھا۔ ۔۔۔ ہجری میں غزنی میں خانہ جنگی شروع
ہوئی ۔ قرآن سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس خانہ جنگی میں خواجہ حسن
نے بھی کسی ایسے فریق کا ساتھ دیا۔ جس کو اپنے مقصد میں ناکامیابی
ہوئی۔ کیونکہ روضۃ الصفاء میں تحفۃ الصدور کے حوالے سے خواجہ
حسن کا یہ بیان منقول ہے کہ میں اس زمانے میں نہایت پریشان
اور تباہ حال تھا۔ موکلان شاہی میرے تعاقب میں تھے۔ اور میں
بھاگا بھاگا پھرتا تھا۔ غزنی سے خواجہ حسن خراسان چلا گیا۔ اور وہ
سے بلخ پہنچ کر وہاں کے حاکم ابن شاذان کے دفتر میں ملازمت
اختیار کر لی۔ لیکن ابن شاذان کے بخل کی وجہ سے خواجہ حسن
یہاں سے بھاگ کر چغری بک کے دربار میں حاضر ہوا۔ ۔۔۔
۔۔۔ کو شہزادہ الپ ارسلان کی خدمت ۔۔۔
وزارت ۔۔۔ طغرل بک نے ۔۔۔ ہجری میں ۔۔۔

نظام الملک طوسی کی زندگی اور اسکے کارناموں کا تاریخی مطالعہ

از

ابو نصر محمد خالدی

(۱) مختصر سوانح حیات :-

پیدائش۔ مشرق کے نہایت مشہور و معروف وزیر اور اپنے زمانے کے بہترین مدبر ابو علی حسن قوام الدین رضیٔ امیر المومنین خواجہ نظام الملک طوسی "تاریخ ۲۱ر ذیقعدہ شنبہ ۴۰۸ھ بمقام راذکان واقع طوس پیدا ہوا۔

لہ نظام الملک کا باپ فقیہ ابو الحسن علی بن اسحاق طوس کا ایک دہقان

ملہ چغری بک (المتوفی سنہ) کی حکومت میں طوس کا صاحب الخراج تھا۔

خاندان۔ علم و فن اور شائستگی جو دہقانین کی خاندانی خصوصیات تھیں۔ ان کو علی بن اسحاق طوسی کے بیٹوں نے اس طرح برقرار رکھا کہ ان میں کا ایک تو تاریخ میں فقیہ عبد اللہ کے نام سے مشہور ہوا۔ اور دوسرے کا نام اس مضمون کے عنوان کی زینت ہے۔

خواجہ حسن ابھی شیر خوار تھا کہ اس کی ماں کا انتقال ہوگیا۔ اور یہ ہونے والا وزیر مختلف گودوں میں پرورش پاتا رہا۔ سے دستور الوزرا کی روایت کے مطابق۔

تعلیم۔ خواجہ حسن نے ابتدائی تعلیم فقیہ عبد الصمد قندوجی سے حاصل کی اور بعد ازاں اعلیٰ تعلیم کے لئے نیشاپور روانہ ہوا۔ تاریخ مدارس اسلامیہ میں نیشاپور کو اس بات کا فخر حاصل ہے۔ کہ ابتداءً [illegible] باقاعدہ قیام اسی مقام پر عمل میں آیا۔ اسی لئے یہاں کے مدارس

…MULK TUSI AND HIS WORK AS A STATESMAN
BY
ABU NASR KHALIDI, M.A.,
Osmania University, Hyderabad Deccan.

نظام الملک طوسی کی زندگی اور اسکے کارناموں کا تاریخی مطا…

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ابوالنصر محمد خالدی

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